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VIRGIL

AENEID

BOOK XII

EDITED BY RICHARD TARRANT

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CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town,
Singapore, São Paulo, Delhi, Mexico City

Cambridge University Press
The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521313636

First published 2012
Reprinted 2013

Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by the MPG Books Group

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data
Virgil.
[Aeneis. Liber 12]
Aeneid. Book XII / Virgil ; edited by Richard Tarrant.
pages cm. – (Cambridge Greek and Latin classics)
Introduction and commentary in English; text in Latin.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-521-30881-6
1. Aeneas (Legendary character) – Poetry. 2. Epic poetry, Latin. I. Tarrant, R. J.
(Richard John), 1945– editor, writer of added commentary. II. Title.
PA6803.B32T37 2012
873′.01 – dc23 2012012597

ISBN 978-0-521-30881-6 Hardback
ISBN 978-0-521-31363-6 Paperback

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PREFACE

I have described the aims and approach of my commentary in the Introduction; here it is my pleasure to acknowledge the many debts I have incurred during its long evolution.

My first thanks go to the series editors Philip Hardie and Stephen Oakley, who read the entire manuscript and substantially improved it by their comments. With great generosity Gian Biagio Conte and Richard Thomas read the commentary and offered numerous valuable suggestions and corrections. A portion of the commentary in an earlier form benefited from careful reading by E. J. Kenney and P. E. Easterling.

For advice and information on specific points I am grateful to Ewen Bowie, Cynthia Damon, Carlotta Dionisotti, Katherine Dunbabin, Catharine Edwards, Christian Flow, Albert Henrichs, Tom Jenkins, Jennifer Ledig, Gregory Nagy, Lara Nicolini, Silvia Ottaviano, Sergios Paschalis, Andreola Rossi, Mark Schiefsky, Ben Tipping, and Tony Woodman. Special thanks to Miriam Carlisle for alerting me to the possible relevance of the Tyszkiewicz Painter's vase (see Appendix).

James Zetzel suggested that I include a section on metre in the Introduction, but he bears no responsibility for its content. Alessandro Schiesaro secured for me a copy of Alfonso Traina's commentary (a work unfortunately hard to find in this country), and Professor Traina himself kindly sent me a copy of the second edition, containing an updated bibliography. Ian Goh carefully checked references, and Lauren Curtis offered timely assistance in preparing the final form of the commentary.

Kind invitations from various institutions gave me the chance to try out ideas before committing them to print. I mention in particular the Scuola Normale Superiore in Pisa, the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies in London, Amherst College, Princeton University, Skidmore College, the University of Virginia, and Washington and Lee University. Audiences on those occasions have been most helpful in their comments.

I am grateful to Denis Feeney, Andrew Feldherr, Tim O'Sullivan, Miriam Carlisle, Deborah Beck and Pat Larash for giving drafts of the commentary trial runs in their classes. Long before this commentary was written, the students in my own *Aeneid* classes at the University of Toronto helped me to appreciate the enormous richness of this book of Virgil. To have had the opportunity to comment on it for a wider audience has been a privilege and a joy.

As a graduate student I had the good fortune to be supervised by Roger Mynors while he was working on his OCT text of Virgil and his commentary

on the *Georgics*. At the time neither of us imagined that I would one day write a commentary on Virgil; my hope now is that he would have found something of value in what I have done.

June 2011 *Cambridge, MA*

ABBREVIATIONS

Titles of ancient works are abbreviated according to the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd revised edn, Oxford 2003), as are titles of secondary works and collections but with the following additions and variations:

ALL	*Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie* (Leipzig 1884–1908)
EV	*Enciclopedia virgiliana* (Rome 1984–91)
GLK	H. Keil, ed., *Grammatici latini*, 8 vols. (Leipzig 1857–80)
K–S	R. Kühner and C. Stegman, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, zweiter Teil (Hanover 1971)
OLD	P. W. Glare, ed., *Oxford Latin dictionary* (Oxford 1968–82)
R^2	O. Ribbeck, *Tragicorum romanorum fragmenta*, 2nd edn (Leipzig 1871)
RG	Augustus, *Res gestae*
TLL	*Thesaurus linguae latinae* (Leipzig 1900–)
WF	W. Warde Fowler, *The death of Turnus* (Oxford 1919)

INTRODUCTION

1 STRUCTURE AND THEMES

Book 12 is the longest book of the *Aeneid*,[1] but also one of the most highly concentrated. The action unfolds within a single 24-hour period and focuses almost exclusively on the combat between Aeneas and Turnus that will determine the outcome of the war between Trojans and Latins. T. agrees to meet A. in the opening scene, but the decisive encounter is repeatedly deferred and does not take place until the end of the book. After T. is wounded and his plea for mercy is rejected, the book ends with T.'s death at A.'s hands. The only part of the book that does not relate directly to the duel or its delaying is the conversation between Jupiter and Juno in 791–842; although it is essential in determining T.'s fate, that episode looks beyond the immediate circumstances to the union of Trojans and Latins that will follow A.'s victory.

An outline of the action may serve as a point of reference for the following discussion:

1–80	Latinus and Amata try to dissuade T. from meeting A. in single combat. T. is not deterred: he calls a truce and challenges A.
81–112	T. and A. arm.
113–33	The field is prepared; both sides gather to watch the duel.
134–60	Juno encourages Juturna to subvert the truce.
161–215	The preparations continue; oaths are sworn by A. and Latinus.
216–310	Juturna disguised as Camers urges the Rutilians to break the truce; a general melee ensues.
311–82	A. is wounded, and T. goes on the offensive.
383–440	A.'s wound is miraculously healed; he returns to the field.
441–99	A. pursues T., but Juturna, disguised as T.'s charioteer Metiscus, keeps him out of A.'s reach. A. is attacked by Messapus and, enraged, begins to kill the enemy indiscriminately.
500–53	T. and A. deal slaughter all around them.
554–92	Venus prompts A. to attack the city of Latinus; panic erupts among the besieged inhabitants.
593–611	Amata commits suicide.
614–96	T. rejects Juturna's efforts to protect him and resolves to die nobly; learning from Saces of the city's plight, he rushes to meet A. alone.

[1] At 950 lines – 952 in the conventional numbering, but what would be lines 612–13 are bracketed by all editors – it is significantly longer than the next longest book, 11 (915 lines), and would remain so even if 882–4 are bracketed, as suggested in the commentary. Further discussion and supporting evidence for points made in the Introduction will often be found at the relevant places in the commentary; I have not included cross-references where they can be readily inferred.

697–765	First encounter of A. and T. T.'s sword – in fact that of Metiscus – shatters on A.'s armour, and he flees with A. in close pursuit.
766–90	A.'s spear is held fast in a wild olive tree sacred to Faunus. Juturna and Venus intervene to rearm the combatants.
791–842	Jupiter persuades Juno to end her hostility to the Trojans; he grants her request that the Latins be allowed to retain their language and customs.
843–86	Jupiter sends a Dira to terrify T.; Juturna retires in despair.
887–952	A. kills T.

The end is The End

Book 12 has long been regarded as one of Virgil's greatest achievements,[2] but its unresolved ending has occasioned much puzzlement and has prompted numerous sequels and continuations (on which see below, pp. 31–3). The issues raised by the killing of T. will be taken up in a later section (pp. 16–30); my aim here is to show that there is every reason to believe that the text as transmitted reflects Virgil's fully developed thoughts.

Like other books of the *Aeneid*, book 12 contains some traces of the poem's unrevised state, but on the whole it does not appear to be less finished than earlier books, as it might be expected to be if Virgil had composed it last. It has only one clearly incomplete line (631, but cf. 218n.) as against, e.g., six each in books 7, 9, and 10. A few passages may show a lack of final revision (e.g. 161–74), but not as many as in several other books.

The poem's essential integrity and the place of book 12 within it are convincingly demonstrated by the many structural symmetries, large and small, exhibited by the text as it stands. At the most basic level, there is the division into two six-book units, each with a distinctive narrative focus, traditionally called the 'Odyssean' and 'Iliadic' halves, respectively.[3] That bipartite division is underscored by correspondences between structurally significant places in the poem, most notably books 1, 6, 7 and 12. Each half concludes with the premature death of a young man (Marcellus in 6 and T. in 12, each a potential future leader), while the war in Italy that breaks out in 7 is brought to an end in 12 in a way that recalls its beginning: Juno employs the Fury Allecto to incite T. and the Latins against the Trojans, and Jupiter sends the Allecto-like Dira to isolate T. and seal his doom.[4]

[2] For example, Mackail (1930) li thought that 6, 11 and 12 were 'books in which the general workmanship is most elaborate, and in which Virgil is perhaps at his greatest'; Warde Fowler (1919) 39 'It is my experience that the twelfth book calls for more thinking, more leisurely reading, than any other part of the poem'; Putnam (1965) 152 'Book XII is in many ways the best constructed book of the *Aeneid*, particularly rich in associations with the rest of the poem.'

[3] See, e.g., Anderson (1957), Otis (1964), Gransden (1984).

[4] Some comms. in fact regard the Dira and Allecto as identical, but this seems to me unlikely; see n. on 845–52.

Correspondences between books 1 and 12 cluster thickly in the final scenes of the latter book. On the large scale, the conversation between Jupiter and Juno in 12.791–842 balances that between Jupiter and Venus in 1.213–96; each scene contains a prediction by Jupiter of the future of Rome. The last first-person authorial statement in 12.500–4 echoes (and implicitly answers) the first, in 1.8–11. At a more detailed level, the phrase *soluuntur frigore membra*, which describes A. at his first appearance in 1.92, is applied to T. in his last moment of life, 12.951. The first and last speeches of the poem both begin with an indignant question introduced by the particle *-ne* attached to a personal pronoun (1.37 [Juno] *mene incepto desistere uictam . . . ?*; 12.947–8 [A.] *tune hinc spoliis indute meorum | eripiare mihi?*).[5] Finally, an accumulation of closural language toward the end of the book strongly suggests that Virgil saw the end of book 12 as the end of the poem: e.g. 793 *quid deinde restat?*, 803 *uentum ad supremum est*, 873 *quid . . . iam . . . superat?*

In short, despite the poem's apparently abrupt conclusion, there can be no doubt that the *Aeneid* ends where and how Virgil meant it to end.[6]

Delay and pairing

One conspicuous motif of the book is delay,[7] specifically delay of the single combat between T. and A. that was proposed in the previous book as a means to determine the outcome of the war.[8] The importance of delay as a theme is highlighted in the opening scene, in which T. twice denies that he wishes or is able to put off the crucial encounter: 11 (his first words in the book) *nulla mora in Turno*, and 74 *neque enim Turno mora libera mortis*. T.'s words have a meaning of which he is unaware, in that it is his allies, especially his sister Juturna, who will succeed in putting off the duel until the end of the book.[9] The motif is seen from an opposing perspective in two of A.'s speeches. When he announces his decision to set fire to Latinus' city, he orders his men that there is to be no delay in carrying out his order: 565 *ne qua meis esto dictis mora, Iuppiter hac stat.* And when A. finally confronts T., he taunts him for delaying their duel in words that mockingly echo T.'s *nulla mora in Turno*: 889 *quae nunc deinde mora est? aut quid iam,*

[5] On the possible implications of that parallelism see below, p. 5.

[6] S. West (2007) 13 thinks it possible that V. intended to add a brief epilogue, but a narrative epilogue that stands outside the framework of a book would be formally unique in ancient epic, while a first-person *envoi* such as *G.* 4.559–66 (see also Ovid, *Met.* 15.871–9 and Stat. *Theb.* 12.810–19) could hardly avoid seeming anticlimactic and would in any event not bring formal closure to the narrative.

[7] Forms of *mora* appear ten times in the book, about a quarter of the word's occurrences in the poem (11, 74, 431, 506, 541, 553, 565, 676, 699, 889).

[8] Book 9 is similarly constructed around T.'s attempt to storm the Trojan camp, which is held off until nearly the end of the book; cf. Hardie (1994) 3.

[9] T.'s eventual awareness of Juturna's action is expressed in his command that she delay no longer, *absiste morari* (676).

Turne, retractas? For most of the book A. is the implacable opponent of delay: in addition to the passages just cited, cf. 431 *odit . . . moras*, 699 *praecipitat . . . moras omnis*. It is, however, A. who is responsible for the last and most significant delay in the book. When T. pleads with A. to spare him or to return his body to his people, A. hesitates and is on the point of being persuaded.[10] For a long moment it appears that the inevitable conclusion will be not just deferred but cancelled. The final obstacle to A.'s destiny that must be removed is the promptings of his own better nature.

The role played by delay in this book is a microcosm of its place in the poem as a whole. Since Juno is aware that she cannot prevent the Trojans from finding a new home in Italy, her strategy throughout is to forestall that fated outcome: *sed trahere* ('draw out') *atque moras tantis licet addere rebus* (7.315). Her most nearly successful tactic is the affair with Dido, which is itself characterized several times in terms of delay: see 4.51 (Anna to Dido) *causas . . . innecte morandi*, 407 (in the simile comparing the Trojans preparing to leave to a column of ants) *castigant . . . moras*, 569 (Mercury to A.) *heia age, rumpe moras* (with *morantem* in the previous line).

A second prominent feature of the book is the frequent pairing of narrative elements. Examples include the successive arming scenes of T. (81–106) and A. (107–12), the paired oaths of A. (175–94) and Latinus (197–211), the dual interventions of Venus and Juturna (411–19, 468–80; 784–5, 786–7) and the unique double *aristeia* of A. and T. (500–53). Pairing also operates at the level of similes, as in the case of 684–9 (T. compared to a rolling rock) and 701–3 (A. compared to three mountains). In structural terms, such pairing has its counterpart in the bipartite arrangement of several episodes: so, for example, the *aristeia* of T. (324–45 and 346–82) and the following description of A.'s healing (383–410 and 411–40).[11] This pervasive dualism at the level of narrative corresponds to the paired characterizations of A. and T., even in parts of the book where they are physically apart – which is to say, in most of the book. (See below, pp. 13–16.)

These two elements of the book's narrative are connected, since delay always has a binary relation to that which is being put off, and delay is in turn followed by a new forward motion: if A is used to represent motion toward the goal and B stands for an obstacle that slows or stops that motion, the movement of book 12 could be represented as A B A B A B etc., ending with A (i.e. T.'s death).[12]

[10] The shift from T. to A. as the source of hesitation is marked by balanced uses of *cunctari*, of T. in 916 and 919 and of A. in 940.

[11] Other sections with a bipartite structure: 441–99, 554–611, 614–96, 728–90, 843–86. For details see the introductory notes to those passages.

[12] A structural analysis on that basis might look like this: A 1–133; B 134–60; A 161–215; B 216–310; A 311–17; B 318–410; A 411–67; B 468–613; A 614–733; B 733–87; A 788–90; B 791–886; A 887–929; B 930–41; A 941–52. The boundaries of some sections could be defined differently, but the basic pattern is clear.

Themes concluded

Book 12 also performs a closural function by bringing to completion a number of themes that have run through either the poem as a whole or its latter six books. Several of these processes of culmination are made possible by delaying the finale: what takes place in the interim not only generates suspense about the finale but also deepens our understanding of the end when it does come.

(a) Juno's anger

Juno's anger against the Trojans is the driving force of the *Aeneid*'s plot, as the anger of Achilles is for the *Iliad*. Prominent in the poem's opening lines (1.4 *saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram*),[13] it reappears near the opening of the poem's second half (cf. 7.291 *stetit acri fixa dolore*) and in the divine council scene of book 10 (63 *acta furore graui*, with *dolorem* in 64). In this book that anger as it affects A. and his people is finally assuaged by Jupiter's promises and concessions (cf. 841). But even as Jupiter effects this reconciliation, he remarks on Juno's propensity to anger as a defining characteristic, 830–1 *es germana Iouis Saturnique altera proles, | irarum tantos uoluis sub pectore fluctus*.[14] The implication is that Juno's anger has been allayed, not permanently stilled. Furthermore, when anger breaks out once again in the final lines, it takes a Junoesque shape; in a form of ring composition, the poem ends as it began, with 'remembering anger' (1.4 *memorem . . . ob iram*), but the mindful wrath is now that of A. (945 *saeui monimenta doloris*).[15]

(b) The Trojan War replayed and reversed

Even before A. sets foot in Italy, he is told by the Sibyl that he will experience there a re-enactment of the Trojan War and will face a second Achilles: *non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra | defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles, | natus et ipse dea* (6.88–90). At many points in books 7–12 Virgil evokes incidents of the Trojan War.[16] The final book brings this pattern of recollection, and with it the reversal of Trojan fortune, to its conclusion.

At the large-scale level, the aborted duel between A. and T. near the opening of the book is modelled on the disrupted duel between Paris and Menelaus in *Iliad* 3; the disruption in Homer is caused by the Trojans, here by the Latins (another instance of inverted recollection). The actual confrontation to which the book builds recalls the duel of Hector and Achilles in *Iliad* 22, with the Trojan now in the role of victor.

More specifically, the book contains many passages where language or plot developments that originally involved A. or the Trojans are now applied to the Latins or to T. A few examples:

[13] Other early references to Juno's anger occur in 1.25, 130, 251.
[14] The phrase has been variously interpreted; see commentary.
[15] On other resemblances between A. and Juno see below, p. 20.
[16] Anderson (1957) remains the standard discussion. See also Quint (1993) 65–83.

When Juno incites Juturna to break the truce, she describes T. as facing unequal fates: *nunc iuuenem imparibus uideo concurrere fatis* (149). The line recalls two descriptions of Trojans unequally matched against Achilles, Troilus in 1.475 *infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli*, and A. himself in 5.808–9 *Pelidae* . . . *forti* | *congressum Aeneas nec dis nec uiribus aequis*.

The scene in which the Latins break the truce is particularly rich in such reversed recollections, which involve the corresponding episode of the *Iliad* and Virgil's own account of the decision by the Trojans to receive the Horse (2.195–249).

241–3 *qui sibi iam requiem pugnae rebusque salutem* | *sperabant, nunc arma uolunt foedusque precantur* | *infectum*. Virgil underscores the Latins' change of attitude with a clear echo of A.'s rueful reflection on the Trojans tricked by Sinon: *captique dolis lacrimisque coactis* | *quos neque Tydides nec Larisaeus Achilles,* | *non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae* (2.196–8).

266 (Tolumnius casts a spear to break the treaty) *aduersus telum contorsit in hostis*. This phrase contains two cross-references, to the Trojan Pandarus breaking the treaty in the *Iliad*, recalled in 5.496–7 *Pandare, qui quondam iussus confundere foedus* | *in medios telum torsisti primus Achiuos*, and to Laocoon hurling his spear at the belly of the Horse, 2.50–2 *hastam* | *in latus inque feri curuam compagibus aluum* | *contorsit*.

A.'s plan to attack Latinus' city (554–92) is a sort of delayed vengeance on A.'s part for the destruction of Troy. The attack is suggested to A. by Venus (554), recalling her appearance to A. amid the destruction of Troy (2.589), and the assault is to be with fire (12.573). Specific echoes include 12.569 *eruam et aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam* ~2.603 *sternitque a culmine Troiam*, 611–12 *totamque a sedibus urbem* | *eruit*. Other parallels cast A. and his men in the sinister role of Pyrrhus storming Priam's palace: e.g. 577 *primosque trucidant* ~ 2.494, 579 *ipse inter primos* ~ 2.479.

The destruction of a *turris* that had been built by T. (672–5) recalls the Trojans' attack on a *turris* at Troy (2.460–7). As a hollow wooden structure provided with wheels, the destroyed tower also recalls the Trojan Horse.[17]

T.'s recognition that Jupiter is his enemy (895 *di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis*) is the counterpart to A.'s awareness in 2.325–7 that Jupiter has turned against Troy: *fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens* | *gloria Teucrorum; ferus omnia Iuppiter Argos* | *transtulit*.

In the final scenes of the book, inverted echoes of Troy cluster thickly around T. himself in his encounter with A., as the new Hector meets the new Achilles.[18]

(c) The war in Italy as a quasi-civil war

At the outbreak of the war in Latium, Virgil makes an unmistakable allusion to the civil war between Caesar and Pompey by having Juno call A. and Latinus

[17] See n. on 672–5.
[18] See nn. on 891–2, 894–5, 896–8, 899–900, 902, 908–12, 920, 926, 931–8, 946–7, 947, 952.

son-in-law (*gener*) and father-in-law (*socer*): *hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum* (7.317). The connection is secured by the fact that Virgil had already used *socer* and *gener* to describe Caesar and Pompey in 6.830–1.[19] Book 12 renews those associations, while also looking beyond the end of hostilities.

The clearest example in the book of civil-war language is A.'s use of *discordia* in 313 to describe the fighting that breaks out as the truce is violated. The term recalls such earlier Virgilian uses as *Ecl.* 1.71–2 *en quo discordia ciuis | produxit miseros!* and *G.* 2.496 *infidos agitans discordia fratres*, as A.'s question *quo ruitis?* recalls the opening of Horace's *Epode* 7 *quo, quo scelesti ruitis?*[20]

Latinus' characterization of the war as *bellum infandum* in 7.583 is repeated in the mouth of Jupiter in 12.804; in the earlier passage the religious connotations of *infandum* are spelled out (*contra omina, contra fata deum, peruerso numine*), but there may also be a hint of 'a war that should not be fought', given who the people fighting it are. That aspect is explicitly highlighted in Virgil's anguished question to Jupiter at 12.503–4. Jupiter's description of the union between Trojans and Latins clarifies the issue retrospectively: the people who have been at war are not only destined to live in peace, but to intermarry and to form a single nation (834–40). From that future perspective, the present conflict is a civil war in the strict sense.

Virgil's narrative subtly anticipates that merging of peoples by blurring the distinction between foreign Trojans and native Italians. For example, A. is 'Italianized' through similes that link him with Italian places, to *pater Appenninus* (702–3) or to a bull fighting in the Calabrian mountains (715–24), while T.'s Italian identity is complicated by similes that compare him to the Ganges or the Nile (9.30–2) and to a Punic lion (12.4–9).[21] At a more allusive level, the proper names of the combatants can convey a similar message: cf. e.g. 459 *Arcetium Mnestheus* (sc. *ferit ense*), where the ancestors of two Roman *gentes* meet as enemies.

A consequence of portraying the war in those terms is that moral clarity about the opposing sides and the outcome becomes difficult to maintain; the losing Italians cannot be demonized, since they are destined to unite with their conquerors, and victory is less than straightforwardly glorious if it requires killing one's future kinsmen. As Tacitus characterized the civil wars that brought Augustus to power, these are 'wars that cannot be entered into or carried out by honourable means'.[22]

In describing the resolution of the conflict and in hinting at what will follow, Virgil again alludes to recent events and does so in a characteristically ambivalent

[19] Camps (1969) 96–7.

[20] See commentary for additional references. [21] See Reed (2007) 5–6, 58–60.

[22] *Ann.* 1.9.3 (of Octavian) *ad arma ciuilia actum, quae neque parari possent neque haberi per bonas artes*. The remark forms part of the favourable *post mortem* assessment of Augustus, and is meant as exculpatory. Similar tactics have been employed to mitigate A.'s descents into fury.

fashion.[23] A.'s oath before the aborted duel, in its promise of *clementia* and respect for tradition, is strongly reminiscent of the image cultivated by Augustus following his final victory;[24] but A.'s last words before killing T. (948–9 '*Pallas* ... *poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit*') unmistakably echo the words of Ennius' Romulus as he prepares to kill his brother Remus (*Ann.* 95 Sk. *nam mi calido dabis sanguine poenas*), an act that by Virgil's time had become a paradigm for civil war.[25] We are shown how the warring peoples will achieve their destined union in time to come, but the poem's last scene evokes the memory of Rome's 'primal sin' of fratricide.

The afterplot

At the end of the *Aeneid* A. stands over the body of T., whose shade goes complaining into the darkness below. There is no triumph, no celebration, no vision of a better future. At the same time, the poem abounds with indications of what will follow that stark finale. The most prominent references to future events are Anchises' speech to A. in the Underworld (6.756–859) and the shield forged by Vulcan for A. (8.626–728), which between them constitute a history of the Roman people down to Virgil's own time. The first such reference, Jupiter's prophecy to Venus (1.257–96), is the one that reaches furthest forward, extending beyond the present of Virgil and his contemporaries to predict *imperium sine fine* (279) for the Romans. In contrast to those far-reaching views of the future, book 12 contains several allusions to events that will follow immediately on the poem's final scene.

Early in the book, Virgil describes the preparations for the duel between A. and T. in great detail: 113–33 set the stage and show the spectators assembling, and 161–215 reproduce the oaths sworn by A. and Latinus. The elaborate build-up might seem superfluous, since the truce is soon violated and the opposing sides return to combat, but the episode serves a vital function in laying out conditions for the future union of Trojans and Latins. Particularly important is the part of A.'s oath that sets out his intentions if he prevails: equal status for Trojans and Latins, no assumption of power (*regnum*) by A., but instead deference to the authority of Latinus, and a new foundation to which Lavinia will give her name (189–94). A.'s references to Latinus as father-in-law (*socer*) and to Lavinia as giving her name to the new city tactfully introduce another result of his victory, his marriage to Lavinia; that development is three times explicitly mentioned by T., early in the book as a consequence should A. be victorious (17 *cedat Lauinia coniunx*, 80 *illo quaeratur coniunx Lauinia campo*) and in his final speech as a *fait accompli* (937 *tua est Lauinia coniunx*).

[23] On ambivalence as a fundamental aspect of the *Aeneid*'s meaning see below, pp. 17–30.

[24] Cf. nn. on 189–94, 190, 192–3.

[25] Cf. Hor. *Epod.* 7.17–20 *acerba fata Romanos agunt* | *scelusque fraternae necis,* | *ut immerentis fluxit in terram Remi* | *sacer nepotibus cruor*, with Mankin ad loc.

Although the fulfilment of A.'s promises is delayed by the breakdown of the truce, it would be reasonable to expect that they will go into effect once the outcome of the duel is decided. That expectation is confirmed, with significant modifications, by the later scene (791–842) in which Jupiter and Juno negotiate the terms on which she agrees to suspend her opposition to A.'s victory. Jupiter's promises supersede A.'s proposed arrangements in two important respects – the Trojans will be culturally subordinate to the Latins, and Jupiter, rather than A., will be responsible for setting religious practice[26] – but the essential framework of the earlier agreement is maintained and now acquires divine sanction. In particular, Juno's reference to 'laws and treaties' (*leges et foedera* 822) recalls A.'s use of the same terms (190–1).

Another moment that looks ahead to events in the near future is A.'s speech to Iulus before returning to the battlefield (435–40). The reference to a time not far off (*mox*) when Iulus will be of mature years, combined with the fact that we do not see father and son together again in the poem, gives A.'s words the character of a valedictory. Virgil thereby alludes to the tradition that A.'s reign in Latium was destined to be short, and that he would be succeeded by his son (as foretold by Jupiter in 1.265–6).[27] A.'s transformation into the divine figure Indiges is also foreshadowed, in Jupiter's speech to Juno (12.794–5).

The many continuations inspired by the poem's unresolved ending all develop hints in Virgil's narrative that allow no significant event subsequent to T.'s death to remain in doubt.

2 TURNUS AND AENEAS

In a formal sense T. is the protagonist of the book. His name is its first word, his recognition of his destiny is the high point of its central section, and his death brings it to a close. In its concentration on a central figure, book 12 most closely resembles book 4, dominated by the figure of Dido.[28]

No other character in the *Aeneid* has been as variously evaluated as T.[29] According to Page, 'the figure of Turnus is one which kindles the imagination and touches the heart... Although Aeneas is Virgil's hero, still his natural feeling

[26] Compare A.'s *sacra deosque dabo* 192 with Jupiter's *morem ritusque sacrorum | adiciam* 836–7; further discussion in the n. on 836–7.

[27] Also as anticipated in Dido's curse (4.618–20): *nec, cum se sub pacis leges iniquae | tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur, | sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena. Pax iniqua* is Dido's characterization of the agreement reached by Jupiter and Juno, 'unequal' in that it assigns the Trojans a subordinate status (cf. 835–6 *commixti corpore tantum | subsident Teucri*).

[28] The opening words of the two books share a significant detail of word order; see n. on 1.

[29] Good summary of divergent views in Traina (1990) 324–5. For some detailed analyses cf. Schenk (1984), Traina (1998), Thomas (1998).

seems to be with Turnus, and, almost in spite of himself, he makes him the more interesting figure'.[30] For Willcock, on the other hand, T. is nothing but a thug.[31]

One reason for the divergence of opinion is that more is at stake in the assessment of T. than with any other character apart from A. himself. The view one takes of T. as a moral actor will necessarily influence how one regards A.'s action in killing him, and, as we shall see, how one interprets A.'s killing of T. has a good deal to do with how one interprets the poem as a whole. Views of T. are therefore impossible to separate from broader questions of interpretation.

Another reason is that Virgil's portrayal of T. is not unequivocal and allows for a diversity of reactions. In fact, almost everything about T. is ambiguous. He has a dual ancestry, Italic and Argive.[32] He is prophetically introduced by the Sibyl as a new Achilles (6.89 *alius Latio iam partus Achilles*),[33] a role he eagerly embraces (cf. 9.742 *hic etiam inuentum Priamo narrabis Achillem*), but one that he ultimately exchanges for that of Hector.[34] The armour he wears projects a conflicting symbolism, with the chimaera on his helmet representing chaotic violence while the image of Io on his shield recalls a victim of Jupiter's lust and Juno's anger.[35] His eagerness for battle would seem to cast him as a hypermasculine figure, but in fits of helplessness his words evoke the desperate heroines of myth.[36]

Corresponding to those ambiguities is a pattern of behaviour that oscillates between extremes, in particular between bravado and loss of nerve. At times the change takes place with dizzying speed, as when T.'s eager pursuit of the phantom Aeneas (10.647–58) turns within the space of a few lines into an outburst of suicidal despair (10.666–84).

Shifts of this kind are especially frequent in the last book. For example, T.'s ferocity in his arming scene (81–106) contrasts sharply with his subdued appearance the following morning (219–21). His determination to meet A. even at the cost of death (676–96) vanishes when his (in reality Metiscus') sword shatters against A.'s armour (733–45), and he turns and runs for his life. In his final speech to A. (931–8) T. professes a willingness to die and in the next moment asks that

[30] Page (1900) xxii. Page may have been thinking of Milton as described by Blake, as being 'of the devil's party without knowing it'. Camps (1969) 39 offered a similarly positive assessment: 'Turnus is no more conceived as an antipathetic character than is Achilles in the *Iliad*.'

[31] Willcock (1983) 94, cited with approval by Galinsky (1988) 323. See n. on 512.

[32] Traina (1990) 325.

[33] Why *alius* and not *alter*? Traina (1998) 100 suggests that T. is 'a different Achilles', i.e. an Achilles who loses; Thomas (1998) 281 sees *alius* as opening the way for a third Achilles, A., who will come into being in Latium at the end of the poem. Neither explanation seems fully persuasive.

[34] T.'s claim to be a second Achilles is undercut already in book 9; cf. Hardie (1994) 7.

[35] Io's story is nearly replicated by the experience of T.'s sister Juturna, raped by Jupiter and made an instrument of Juno's anger.

[36] Most clearly in 10.668–79, on which Harrison notes resemblances to the monologues of abandoned heroines such as Medea and Ariadne. On blurring of gender categories in T.'s depiction see also Reed (2007) 60–72.

his life be spared. T. more than once speaks of himself as wishing to die for the sake of his people, in a Roman-style *deuotio* (11.440–2, n. on 12.234 *deuouet*, n. on 694–5 *unum | pro uobis*). But while T.'s death does in the end save his people (see n. on 921 *murali*), he does not voluntarily offer his life for that purpose, as is essential for a true *deuotio*.[37]

T.'s inability to maintain a consistent course of action is also manifested by his lack of forethought at critical moments. In book 9, T. lets slip the chance to open the Trojan camp to his forces, which V. says would have spelled doom for the Trojans: 759 *ultimus ille dies bello gentique fuisset*. Instead he is driven by *furor* and *cupido* into attacking the enemy: 760–1 *furor ardentem caedisque insana cupido | egit in aduersos*. In allowing himself to be distracted by *cupido* T. resembles Euryalus (9.354) and Camilla (11.780–2), although unlike them he does not immediately pay for his recklessness with his life.[38] Virgil even more emphatically highlights T.'s lack of forethought in taking and wearing Pallas' swordbelt (10.503–4 *Turno tempus erit magno cum optauerit emptum | intactum Pallanta*).

Some of T.'s shifting depiction is due to the exigencies of Virgil's narrative; so, for example, early in this book his transformation from a confident adversary to a submissive youth fuels the resentment of the Rutuli at what they see as an unequal contest (216–17 *Rutulis impar ea pugna uideri | iamdudum*) and so contributes to Juturna's success in disrupting the truce. But at a deeper level of explanation his inconsistent behaviour implies a lack of *constantia*, and his failure to anticipate the consequences of his actions suggests a related lack of *prudentia*. In Aristotelian terms, T. resembles the rash man (ὁ θρασύς), who is impetuously eager for danger when it is still in the future but who recoils when danger arrives (*Eth. Nic.* 3.7 1116a7–8). At his worst, in his recklessness and lack of steadiness, T. can be seen as typifying violence uncontrolled by judgment, Horace's *uis consili expers* (*Carm.* 3.4.65).[39]

Despite the clarity with which Virgil depicts T.'s flaws, he still evokes sympathy for him at several points. Indeed, T.'s most sympathetic moments come in this book. One is his 'recognition scene' (614–96), which gives him his strongest claim – albeit a temporary one – to tragic status.[40] The other is his relationship to Juturna, which in its warmth and mutual concern has only one equal in the poem, the bond between the siblings Dido and Anna. Even here, though,

[37] I cannot agree with Thomas (1998) 285 that T.'s claim in 11.440–2 to have made that dedication qualifies as a *deuotio* 'regardless of whether it will be played out to its end'; I would argue that T.'s inability to play out his heroic intentions to their end is essential to his characterization. On T. and *deuotio*, see also Leigh (1993).

[38] T. displays similar recklessness in chasing the phantom A., not realizing that his pursuit is in vain (10.652 *nec ferre uidet sua gaudia uentos*).

[39] Some interpreters view T.'s inconsistency in a kinder light. Here, for example, is W. on 12.216f. : 'at the supreme moment his self-confidence is drained from him . . . and our sympathy for him is increased'. My position is closer to that of, e.g., Heinze, as quoted in n. on 81–112.

[40] 'Tragic' here applies in a strict generic (i.e. Sophoclean) sense; see n. on 676–80.

Virgil unites sympathetic and critical perspectives. Juturna's impulse to protect T. demonstrates her loving nature (and thereby makes T. appear lovable), but it also implies that she recognizes the fear that underlies his protestations of bravery. For T.'s part, his closeness to Juturna makes it seem likely that at some level he knows that she has been shielding him from danger, and that he has allowed her to do so.[41]

Virgil most conspicuously elicits sympathy for T. in his last moment of heroic striving, when he attempts to heave an enormous rock at A. but finds his strength slipping away from him. In the following simile, comparing T. to one in a dream (908–12), Virgil draws the reader into T.'s situation with extraordinary first-person verb forms (910 *uidemur*, 911 *succidimus*). As Virgil makes us experience the event, T. could be any one of us.[42] But T. also can claim a more particular sympathy as the victim of the Dira. Indeed, T.'s contradictory pattern of behaviour is replicated (and at one level can be accounted for) in terms of superhuman intervention: he is incited by Allecto and intimidated by the Dira. Both interventions can also be understood symbolically (the first as reflecting T.'s bloodlust and the second his fear of death), but their symmetrical placement in the narrative reinforces the impression that T. is subject to forces beyond his control.[43]

T. is obviously on the wrong side of history, but that does not make him a bad person, as the example of Dido shows. Nevertheless, some critics have looked for a character defect in him that would explain why he needs to be swept aside so that a new order can be created.

One argument of that kind is that T. is driven by purely personal motives, with no element of public interest;[44] he would then fit Cicero's description of a brave but unprincipled warrior in *De officiis* 1.62: *sed ea animi elatio quae cernitur in periculis et laboribus, si iustitia uacat, pugnatque non pro salute communi sed pro suis commodis, in uitio est.*[45] T. does speak several times as if his claim to marry Lavinia were the main reason for carrying on the fight, most explicitly in his self-casting as a new Menelaus, 9.136–8 *sunt et mea contra | fata mihi, ferro sceleratam exscindere gentem | coniuge praerepta*. But he is also aware of the larger issue of who will rule the Latins: see, for example, *habeat uictos* in 12.17, which shows that T. sees a victory for A. in the same despotic terms as does Amata (12.63 *nec generum Aenean captiua uidebo*). Furthermore, in his 'recognition speech' T. admits that by allowing Juturna to

[41] Note, for example, his admission that he had known all along that she was responsible for breaking the treaty (632 *dudum agnoui*).

[42] Similarly, his fatal decision to despoil Pallas is said to exemplify a universal human blindness (10.501–2) *nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae | et seruare modum rebus sublata secundis!*

[43] La Cerda has an interesting discussion of the sympathetic portrayal of T. in terms of Aristotelian tragedy: T. must be presented as noble and worthy of living so that his death will arouse the proper sort of emotional response in the reader. Cf. Laird (2003) 31.

[44] See, e.g., WF 42.

[45] Dyck ad loc. speculates that Cicero's source Panaetius had Achilles in mind, and that Cicero was thinking of Julius Caesar.

protect him he has failed in his responsibility as *imperator* to those fighting with him (638–42).[46] To call T. a freedom fighter would be even more misleading than to regard him merely as a disappointed suitor, but Virgil does show him conscious at times of a cause larger than himself.[47]

T. would certainly have found it difficult to occupy a subordinate position in A.'s new order, and he would probably have resented the equal status for the Trojans that A. envisages, but those are not moral failings.[48] T.'s acute sense of his position and of how others see him, his charismatic leadership skills and his propensity to violence would have made him fully at home in the turbulent final decades of the Roman Republic.[49] One 'new society' in which he could not have long survived was the Rome of Augustus.

T. in this book is often defined in relation to A. One technique employed by Virgil for that purpose is juxtaposition. Although T. and A. do not meet until the end of the book, they encounter each other indirectly several times before that, and each of these juxtapositions shapes our view of them in relation to each other. T. and A. have not met prior to this book, which focuses even more attention on their several juxtapositions here. The initial comparisons establish a strong bias in favour of A., which becomes increasingly blurred in the course of the book:

81–112, the arming scenes on the night before the single combat:[50] the colouring of T.'s scene can be illustrated by its closing lines: *his agitur furiis, totoque ardentis ab ore | scintillae absistunt, oculis micat acribus ignis* (101–2). The tone is one of restless activity and fierce emotion, reflected in an accumulation of fiery imagery. A., by contrast, exhibits an almost eerie self-possession and seeks to comfort his companions rather than to stir them up (107–12).[51] While T. 'is driven' (*agitur*), A. actively 'rouses himself' (*se suscitat*). The implication is that T. is a character swept along by passion, whereas A. represents a model of self-control.

175–221, the treaty-making scene: here A. is at his most magnanimous and most commanding, fully the equal of Latinus if not his superior, while T. becomes

[46] T.'s dismay at having abandoned the men he is supposed to lead is even clearer in his earlier soliloquy at 10.672–5. One might compare the despair of Antony after Actium, as reported by Plutarch (*Ant.* 67).

[47] At 7.469 T. calls for the defence of Italy against foreign invaders: *tutari Italiam, detrudere finibus hostem.* On T.'s mixture of love, patriotism and ambition see Horsfall (1995) 210.

[48] S. G. P. Small (1959) 298 asserts that T. and Camilla are disqualified from participation in A.'s new society by their 'innate bloodthirstiness'. But their delight in battle could be less pejoratively described as the *Itala uirtus* that, according to Juno, will make Rome great (12.827).

[49] Camps (1969) 40 notes that many of the terms associated with T. had been used by Cicero in his attacks on Antony.

[50] This juxtaposition recapitulates in an accelerated form the contrasting descriptions of T.'s and A.'s armour that conclude books 7 and 8 respectively; cf. Hardie (1986) 118–19.

[51] That contrast parallels Aristotle's distinction between the rash man and the courageous man in *Eth. Nic.* 3.7 1116a.7–9: the courageous man (ὁ ἀνδρεῖος) is passionate (ὀξύς) in the midst of danger but calm (ἡσύχιος) beforehand.

a secondary figure whose obvious inferiority to A. rouses the indignation of his followers.

310–45, following the violation of the treaty: A. tries in vain to calm the tumult (311–17), while T. exploits it and A.'s enforced withdrawal to engage in savage slaughter. T. is implicitly portrayed in negative terms through the simile comparing him to Mars, 331–6, and more overtly by the narrator's editorializing comment on T.'s cruelty, 338–9 *miserabile caesis* | *hostibus insultans*.

At about the midpoint of the book, after A. has returned to the battlefield, the narrator explicitly places A. and T. on the same footing in wreaking havoc among their enemies: 502 *inque uicem nunc Turnus agit, nunc Troius heros*. A similar coupling effect is produced by the double simile in 521–5, comparing them to twin forest fires or rivers in spate. In that same section, however, A. and T. are contrasted as fighters: A. kills efficiently and impersonally (505–8, 513–15), while T. displays the severed heads of his foes on his chariot (511–12) and the narrator evokes sympathy for one of his victims with a brief biography (516–20).[52]

554–671: Venus prompts A. to lay siege to the city of Latinus, a vindictive attack on non-combatants. That turn of events leads directly to T.'s 'recognition speech' (632–49), his best moment in the book. A.'s assault, launched on the dubious pretext that the city is the source of the war, is countered by T.'s growing awareness that the city's survival depends on him.[53]

766–90: A.'s spear sticks fast in a wild olive tree sacred to Faunus, an object of veneration to the Latins that had been uprooted by the Trojans to create a level fighting ground (766–76). T.'s successful prayer to Faunus and Terra contrasts his devotion to those native deities with the Trojans' profanation (777–9).

889–95: A. and T. stand face to face and exchange their first words in the poem. A.'s bitter (and in part unfair) sarcasm contrasts with T.'s collected reply, which accurately identifies the enmity of Jupiter as the reason for his fear. The two now seem to have switched roles, since mockery of the sort A. indulges in here has previously been characteristic of T.[54]

By means of the several juxtapositions of A. and T. preceding their decisive encounter, Virgil establishes a shifting moral balance between them; the comparisons closest to the final scene counteract the presumption that A. necessarily occupies a higher moral ground than his opponent.

T. and A. share several features that make them potential doubles: each is the son of a goddess and a mortal father; the father in each case survives into old

[52] Those differences in fighting style make me reluctant to accept Thomas's characterization of the episode: 'through narrative and simile . . . Vergil has blended Aeneas and Turnus so that they have become doublets of each other' (Thomas (1998) 277).

[53] In 620–1 T. senses that something bad is happening to the city; 643–4 destruction of the city is linked to other causes of disgrace for him, with *id rebus defuit unum* giving it prominence among them; 654–6 Saces' report of A.'s attack; 670–5 T. looks back toward the city and sees 'his' tower going up in flames.

[54] Cf. e.g. his ironic reply to Pandarus (9.741–2), his taunting of Pallas before killing him (10.481) and his words to the phantom A. (10.649–50).

age and has no other source of support; each possesses arms crafted by Vulcan (a complete set for A. (8.620–5), for T. a sword made for Daunus (12.90–1)); each is surpassingly attractive. In fact, though, Virgil has developed A. and T. as antitypes of each other, which makes their exchanges of characteristics and language all the more pointed. In particular, the terms often used to characterize T., such as *audax*, *turbidus* and *uiolentus*, highlight his recklessness and lack of restraint. He is thus the polar opposite of the usually controlled A. As a corollary, in each case departures from their habitual behaviour – A.'s spasms of rage and T.'s moments of lucid self-awareness – register with added force.

Book 12 contains many places where language associated earlier with A. is now applied to T. Early in the book a line describing T. as he enters for the duel with A. (165 *bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro*) replicates 1.313, of A. newly arrived in Carthage.[55] In the middle section T.'s gradual awareness of the attack on Latinus' city contains several parallels to A.'s becoming aware of the sack of Troy (cf. n. on 617–21); T.'s question *usque adeo mori miserum est?* (646) recalls A.'s thought of a noble death at Troy (2.317 *pulchrum . . . mori succurrit in armis*).[56] These exchanges become most conspicuous in the decisive encounter, which begins when T. attempts to hurl a huge rock, as the Homeric Aeneas had done (896–902, cf. *Il.* 20.285–7), and which ends when T.'s limbs are loosed by the chill of death (951 *soluuntur frigore membra*), as A.'s limbs had been loosed by the chill of fear at his first appearance in the poem (1.92). Finally, the description of A.'s deadly anger as he kills T. (946 *furiis accensus*) combines elements of T.'s characterization at the start of the book (9 *accenso*, 101 *his agitur furiis*).[57] In these exchanges some critics see either a blurring of distinctions between T. and A. or, in a stronger form of this view, a kind of twinning effect.[58] But the Aeneas-related language that is applied to T. characterizes A. at an earlier stage of the plot, and what is being predicated of T. no longer applies to A. That is to say, T. and A. are not simultaneous doubles, but successive ones. At the end of the poem 'Turnus becomes what Aeneas had been when we first saw him, isolated and facing death.'[59]

[55] Similarly 868 *arrectaeque horrore comae et uox faucibus haesit* (T. terrified by the Dira) = 4.280 (A. reacting to Mercury's command to leave Carthage). See commentary.

[56] When the passages are juxtaposed, T.'s implicit acceptance appears as a more mature response than A.'s glorification of death, a manifestation of what Quinn (1968) 1–22 calls the 'heroic impulse' whose futility may be apparent to A. himself as he describes his younger self.

[57] For other examples see nn. on 622 *amens*, 665 *confusus*, 702–3 *gaudet . . . se attollens*.

[58] Rossi (2004) 163–5 gives a sophisticated version of this reading, which links the alleged similarities between A. and T. to the depiction of the war between Trojans and Latins in terms of civil conflict. See also Gross 2003–4 for a less nuanced variation.

[59] Thomas (1998) 275. For the reversal of the positions of victor and defeated expressed as an exchange of identity, note the lapidary phrase Livy puts in the mouth of Hannibal addressing Scipio after Zama: (30.30.12) *quod ego fui ad Trasumennum, ad Cannas, id tu hodie es.*

That exchange of characteristics can be related to one of the poem's recurring themes. It would seem that in Virgil's world madness and disorder can only be treated homoeopathically; that is, they are not overcome by their opposites, but by like forces. In his fight with Cacus, a frenzied creature (8.204 *Caci mens effera*) spewing black fire (198–9 *atros | ore uomens ignis*), Hercules displays a similar fiery ferocity (219–20 *furiis exarserat atro | felle dolor*, also 228 *furens animis*, 230 *feruidus ira*).[60] At the cosmic level, the effects of one hellish intrusion (Allecto) are put to an end by another, the Dira.[61] In the same way, to defeat T., A. must take on his attributes and become a creature inflamed by *furiae*.

3 THE FINAL SCENE

The end of the *Aeneid* has long been a site of controversy.[62] At one level the issue is how A.'s decision to kill T. is to be assessed: is it the necessary and just retribution for T.'s killing of Pallas, or a violation of Anchises' precept to 'spare the defeated' (6.853 *parcere subiectis*)?[63] But because evaluations of A. are hard to separate from views of Augustus, the final scene has also been a focus for a larger debate about the Augustan import of the *Aeneid*. At that broader level the difference of opinion is between those critics who see Virgil as expressing hope (in however troubled a form) for Rome's future under Augustus and those who find him questioning or doubting that future. The latter group can be further subdivided into those for whom Virgil was genuinely split in his responses – a view sometimes referred to as the 'two voices' interpretation, after an article by Adam Parry[64] – and those who see Virgil as deliberately complicating or undermining the ostensibly Augustan aspects of the poem.[65] In recent decades the differing viewpoints on the poem's Augustan dimension have often been characterized with the terms 'optimist' and 'pessimist';[66] those labels have been deprecated, and they are at

[60] Darkness is Cacus' milieu (cf. 258 *nebula... ingens specus aestuat atra*, 262 *domus atra*), which gives added force to the description of Hercules' anger as 'hot with black gall' (Mandelbaum's rendering of *exarserat atro | felle dolor*). It seems not inconceivable that, in spite of prosody, V. intends Hercules' rage (219 *fŭriis*, 228 *fŭrens*) to be seen as a response to Cacus' thievery (205 *fūris Caci*).

[61] In this context one can better understand why V. has made the Dira as Allecto-like as possible without actually identifying the two; see n. on 845–52.

[62] Horsfall (1995) offers an even-handed and well documented summary.

[63] Strong versions of both views continue to be espoused: contrast, e.g., 'there is no tragedy in Turnus' death and no cruelty in Aeneas inflicting it on him' (Klodt (2003) 38) with 'in a very real sense by killing Turnus, Aeneas spiritually annihilates himself' (Gross (2003–4) 154).

[64] Parry (1963).

[65] Among the principal proponents of this view are Putnam (1965, 1995), Lyne (1987), Thomas (1988, 1998, 2001) and O'Hara (1990).

[66] The designations were introduced by Johnson (1976), referring to 'the essentially optimistic European school' (9) and the 'somewhat pessimistic Harvard school' (11). The association of pessimism with Harvard, although dubious on historical grounds (cf. Clausen quoted in Horsfall (1995) 313–14), remains popular: G. Wills (2009), reviewing Ruden (2008),

best a crude shorthand to describe positions that may be quite subtle, but the basic opposition they denote is a real one in contemporary Virgilian scholarship.

The following discussion begins with an attempt to evaluate A.'s actions in the final scene, then goes on to consider the Augustan ramifications of the poem's ending. It concludes by relating the finale to the universal import of the *Aeneid*, an issue that has not generated controversy mainly because most critics have chosen not to address it. At each stage I shall be advocating an 'ambivalent' reading of the poem, in which ambivalence is to be understood neither as a gentler name for pessimism nor as a compromise position, but rather as a continuing tension of opposites.[67]

The scene itself

A century ago Gaston Boissier could write that 'ce qui est encore plus remarquable, c'est que le poète a su lui [i.e. A.] conserver son humanité et sa douceur jusque dans la scène sanglante de la fin'.[68] Such an untroubled view of A's action is now rare;[69] most critics agree that T.'s death evokes a complex set of reactions, even if they differ significantly in how they describe them.

T.'s death can be justified on multiple grounds. He had agreed to a decisive single combat with A., and as the loser his life is forfeit. Furthermore, although T. was not personally responsible for breaking the treaty, he had taken it upon himself to expiate its violation: *me uerius unum | pro uobis foedus luere et decernere ferro* (694–5). His death is also required as payment for the death of Pallas, and Evander's words at 11.178–9 make it clear that it is A. himself who must discharge that obligation: *Turnum gnatoque patrique | quem debere uides*. The use of *debere* recalls the claim to meeting Pallas made by T. in 10.442–3 *solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas | debetur*. The later passage doubles the terms of the earlier (*gnatoque patrique* versus *solus ego* and *mihi soli*), thereby making the obligation of vengeance

commended her for having remained immune to the pessimism of the 'Harvard school' despite having received her doctorate there.

[67] I sometimes use 'double-sided' as a synonym for 'ambivalent', to show that I believe V. is maintaining two points of view simultaneously. Ambivalence might appear similar to Parry's 'two voices' interpretation, but in Parry's reading there is never any doubt that the voice of lament and not that of triumph is the authentic voice of V., which collapses the essential distinction between that view and pessimism.

[68] 'What is even more remarkable is that the poet could preserve A.'s humanity and mildness even in the bloody final scene'; Boissier (1907) 368, cited with approval by WF 75–6.

[69] But cf. Stahl (1990) 205: 'repelled by Turnus' unethical, abominable conduct as depicted in Book 10, the attentive reader will join Aeneas in the end in opting for revenge rather than mercy'. (Compare Boissier: 'on comprend qu'à cette vue sa colère se ranime et on lui pardonne de n'écouter qu'un juste ressentiment'; 'we understand that his anger revives at this sight [i.e. of Pallas' belt] and we pardon him for merely giving heed to a justified resentment'.) Thomas (2001) 288–93 offers a rollicking critique of Stahl's and other recent one-dimensional interpretations.

appear even stronger than the initial act of killing. Finally, T.'s death is demanded by Virgil's own narrative, which has been anticipating it throughout the book.[70]

Virgil could therefore have presented A.'s action as unproblematic, but he chose not to do so. Instead, he first gives T. a cannily formulated speech of surrender that appeals to A. in several ways: to his *pietas* toward his father, by evoking the image of T.'s own aged parent, Daunus; to his *clementia*, by acknowledging defeat and withdrawing his claim to Lavinia; and to his moderation, by suggesting that to kill him would carry hatred beyond reasonable grounds (938 *ulterius ne tende odiis*). Even more remarkably, Virgil then shows A. so moved by T.'s plea that he comes close to sparing the one man he is most strongly obliged to kill. A.'s hesitation shows how powerful an appeal the ideal of *clementia* has for him, and also how different a character A. is from Achilles – or from T.

Even after A.'s hesitation, Virgil could have shown him deciding to kill T. in a way that would raise few moral scruples. Many critics believe that A. fails to act in accordance with the precept *parcere subiectis* (6.853); but Anchises is there stating an ideal, and such statements do not come with fine print spelling out exceptions and limitations. Romans did traditionally see themselves as exhibiting *clementia* toward defeated enemies,[71] but that policy was not equated with pardon for all: Cicero, for example, defines the action of a *uir magnus* in the aftermath of victory as *punire sontes* (presumably the leaders), *multitudinem conseruare* (*Off.* 1.82),[72] and even Augustus at his most auto-encomiastic in the *Res gestae* claimed to have spared only those foreign foes who could be pardoned with safety (*quibus tuto ignosci potuit*, *RG* 3). A moment's thought would make it clear that sparing T., in the expectation that he would retire quietly to Ardea, would be the height of folly.[73] Romans who had seen the result of Julius Caesar's *clementia* toward Brutus

[70] For a selection see nn. on 4–9, 38–45, 56–63, 74, 151, 234–5, 646, 649, 676–80, 727, 881, 895. F. Cairns (1989) 211–14 argues that the killing of T. echoes the killing of the suitors in the *Odyssey*, and that 'the effect of Virgil having looked through several episodes from the end of the *Odyssey* to the killing of Hector in the *Iliad* is . . . to strengthen the moral case for the destruction of Turnus; for the odyssean material transforms the killing of an enemy (Hector) into the killing of a man of discord (Turnus)'. I do not find the alleged Odyssean parallels convincing enough to bear the weight that this reading places on them.

[71] Cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 154 *populum Romanum, qui quondam in hostis lenissimus existimabatur*, Livy 33.12.7 (Flamininus speaking) *Romanos, praeter uetustissimum morem uictis parcendi, praecipuum clementiae documentum dedisse pace Hannibali et Carthaginiensibus data*; Hor. *Carm. saec.* 51–2 *iacentem lenis in hostem* (on which see Fraenkel (1957) 376 n. 3). Anchises' words are analogous to a *uaticinium ex euentu*, adjuring A. (addressed proleptically as *Romanus*) to behave as Romans had come to believe they did behave.

[72] In *Off.* 1.35 Cicero advocates sparing those defeated enemies who had not been *crudeles* or *immanes* during the war. It is doubtful that T. would qualify for *clementia* on those grounds.

[73] A point made with characteristic brio by La Cerda: 'Quid ille [i.e. T.], si uiueret? nonne iterum arderent belli incendia? Ergo fas fuit, ius fuit illum interfici. Quid tu uolebas, qui Virgilio detrahis? an ut Turnus febricitans in lecto moreretur? Quis comprimeret illam belli scintillam praesertim cum uideret delicias suas Lauiniam in alterius sinu? Certe si uiuus Turnus euaderet, neque Aeneas bello suo, neque Virgilius suo operi finem adhibuisset'

and others would have been well aware of the danger involved in letting an enemy live.

Finally, the anger that in the end motivates A. to kill T. could be understood, in philosophical terms, as a legitimate response to extreme provocation. Of the major schools of ancient philosophy, only the Stoics categorically rejected anger as justifiable for one avenging a wrong, while both Aristotelian and Epicurean analyses of A.'s actions would arguably have found them appropriate.[74]

A.'s killing of T., then, can be amply justified according to several standards of judgment familiar to Virgil and his audience, and in fact it is only unjust according to an interpretation of *parcere subiectis* that no Roman of Virgil's time is known to have endorsed.[75] Yet many modern readers find A.'s action profoundly disturbing, or even deserving of condemnation. Is that response based on a misreading, or can it claim some basis in Virgil's text?

Virgil presents A.'s action from two perspectives. In his narrator's voice, he describes A. as *furiis accensus* and *ira terribilis* (946–7); he also gives A. a brief speech in which T.'s death is depicted first in religious terms, as a sacrifice to Pallas (948–9), and then in legal terms, as punishment exacted from T.'s 'criminal blood' (949 *scelerato ex sanguine*). Neither perspective yields an explicit judgment of A.'s action, and so no analysis of the lines can hope to prove beyond reasonable doubt how they are to be interpreted.[76] But Virgil's narration and A.'s quoted words do share a feature that provides a basis for discussion: they both highlight the intense emotional state into which A. is thrown by the sight of Pallas' belt. That colouring is conveyed by the metaphor in *accensus* and by the epithet *terribilis*, by the indignant question that opens A.'s speech (*'tune . . . eripiare mihi?'*) and the following repetition of the name of Pallas, and by the loaded terms (*immolat*, *poenam . . . sumit*) in which A. couches his reasons for acting. That accumulation of emotive language suggests that all of the moral, legal, philosophical and pragmatic arguments for killing T. are ultimately beside the point. A. does not act because of something he thinks or as the result of an argument that persuades him; he acts because of what he sees and what that object makes him remember

(cited by Laird (2003) 33). Townend (1987) 86 suggests that V.'s use in 12.104–6 of *G.* 3.232–4 (the defeated bull who goes off and builds up his strength for a rematch) to describe T. before his scheduled meeting with A. shows how T. could be expected to behave if A. were to spare him. His argument is supported by V.'s use of the adjacent *Georgics* passage to describe A. and T. through simile in 12.715–22. *G.* 3.227–8 *gemens . . . quos amisit inultus amores* could well describe a spared but still bitter T.

[74] Gill (2004) usefully summarizes the relevant philosophical doctrines. See also Galinsky (1988) (primarily Aristotelian), Erler (1992), arguing that A. has the disposition (διάθεσις) required by Epicureans in order to have his anger qualify as 'natural'.

[75] Lactantius may have done so at the beginning of the fourth century, but for obviously polemical reasons; see below, pp. 22–3.

[76] Cf. Horsfall (1995) 198: 'V. was . . . well able to hint at the "key" in which he wished a given passage to be read, but I do not believe that to have been the case at the end of bk. 12.'

and feel. He acts for emotional, not intellectual, reasons, and it is the language in which Virgil embodies his emotions that needs to be the next focus of attention.

Of the narrator's two descriptions of A., *ira terribilis* would seem to be the more straightforward: the words express no moral judgment, and indeed it seems intuitively likely that the anger of a normally controlled person, once unleashed, would be especially frightening. But A.'s terrifying rage might be thought disproportionate when dealing with a wounded suppliant lying at his feet (930 *humilis supplex*), especially one who has already been terrified by the realization of divine enmity (895 *di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis*). A. gave free rein to rage once before in this book, when his frustration at not being able to confront T. led him to unleash indiscriminate slaughter (494–9). In that case, as here, A.'s anger is provoked and can be seen as just; but its consequences are nonetheless frightening (A. is also called *terribilis* in 498) and, in the ensuing attack on Latinus' city, barbaric. Earlier in the poem, A. experienced anger during the fall of Troy (2.316, 594),[77] and when defied by Lausus (10.813–14 *saeuae iamque altius irae* | *Dardanio surgunt ductori*, cf. 12.494 *adsurgunt irae*); indeed, in the *Aeneid* as a whole, *ira* is ascribed to A. even more often than to Juno.[78] When A. reflected on his actions at Troy, he stressed the irrationality of the *furor* and *ira* that had governed him: 2.316–17 *furor iraque mentem* | *praecipitat* (also 314 *arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis*). One wonders how A. in times to come would have described his behaviour here.

Matters are more complicated with *furiis accensus*, since both *furiae* and *accendere* can in isolation be used in a positive sense. For the former, cf. 8.494, where Etruria responds to the atrocities of Mezentius: *ergo omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis*; there, however, the addition of *iustis* is critical.[79] Hercules' rage when confronting Cacus (8.219–20 *furiis exarserat atro* | *felle dolor*) has been cited as another example of justifiable *furiae*, but the text is not explicit on that point, and Hercules' anger may be better interpreted as what I have called 'homoeopathic' violence.[80] The positive senses of *accendere* include 'firing up' the fighting spirits of warriors, as in 12.426 *primus* [sc. Iapyx] . . . *animos accendit in hostem* (see also *incensa* in 12.238); justifiable anger can have the same effect, as in 8.501 (quoted in n. 79). But the only other place in the poem where *accendere* and *furiae* are coupled as they are here has a decidedly sinister tone, 7.392–3, describing the Latin women inflamed by Allecto: *fama uolat furiisque accensas pectore matres* | *idem omnis simul ardor agit noua*

77 I omit 2.575, in the probably spurious Helen episode.

78 Eight times, five of them in this book (2.316, 594, 10.813, 12.108, 494, 499, 527 (jointly with T.), 946) as against six for Juno (1.4, 25, 130, 251, 8.60, 12.831). To be fair, A. is also responsible for a rare (and unsuccessful) attempt at restraining the anger of others, cf. 314 *o cohibete iras!*

79 Cf. Thomas (1991). That passage is curiously emphatic about the justice of the Etruscan cause: 500–1 *quos iustus in hostem* | *fert dolor et merita accendit Mezentius ira*. Perhaps V. felt it necessary to underscore the positive use of language that normally carries negative associations.

80 Above, p. 16.

quaerere tecta.[81] The nearly synonymous combination *furiis incensa* is applied by Dido to herself in 4.376 *heu furiis incensa feror!*

Descriptions of characters as *accensus* or *incensus* often refer to a loss of rational control: in addition to 4.376 (*feror*) and 7.393 (*agit*), cf. 4.203 (Iarbas) *amens animi et rumore accensus amaro*, 11.709 (Camilla) *furens acrique accensa dolore*, 4.300–1 (Dido) *saeuit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem | bacchatur*, perhaps also 9.342–3 (Euryalus) *incensus et ipse | perfurit*. That loss of rationality is not explicitly stated here, but it can be plausibly inferred.[82]

The justifications A. offers also have to be examined rather than accepted at face value.[83] A. is a man who needs to believe that whatever he does is right. When his actions are not obviously justified, he feels compelled to offer reasons for them; as often happens with self-justifications, his are more persuasive to him than they might be to an unbiased listener.[84] Perhaps because killing T. requires A. to overcome his own inclination to show mercy, his rationale for doing so is particularly elaborate. A. offers two justifications for T.'s death: as a sacrificial offering to Pallas (*Pallas te . . . immolat*), and as retribution for crime (*poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit*). Both explanations are problematic, and they are also mutually exclusive, since if T.'s blood is tainted by *scelus*, he is completely unsuitable as a candidate for immolation.[85]

(a) *T.'s death as sacrifice*. Calling an act a sacrifice does not make it one, nor does it endow the act with religious authority. Revenge portrayed as sacrifice is an old motif of tragedy, employed by the avenger as a means of justification but often contested by others. So Clytemnestra in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* asserts that not she, but an avenging spirit in her shape, was responsible for Agamemnon's murder, which she characterizes as 'a crowning sacrifice' (τέλεον 1504, Fraenkel's translation); to which the Chorus reply (1505–8) that an avenging spirit (ἀλάστωρ) may have assisted her, but that Clytemnestra cannot remain guiltless of the crime (ἀναίτιος). A.'s use of the verb *immolare* (949) echoes his previous 'immolation' of victims to Pallas (10.517–20). Even most 'optimist' critics regard A.'s earlier action as a temporary descent into barbarism, and it is hard to see why the connotations of the imagery should be different here. Also, the thought that underlies the

[81] At 7.392 V. plays on the ambiguity *furiis/Furiis*, as also in 3.331 *scelerum furiis agitatus Orestes*; cf. Lyne (1989) 28–9. I find it hard to see ambiguity of that kind here.

[82] Gill (2004) 120–1 uses *furiis accensus* and other elements of V.'s language to support an essentially Stoic reading of A.'s anger.

[83] As does, e.g., Horsfall (1995) 208, in a rare lowering of his guard: 'the *furiae* of 12.946 are at one level anything but impious, . . . *as Virgil lets Aeneas explain* (947–9)' (my italics).

[84] An example earlier in book 12 is his attack on Latinus' city, which he implausibly identifies as the cause of the war (567 *causam belli*). In a somewhat similar way, when A. rejects the supplication of Magus who has appealed to him by Anchises and Iulus, he claims their support for his action: *hoc patris Anchisae manes, hoc sentit Iulus* (10.534).

[85] Quint (1993) 95 sees a similarity between A.'s deflection of responsibility for T.'s death and Augustus' claim to have yielded power to the Senate and other legitimate institutions of government, which he calls an 'enabling fiction' of the Principate.

words *Pallas te immolat*, when made explicit, suggests that Pallas is sacrificing T. to himself, a disturbing notion. The 'sacrifice' of T. is at best metaphorical, at worst perverted.[86]

(b) *T.'s death as punishment for crime.* What is T.'s crime? If he were being held responsible for the entire war (which would be a distortion of the truth), he could be called *sceleratus*, since the war has been characterized as an offence against the gods;[87] but A.'s projection of the killing onto Pallas shows that his primary motive is revenge for Pallas' death, which was in no way a crime.

It is hardly surprising that the explanations offered by a man in the grip of rage are not models of rigorous logic, but it is worth asking whether Virgil suggests a reason for A.'s furious reaction to the sight of Pallas' belt. The belt functions as *saeui monimenta doloris*; one meaning of the phrase is 'a reminder of cruel grief', that is, a reminder to A. of the grief he felt at Pallas' death. But for A. to be reminded of that grief implies that he had forgotten it, which does indeed seem to be the case. Pallas has not been mentioned since his funeral early in book 11, and for the whole of the final book until now T.'s death has had for A. a purely political significance, as the means of settling the war and avenging the breaking of the truce.[88] T.'s appeal, which admits defeat and accepts A.'s victory, maintains that political focus; in that context, in which T. is a conquered enemy who asks for *clementia*, A. begins to be softened. But T. can only be spared if A. continues to forget his obligation to Pallas and Evander, and the sight of the belt brings his forgetfulness to an end.[89] It seems likely that the intense anger A. then experiences is to some degree directed at himself for having let Pallas fade from his mind, and that his over-identification with Pallas in the act of vengeance (*Pallas te hoc uulnere, Pallas | immolat*) is a form of compensation. Those considerations would not make A.'s action any less complex morally, but they would make it all the more believably human.

Misgivings about the manner of T.'s death are not just the product of modern squeamishness: the morality of A.'s actions had been questioned in Antiquity. Late-antique commentators are at pains to see A. in a purely positive light; Servius, for example, interprets both his hesitation and his killing of T. as manifestations of *pietas*: 'omnis intentio ad Aeneae pertinet gloriam; nam et ex eo quod hosti cogitat parcere, pius ostenditur, et ex eo quod eum interimit, pietatis

[86] This point is especially controversial; for additional argument see commentary. Hardie (1993) 33–5 offers a different, though not contradictory, interpretation.

[87] Cf. the prediction of Latinus in 7.595–7 *ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas, | o miseri. te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit | supplicium, uotisque deos uenerabere seris.*

[88] Di Benedetto (1996b) 164–9.

[89] Cf. Horsfall (1995) 205: 'Pallas' *balteus*, markedly absent from the scene of T.'s arming . . . strikes Aeneas' eye (*apparuit*, 941: what, only now?).' The omission of the belt from the earlier arming scene allows the reader to share A.'s forgetfulness.

gestit insigne, nam Euandri intuitu Pallantis ulciscitur mortem'.[90] This attempt to square the moral circle looks like an effort to defend A. from previous criticism,[91] and a blistering critique of A.'s claim to *pietas* had in fact been offered a century before Servius, in Lactantius' *Diuinae institutiones*. Citing A.'s murderous rampage after the death of Pallas and his rejection of T.'s plea, Lactantius accused A. of 'forgetting the shade of his father, by whom he was being entreated' and of killing 'not only those who offered no resistance, but even those who were begging him <for mercy>'.[92] Although the basis of Lactantius' condemnation is remarkably similar to that of some modern critics, he did not, like them, believe that Virgil had knowingly portrayed A. in a reprehensible manner; instead he assumed that Virgil approved of A.'s actions and thereby betrayed his own ignorance of true *pietas*. Lactantius was, of course, engaged in an anti-pagan polemic, but his argument makes no appeal to religious values; in his view, A.'s actions are offensive to basic notions of human decency.

Servius' observation that A. is moved in both directions by his *pietas* is undeniably true, but the result is not a greater sense of A.'s virtue, but rather an awareness of the contradiction that he faces: whatever he does will violate a claim made upon him by *pietas*. It is not, however, quite accurate to say that A. experiences a conflict of *pietas*, since doing so runs together phases of the scene that Virgil has kept separate. When A. considers sparing T., it is not because he believes that showing mercy to conquered enemies has a stronger claim on him than avenging Pallas' death; at that moment he is, apparently, not thinking of Pallas at all. It is only the sight of the belt that reminds him of his duty to avenge Pallas, and he responds to that reminder with no hesitation whatever. Conflicts of *pietas* are portrayed more overtly and schematically by Ovid in the revenge stories of the *Metamorphoses*: e.g. when Procne must choose between *pietas* toward her sister and her son, or Althaea between loyalty to her son or her brothers.[93] If Virgil had shared Ovid's love of verbal paradox, he might have written of A. killing T. that he was *facto pius et sceleratus eodem* (*Met.* 3.5).[94]

[90] On 12.940. Dante interpreted the final scene similarly: 'tanta uictoris Enee clementia fuit, ut nisi balteus, quem Turnus Pallanti a se occiso detraxerat, patuisset, uicto uictor simul uitam condonasset et pacem' (*De monarchia* 2.9.14).

[91] See Thomas (2001) 111–12, and 106–10 for other notes of Servius defending A. against possible earlier criticisms.

[92] *Diu. inst.* 5.10.9 *manium patris per quem rogabatur oblitus . . . non tantum non repugnantes, sed etiam precantes interemit.* The passage contains other indictments of A. in a similar vein.

[93] Cf. *Met.* 6.629–30 (Procne) *ex nimia mentem pietate labare* | *sensit* (Procne), 635 *scelus est pietas in coniuge Terei*, 8.476–7 (Althaea) *consanguineas ut sanguine leniat umbras,* | *impietate pia est*, 508 *animum pietas maternaque nomina frangunt.*

[94] I suspect that the author of the Helen episode was recalling such Ovidian expressions with the phrase *sceleratas sumere poenas*, 2.576. In a Virgilian context *sceleratas* has to be understood as a bold transferred epithet, but to a post-Ovidian writer the idea that the punishment itself constitutes a crime would appear less remarkable, so attributing that thought to A. would not have caused difficulty.

Less epigrammatically, one might say that A. does the right thing (or the necessary thing) but does it in a terrifying way.[95] 'Optimist' critics stress the justifications for T.'s death and downplay the manner in which it comes about, while pessimists do the opposite. But both aspects, and the tension between them, are grounded in the text, and both therefore need to be part of an adequate response to the text. Such a response, however, calls for an attitude of genuine ambivalence that is difficult, perhaps impossible, to maintain; every reader on every rereading will probably incline in one direction or another.[96]

Augustan ramifications

The final scene is crucial for comprehending another central aspect of the *Aeneid*, namely its relationship to, and implicit commentary on, the Principate of Augustus.[97] Although A. is an independent character and not an allegorical substitute for Augustus, the connections between the two are so strong that the view taken of one must inevitably colour one's view of the other; as Richard Thomas has written, 'ambivalence about Aeneas and ambivalence about Augustus and contemporary Rome go hand in hand'.[98] The relationship between those forms of ambivalence can be defined even more precisely: in historical terms, it seems clear that ambivalence about or hostility to Augustus and what he represents – in particular, an imperial system – was largely responsible for the appeal of 'pessimist' readings of the poem in the mid and late twentieth century, and I think it likely that for many critics an ideological position for or against Augustus continues to shape their interpretation of Virgil's narrative.

A traditional, and essentially optimistic, reading of the *Aeneid* could be summed up in the phrase that concludes the opening section of book 1: *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem* (1.33). The implication is that the struggles narrated in the poem were required to bring Rome into existence and were for that reason worth enduring. On that view, the poem's allusions to contemporary events would imply a similar understanding of the horrors of the civil war, finally brought to an end by Augustus. Such an interpretation has the advantage of allowing the suffering and loss that the poem depicts to carry their full weight; they can be accepted as part of the appalling but necessary price of Rome's foundation and

[95] Cf. Horsfall (1995) 216: 'Aeneas remains right... but there is no general resolution of issues and tensions... such as to leave us (or Aeneas) emotionally at ease or content.'

[96] Compare, for example, Hardie (1991) 40, who finds the final image of A. poised implacable above T. 'quite in keeping with the dispensation of Jupiter' with Hardie (1993) 21 'Virgil narrates a senseless revenge-killing, which is masked in the words of the killer as a sacrifice, but whose true nature many readers experience as quite other. As sacrifice the death of T. represents a reimposition of order; but as uncontrolled rage, revenge pure and simple rather than the judicial retribution envisaged by the terms of the treaty [?], it retains its potential to repeat itself in fresh outbursts of chaotic violence.'

[97] I have discussed the issues raised in this section in Tarrant (1997).

[98] Thomas (1988) 261.

future greatness. For that implied argument to succeed, however, the value of the ultimate result must be beyond doubt. The point can be illustrated by comparing Virgil's statement with its recasting by Lucan at the start of his historical epic on the civil war: all the losses and pain of the war were worthwhile if they were needed to bring Nero to power.[99] The blatancy of Lucan's statement, together with its specific imperial referent, has caused many to suspect irony. But however Lucan's words are read, their bluntness throws into relief Virgil's concern to frame his outcome in terms all Romans could embrace, the establishment of the Roman people.

For modern readers, however, maintaining a 'cost of empire' interpretation requires either an effort of imagination (i.e. placing oneself in the putative position of Virgil and his audience) or transposing the message to a contemporary context (e.g. the effort involved in carrying out a comparably arduous imperial venture).[100] In the absence of some strategy of that kind, the price of Roman triumph will necessarily seem steeper and harder to redeem. From here it is a short but significant step to seeing the human cost as nullifying the value of what is achieved, which is the implication of Wendell Clausen's memorable phrase 'Pyrrhic victory' as a description of Virgil's view of Roman history.[101] That move was made possible by a twentieth-century revaluation of empire as no longer justifying sacrifice and loss, or even as entailing a kind of spiritual corruption. The results for the interpretation of the *Aeneid* can already be seen in the years following World War I,[102] and in the next two decades the process was fuelled by changes in the image of Augustus himself, including his appropriation as a model by the Fascist and Nazi regimes.[103] A defining event was the publication in 1939 of Ronald Syme's *Roman revolution*, with its unforgettable portrait of Octavian as a ruthless party leader and of Augustus as a master manipulator of opinion, the 'crafty tyrant' of Gibbon's *Decline and fall*. Once Augustus is seen in that light, the apparent Augustan message of the *Aeneid* becomes an embarrassment and

[99] 1.33–8; given Lucan's familiarity with the *Aeneid*, it is probably not accidental that his reworking of V.'s idea begins at the same point in his text (line 33 of book 1). Lucan's substitution of a single ruler for the Roman *gens* is also deliberate, reflecting his view of what the victory of Julius Caesar had meant for Rome.

[100] See the robust restatement of this view by G. Wills (2009) 43: 'everything in Vergil's poem says that the costs of empire are very high but are decidedly worth paying . . . knowing the high price of forging an empire does not, necessarily, mean that one should not pay the price', complete with reference to Kipling and 'the white man's burden'.

[101] Clausen (1964) 146: 'it is this perception of Roman history as a long Pyrrhic victory of the human spirit that makes Virgil his country's truest historian'. The underlying thought was spelled out by Richard Thomas in an elegant hypallage as the suggestion that 'the price in spiritual loss [attending A.'s victory and the advent of civilization] may, in the last analysis, not be worth the result': Thomas (1988) 270.

[102] T. Ziolkowski (1993) 101 speaks of 'a new ambivalence toward V. that replaced, after the Great War, the previous unquestioning acceptance of what was regarded as his imperialistic message'.

[103] On the fascist reception of V. see Thomas (2001) 222–59.

Virgil risks being stigmatized as 'the panegyrist of despotism'.[104] It was therefore natural that critics should look for hints of doubt or scepticism about Augustus on Virgil's part and should attempt to read the *Aeneid* as a critique, rather than a celebration, of Roman imperialism. Nor is it coincidental that ambivalence, rather than pessimism in its strongest forms, has become more prominent in Virgilian criticism as ancient historians have begun to replace Syme's sinister image of the *princeps* with more nuanced interpretations.[105]

The most obvious relevance of the final scene to a reading of the poem in Augustan terms lies in A.'s refusal of *clementia*, which stands in marked contrast to the policy pursued by Octavian following his defeat of Antony and memorialized in the *Res gestae*. That disparity might be explained in a way favourable to Augustus, by seeing A.'s imperfect *clementia* as a foil for the fully realized virtue of the *princeps*,[106] but the issue is more complex. The anger that motivates A. is a response to the memory of T.'s killing of Pallas, so readers are also compelled to recall that event; specifically, A.'s use of sacrificial imagery brings to mind the earlier episode in which he rounded up enemy fighters to be sacrificed as human victims to Pallas' shade (10.517–20). Now Suetonius records a story that after the siege of Perugia Octavian had conducted a similar 'sacrifice' of slaughtered prisoners to the shade of Julius Caesar: *Perusia capta in plurimos animaduertit, orare ueniam uel excusare se conantibus una uoce occurrens, 'moriendum esse'. Scribunt quidam, trecentos ex dediticiis electos utriusque ordinis ad aram Diuo Iulio extructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos.*[107] The Suetonian anecdote may or may not be true, but it was almost certainly current in Virgil's time, and Virgil's attribution of similar behaviour to A. can therefore hardly be without significance.

But even as Virgil's depiction of a savage A. brings to mind similar atrocities committed by Octavian, the motivation that Virgil ascribes to A. provides Octavian's actions as well with a creditable motive. The sincerity of Octavian's filial devotion to the deified Julius was open to question; according to Tacitus, some at the time regarded it as a mere pretext.[108] By contrast, there can be no doubt that A. at his most ruthless – that is, at his most Octavian-like – is motivated by the quasi-parental feeling of responsibility he feels for Pallas. To the extent, therefore,

[104] So already Sellar (1877) 349. Even earlier, in 1807, the American poet Joel Barlow criticized the *Aeneid* for its 'pernicious' moral tendency: 'Virgil wrote and felt like a subject, not like a citizen. The real design of his poem was to increase the veneration of the people for a master, whoever he might be' (quoted in Reinhold (1984) 237). Barlow's epic *The Columbiad*, intended to supplant the works of Homer and V., 'remains one of the most dismal failures in the history of American poetry' (Reinhold).

[105] Represented by several papers in Raaflaub and Toher (1990), a reassessment of Syme's *Roman revolution* after fifty years.

[106] So Harris (2001) 247, cautiously followed by Gill (2004) 121 as a means of reconciling a Stoic reading of the final scene with an Augustan interpretation of the poem as a whole.

[107] *Diuus Augustus* 15.

[108] *Ann.* 1.10 (purporting to reflect views current at Augustus' death) *dicebatur contra: pietatem erga parentem et tempora rei publicae obtentui sumpta.*

that A. provides a prism through which the actions of Octavian can be assessed, Virgil's characterization offers a way for even the horrors of the Perusine siege to be subsumed under the heading of *pietas*. We are, admittedly, a long way from the sanitized terms in which Augustus himself would speak of his actions,[109] but Virgil's depiction is the more effective for retaining some semblance of reality.

It is typical of Virgil's double-sided outlook to remind his readers of the bloody past of their *princeps* while also looking to him as the author of peace. The tension between the need to restrain violence and its capacity for overwhelming that restraint is one of Virgil's pervasive themes, and it is visible in one of the poem's most optimistic passages, Jupiter's prophecy in book 1, a confident prediction of concord and harmony that nonetheless concludes with a harrowing image of *furor* raging in its chains (1.291–6):

> Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis;
> cana Fides, et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus,
> iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
> claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus,
> saeva sedens super arma, et centum uinctus aenis
> post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento.

Even in an idealized future, the lust for violence remains unabated, and the best that can be hoped for is that it may be prevented from bursting its bonds. Roman readers would inevitably think of the closing of the doors of the temple of Janus under Augustus in 29 and 25 BCE, as a sign that peace had been secured throughout the empire.[110] That reference, too, has a double-edged aspect: closing the temple doors on two occasions implicitly acknowledges that a state of peace is still an exception, and that Augustus has not yet attained the ideal proclaimed by Anchises as the mission of Rome, of making peace the norm (*paci . . . imponere morem* 6.852).

Ambivalence of the kind I have described coheres well with the poem's period of gestation. The 20s BCE were a decade in which memories of the civil wars were still fresh and the direction Rome's new leader would take was not yet clear; a decade poised, like the *Aeneid* itself, between hope and fear. In a way, Virgil could be thought of as *felix opportunitate mortis*; had he lived for another decade and continued to work at his epic, he might have found it increasingly difficult to maintain the balance he had striven to achieve.[111]

[109] *RG* 2 *qui parentem meum trucidauerunt, eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae uici bis acie.*

[110] *RG* 13 *Ianum Quirinum, quem claussum esse maiores nostri uoluerunt cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta uictoriis pax, cum, priusquam nascerer, a condita urbe bis omnino clausum fuisse prodatur memoriae, ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit.* The date of the third closure is not known.

[111] Horace's fourth book of *Odes*, of *c.* 13 BCE, shows what kind of poetry was possible when Augustus' rule had become more firmly established and reminders of the troubled past were no longer welcome. In a somewhat similar vein, Feeney (2007) 133 speculates

Wider implications

Whatever reflections the end of the poem may evoke, they are surely meant to extend beyond A. and Augustus. The Greeks and Romans regarded epic as dealing, as tragedy does more overtly, with issues of universal human import. Plato makes that point in the *Republic* when he refers to a belief that Homer and the tragedians have knowledge of all things human pertaining to virtue and vice; in the same context he calls Homer the 'pathfinder' (ἡγεμών) of tragedy.[112] One of Homer's most astute modern readers, Colin Macleod, wrote that 'what war represents for Homer is humanity under duress and in the face of death; and so to enjoy or appreciate the *Iliad* is to understand and feel for human suffering'.[113] It seems clear that Virgil read Homer in a similar light; indeed that reading is present in the *Aeneid*, in the passage of book 1 in which A. sees episodes from the Trojan War depicted on the walls of Juno's temple in Carthage. In one of Virgil's most famous passages, A. concludes *sunt hic etiam sua praemia laudi, | sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt* (1.461–2). *Mentem mortalia tangunt* could be almost literally rendered by Macleod's 'to understand and feel for human suffering'; A. draws that inference from seeing an artist's rendition of scenes from the Trojan War, the subject with which Homer was most closely identified. Furthermore, while the *Aeneid* has the form of a Homeric epic, it is pervasively influenced by tragic and philosophical modes of thinking, which makes it even more likely that the poem's meaning has a universal character.[114]

The *Aeneid* does what all epic and tragedy is supposed to do: it shows, in a particular and significant set of circumstances, what it means to be human and to act in a human way. The poem offers two perspectives from which to interpret the actions of its characters. One is external and sees the characters against the background and under the influence of larger and more powerful forces, whether these are embodied as individual deities or represented by an impersonal destiny. The other is internal and focuses on the emotional forces within each character. The two perspectives do not cancel each other out, but coexist, in another manifestation of Virgil's double-sided vision.[115]

that if V. had lived longer, he, not Horace, would have been commissioned to write the hymn for the *Ludi saeculares* of 17. It seems possible that even as early as 19 V. could have felt that the tone of the *Aeneid* was now too dark for the times; might that have been a factor in his dying impulse to destroy it?

[112] *Resp.* 598d–e. I am grateful to Gregory Nagy for pointing me in the direction of Plato on this issue.

[113] Macleod (1982) 8.

[114] For tragic influence see Hardie (1997), Panoussi (2009); for philosophy see Braund (1997), Gill (2004).

[115] At the level of narrative, that dual perspective is analogous to the phenomenon of double causation, in which the same action (e.g. Dido falling in love with A.) can be both brought about by divine intervention and fully intelligible in terms of human psychology.

Each of those perspectives can support a reading of the poem in tragic terms. The external viewpoint is well articulated in this statement by Maguinness:

> man is not less interesting because caught in a web of destiny, but more so, because of the tragic contradiction between his possibilities and the unkind conditions of life that prevent or limit their fruition . . . Those who read the book with this realization [i.e. that A. and T. are tragic figures] will not waste their time in attempts to discredit Turnus for his *uiolentia* or Aeneas for his combination of *pietas* and *saeuitia*, but see in them, as Virgil did, two heroic but human figures, opposed by a destiny that needed the one and rejected the other.[116]

The internal perspective finds its most powerful expression within the *Aeneid* itself, in Anchises' account of the makeup of each human person (6.730–4):

> igneus est ollis uigor et caelestis origo
> seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant
> terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.
> hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras
> dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.

Anchises' picture of beings divided between the striving of the spirit and the downward pull of the body offers a rationale for Virgil's depiction of human action. It comes close to answering the question implicitly posed by the poem's conclusion: how does it happen that a good man can be driven by his own good qualities to perform horrifying actions?[117] Virgil accepts such contradiction as part of the 'crooked timber'[118] of which humans are made. If human beings are discordant unions of spirit and flesh, it is no wonder that their motives are conflicted and their good intentions thwarted. Such victories as they may win will always be partial, even tainted. Are they therefore Pyrrhic? That, I believe, is a question Virgil declines to answer for his readers.

[116] Maguinness (1953) 12–13. Mackail's comment on 12.952 strikes a similar note: 'thus in the final cadence of the *Aeneid*. . . . Virgil's perpetual sense of pity is touched with indignation that the Powers who control life should themselves be so pitiless, and that their purposes are only wrought out through so much human suffering'.

[117] It is in keeping with V.'s double-sided outlook that Anchises not only enunciates the ideal *parcere subiectis* but also explains why that ideal is impossible for human beings fully to realize.

[118] The image is Kant's, best known through its use by Isaiah Berlin: 'aus so krummen Holze, als woraus der Mensch gemacht ist, kann nichts ganz Gerades gezimmert werden' ('From timber so crooked as that from which human beings are made, nothing entirely straight can be fashioned'), cited in Berlin (1990) v. In context, Kant's remark describes the situation of a ruler, who must act justly 'für sich selbst' (i.e. not under the direction of a higher authority) and still remain a human being, and the ultimate impossibility of that task. I think it is more than a play on words to suggest that 'pessimist' readings of V. are predicated on an overly optimistic view of human nature and its capabilities, while 'optimist' interpretations can tolerate a high degree of imperfection in human actors.

Virgil's view of human nature and human existence is fundamentally a tragic one, in its awareness of the fragility of reason in the face of passion, and of the terrible consequences of that weakness. Such a view does not easily coexist with a positive vision of Rome's present and future greatness. How Virgil negotiated that tension is likely to remain a central issue in criticism of the *Aeneid* for some time to come.

4 SEQUELS AND CONTINUATIONS

The abrupt ending of the *Aeneid*, in addition to generating lively debate among critics, has also prompted many subsequent writers to supply the conclusion to the story of A. that is so conspicuously absent in Virgil's text.

Virgil's first continuator, Ovid, established a precedent for many later artists by elaborating on hints or references to events just beyond the end of the poem. For example, A.'s apotheosis as Indiges, twice predicted by Jupiter in the *Aeneid* (1.259–60, 12.793–4), receives a full account in *Met.* 14.581–608; Jupiter's assurance that Venus would raise A. to the stars (1.259–60 *feres ad sidera caeli* | *magnanimum Aenean*) is developed by Ovid into a campaign for his deification carried on by Venus (*Met.* 14.585 *ambierat . . . Venus superos*). Other continuations by Ovid highlight developments excluded by Virgil, such as the funeral of T., the fall of his city, Ardea, and T.'s metamorphosis into an eponymous bird, the heron (*Met.* 14.573–80). Ovid was also the first to fill in the most tantalizing silence of Virgil's poem, that surrounding the relationship between A. and his bride-to-be, Lavinia. In book 3 of the *Fasti* Ovid relates the origins of the festival of Anna Perenna, identifying her as the sister of Dido who fled Carthage and was driven by a storm to A.'s settlement in Italy. A. welcomes her and unthinkingly introduces her to Lavinia with the request that she love Anna like a sister; Lavinia is instantly suspicious, and her fears intensify when she sees Anna receive lavish gifts from A. She resolves to kill her supposed rival, but Anna is warned by Dido in a dream and escapes by being hidden in the river Numicius. In this account A.'s marriage to Lavinia becomes a sort of posthumous revenge for Dido; having abandoned one frenzied and vengeful woman, A. is now saddled with another.[119]

The first explicit continuations of the poem come from the mid to late twelfth century, in the anonymous Old French *Roman d'Eneas* and the slightly later *Eneasroman* of Heinrich von Veldeke.[120] Both are vernacular retellings of the entire

[119] Murgatroyd (2005) 131 n. 69 comments that 'Lavinia, with her passionate frenzy, is one of those women who take after their mother.' But any similarity to Amata is overshadowed by that to Amata's role model, so to speak: *Fast.* 3.637–8 *furialiter odit* | *et parat insidias et cupit ulta mori* is a characteristically neat Ovidian digest of the plot of the latter half of *Aeneid* 4.

[120] English translation of the *Roman* by Yunck (1974), of the *Eneasroman* by Fisher (1992). The latter provides a detailed comparison of the content of the two works (21–82).

Aeneid that carry the story forward from the death of T. to the wedding of A. and Lavinia. The most striking novelty of the *Roman* (which Heinrich follows, with some modifications) is the extended treatment given to the love of Eneas and Lavine. In a series of plot developments heavily influenced by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Lavine in her tower catches sight of Eneas on the battlefield and is instantly seized with longing for him; she sends him a letter confessing her love and he responds with signs and meaningful looks. Amata discovers Lavine's secret and tries to dissuade her by alleging that Eneas is attracted only to boys, but she remains steadfast and vows to die if Eneas is killed in battle rather than accept T. as her lover.[121] After Eneas is victorious there is a further complication when he postpones the wedding for eight days, leading Lavine to despair of his love, but in fact the delay is equally painful for Eneas, and so the two are at last joined in ecstatic happiness. There is a delicious irony in the way Virgil's rigorously unromantic portrayal of A.'s relationship with Lavinia becomes by means of the *Roman* a prototype for the passionate lovers of late-medieval vernacular romance.

By far the most popular continuation of the *Aeneid* is the *Supplementum* (often called *Book XIII*) published in 1428 by a young Milanese humanist named Maffeo Vegio (1407–58).[122] The work circulated widely in manuscript form and was added to the text of V. in many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century printed editions.[123] An outline will indicate the content and suggest the preoccupations of Vegio's supplement:

1–22	The Rutuli, despairing at T.'s death, abandon the war and accept A. as victor.
23–48	A. speaks over T.'s body, denouncing the madness (*dementia*, *furor*) that led T. to violate the treaty. He releases T.'s corpse and his armour to his people but promises to return Pallas' belt to Evander. He swears that he made war justly and only when compelled by the madness (*furiae*) of the Latins.
49–124	A. returns to the Trojan camp and orders sacrifices to the gods. He addresses Iulus and the Trojans, announcing that their sufferings are

[121] *Roman d'Eneas* 8332–4, an adaptation of the wish expressed by V.'s Amata to die rather than see A. as her son-in-law (*Aen.* 12.62–3).

[122] Critical edition by Schneider (1985), Latin text with English translation by Putnam and Hankins (2004). My discussion of Vegio owes much to Putnam's Introduction (viii–xxiii, xlvii–lii).

[123] A few years before Vegio's *Supplementum* appeared, Pier Candido Decembrio (1392–1477) had begun work on a thirteenth book of the *Aeneid*, of which 89 lines are preserved in a Milan manuscript (Ambrosianus D 112 Inf., ff. 173^v–175^r). Vegio appears to have known and used Decembrio's work, much to the latter's annoyance; see Schneider (1985) 17–18, and 136–8 for the text of Decembrio's fragment. On the later supplements to the *Aeneid* by Jan van Foreest (1651) and C. S. Villanova (1698), see Kallendorf (1989) 204 n. 19; on the blank-verse supplement of T. Seymour Burt (1883), see Thomas (2001) 280.

at an end and asking them to treat their enemies and Latinus in particular with respect.

125–84 T.'s body is brought into the city of Latinus, who laments the madness (*furor*) and lust for power (*dominandi cupido*) that afflicts all mortals and the restlessness (*impatientia*) and madness (*insania*) that drove T. to war with A. and the Trojans.

185–251 T.'s body is sent in solemn procession to Ardea, which has been engulfed by a conflagration.

252–301 T. is bitterly lamented by his father Daunus.

302–24 Latinus sends an embassy to A. to seek peace and urges the Latins to welcome him when he comes.

325–401 Drances speaks for the Latins, placing the entire blame for the war on T.'s madness (*furor*); in his response A. similarly invokes T.'s savagery (*uiolentia*) as the cause. A. renews the promises he made before the aborted duel with T. The dead are given funeral rites.

402–89 The following day Drances and the embassy escort A. and the Trojans to the city of Latinus, who greets A. warmly as his son-in-law. A. is struck dumb (*stupefactus inhaesit*) at his first sight of Lavinia and pities T. for the misfortunes he endured in the hope of winning her. The wedding pact is solemnized with a hymn, and A. presents Latinus with gifts.

490–535 The day ends with a grand banquet, at which Latinus marvels at the beauty and maturity of Iulus. A. and Latinus draw out the evening with stories, including how Saturn came to Latium.

536–83 After nine days of wedding festivities A. sees flames darting from the crown of Lavinia's head. Venus appears, assuring A. that this is an omen of peace and glory to come; A. is to call the city he is building Lavinium and install in it the Penates saved from Troy; then, after succeeding Latinus as king, A. will himself ascend to the heavens.

584–630 A. rules Trojans and Italians in peaceful accord for three years. Venus asks Jupiter to fulfil the promise he had made of divinity for A.; Jupiter and all the other gods assent. Venus purges A. of his mortal element in the river Numicius and fixes him among the stars with the title Indiges.

Vegio's supplement is primarily a continuation of book 12, and many of the events he highlights are precisely those foreshadowed but not narrated in Virgil's text: the union of Trojans and Latins, A.'s marriage to Lavinia and founding of Lavinium, and his divinization in the form of Indiges. But Vegio is not only interested in imposing a sense of closure on the narrative; he also wants to give it a moral clarity, in accord with what he regarded as Virgil's intentions. In one of his educational treatises Vegio wrote that 'Virgil in the character of Aeneas wished to show a man endowed with every virtue, now in unfavourable

circumstances, now in favourable ones';[124] it is therefore not surprising that one of Vegio's main concerns in the *Supplementum* is to maintain an unequivocal opposition between T.'s *furor* and *uiolentia* and A.'s *pietas*, which requires undoing the troubling association of A. with *furiae* with which Virgil's text ends.[125]

Vegio begins this reorientation in his opening lines: *Turnus ut extremo deuictus Marte profudit | effugientem animam medioque sub agmine uictor | magnanimus stetit Aeneas. Turnus ut* repeats the first words of Virgil's book 12, and *magnanimus stetit Aeneas* looks back to its final scene, 938–9 *stetit acer in armis | Aeneas*, but with a significant change of adjective.[126] The opening of book 12 is even more subtly reworked midway through the *Supplementum*, when the focus turns from T.'s death and funeral to the renewal of the treaty between Trojans and Latins: 303–4 *tunc pater infractos fatali Marte Latinus | defecisse uidens* ~ 12.1 *Turnus ut infractos aduerso Marte Latinos | defecisse uidet.* The action described is the same, while the shift from *Latinos* as plural object to *Latinus* as singular subject marks Latinus' replacement of T. as the driving force on the Latin side.

But Vegio also looks back to earlier parts of the poem, to book 1 in particular, to give his supplement the feeling of a conclusion to the epic as a whole. His closing scene with Jupiter and Venus brings to fruition the promises made by Jupiter to Venus in *Aen.* 1.227–96, and the festive banquet celebrating A.'s marriage to Lavinia is the counterpart to the ill-omened banquet in Carthage at which Dido began to be attracted to A. A.'s speech to the Trojans beginning *o socii* (85) echoes A.'s first words to his men at *Aen.* 1.198 and proclaims the fulfilment of A.'s prediction, *dabit deus his quoque finem* (1.199). Vegio even appropriates Virgil's opening words, *arma uirumque*, and deploys them in a surprising new sense, when A. returns T.'s body and armour to the Rutulians (39–40 *arma uirumque | largior*).[127]

By focusing his *Supplementum* on the qualities of A. as ideal leader, Vegio boldly seeks to transform the *Aeneid* into a Renaissance mirror for princes.

5 AFTERLIFE

The latter six books of the *Aeneid* have not inspired artists to the same degree as the most gripping episodes of the first six (the sack of Troy, the affair with Dido

[124] 'Virgilius sub Aeneae persona uirum omni uirtute praeditum, atque ipsum nunc in aduersis, nunc in prosperis casibus, demonstrare uoluerit' (*De educatione liberorum et eorum claris moribus* 2.18, cited by Kallendorf (1989) 102).

[125] Associations of T. with *furor* and related terms are noted in the outline above. *Pius* and *pietas* are used of A. by the narrator (375, 406, 588), Drances (332), the Latin ambassadors (394), and A. himself (99). See also Thomas (2001) 279–84 on Vegio's strategies for smoothing out the unresolved tensions of V.'s text.

[126] *Magnanimus* (perhaps suggested by *Aen.* 1.260 *magnanimum Aenean*) also appears in the opening line of Decembrio's *Book XIII*, where it is used of T.!

[127] Vegio may have been inspired by V.'s own echoes of the opening, 9.777 *semper equos atque arma uirum pugnasque canebat*, 11.746–7 *uolat igneus aequore Tarchon | arma uirumque ferens.*

and the journey to the Underworld), and even within the context of books 7 to 12 the events of the last book have not been depicted as often as such earlier moments as A.'s landing in Latium, Venus in Vulcan's forge and the presentation of the new arms, the episode of Nisus and Euryalus, or Camilla's aristeia and death.

The two main exceptions are the healing of A.'s wound by Venus and the final duel with T. The former is the subject of a wall painting in the Casa di Sirico in Pompeii that closely parallels Virgil's account[128] and of several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century paintings, perhaps the most notable by Luca Giordano (*c.* 1680) now in the Galleria Corsini, Florence, where it forms a pair with the same artist's rendition of the final duel. The duel was also treated by Antoine Coypel, court painter to Louis XIV, as part of a cycle of Virgilian paintings he produced in 1716–17 (just after Louis's death) for a 'Galerie d'Enée' in the Palais-Royal, several of which are now in the Louvre.[129] Several literary handlings of the events leading to T.'s death are in dramatic form and testify to the tragic potential of T.'s character.[130]

Most later artists, however, like Ovid and Maffeo Vegio, have preferred to supply what Virgil had omitted or hinted at rather than replay major episodes of his text. For example, the apotheosis of A. was popular with painters, including Jacob Jordaens, Pietro da Cortona, Luca Giordano, François Boucher and G. B. Tiepolo, and Mozart's youthful opera *Ascanio in Alba* (1771, libretto by Giuseppe Parini) dealt with the establishment of Ascanius (who is here the son of A. and Venus) as ruler of Alba Longa and his marriage to the nymph Silvia.

The character in the last book who has had the strongest appeal for later artists is Lavinia; her tantalizingly brief and mute role in Virgil has prompted many attempts to flesh out her character and to give her a voice.[131] In Dante's *Divine comedy* Lavinia is named along with Latinus and Camilla among the virtuous pagans (*Inferno* 4.122–6), and in *Purgatorio* 17.34–9 Dante introduces a vision of Lavinia lamenting her mother's suicide, in lines that draw on *Aen.* 12.63–4 and 605–7. In his *De mulieribus claris*, Boccaccio summarizes Lavinia's role in the *Aeneid* and the legends about her subsequent life: that pregnant with A.'s child she feared the hostility of Ascanius and hid in the forest, where she delivered the child and named him Julius Silvius, but on Ascanius' magnanimous withdrawal to Alba Longa she returned (i.e. to Latinus' city) and raised her son until he was of age

[128] The painting has been removed to the Museo archeologico in Naples, but other panels from the same room that remain *in situ* seem to depict scenes following A.'s arrival in Latium, including Vulcan presenting A.'s new armour to Venus.

[129] Details of these and most of the other works discussed in this section can be found in Reid (1993) 1.61–7.

[130] E.g. Jean Prévost, *Turne* (Poitiers 1614), edited by Kantor (1985); [?] Brosse, *Le Turne de Virgile* (Paris 1647); Lucas Rotgans, *Eneas en Turnus* (1705 [in Dutch]); Bernhard Severin Ingemann, *Turnus* (Copenhagen 1813 [in Danish]).

[131] The element of compensation is explicit in Ursula Le Guin's novel *Lavinia* (2008), narrated by Lavinia, A.'s dutiful wife.

to rule in his own right (or, alternatively, that after returning from the forest she married a certain Melampus, who helped her raise the boy).[132]

Composers were particularly drawn to Lavinia's relationship to A., culminating in their marriage. More than a dozen operas and ballets on the subject are known, of which by far the most tantalizing is Monteverdi's *Le nozze d'Enea e Lavinia* (Venice 1641). The music is, sadly, lost, but the anonymous libretto, along with an accompanying summary ('scenario'), shows that the plot encompassed the entire second half of the *Aeneid*, beginning with A.'s arrival in Latium and concluding with T.'s offstage death, the betrothal of Lavinia to A., and predictions of the future greatness of Rome and Venice.[133] Agostino Steffani's operas *I trionfi del fato* (Hanover 1695) and *Amor vien dal destino* (Düsseldorf 1709, but composed in Hanover in the mid-1690s) both end with a dual marriage that would have tickled audiences familiar with Virgil's plot: in the first, A. and Lavinia are joined by Dido (who has followed A. to Italy) and her persistent suitor Iarbas; in the second, by T. (spared by A.) and Giuturna, who is here the sister of Lavinia rather than of T.[134] In these versions of events Lavinia is unquestionably in love with A.,[135] but the emotional inscrutability of Virgil's character gave librettists complete freedom in moulding her and her rival suitors into varying forms of the love triangle beloved by baroque opera. So, for example, in Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle's *Enée et Lavinie*,[136] Lavinia is attracted to A. but considers T. a more prudent choice of husband, especially after the shade of Dido has informed her about A.'s behaviour at Carthage. Her dilemma pits reason against passion in a highly conventional manner, with the novel twist that the dangerous but irresistible character is represented by A.[137] Paolo Rolli's *Enea nel Lazio* (London 1734, music by Nicola Porpora) portrays A. and Lavinia as devoted lovers whose bond is tested but remains firm; in a marvellous example of the happy ending demanded by eighteenth-century convention, A. is about to kill T. when Lavinia brings on Pallas (who has been wounded, not killed) and Camilla (ditto); A. promptly spares T., who joins the others (Amata included) in

[132] See Brown (2001) 164–7.

[133] Text of the 'scenario' in Rosand (2007) 406–10, English plot summary 145–6. Rosand argues that *Le nozze* formed part of a 'Venetian trilogy' that also comprised *Il ritorno d'Ulisse in patria* (1640) and *L'Incoronazione di Poppea* (1643).

[134] On *I trionfi* see Timms (1993), especially 202–3.

[135] In *Le nozze* she is smitten while watching him from the walls of Latinus' city, a detail inspired by Ovid's story of Scylla in *Met.* 8.19–37 and previously applied to Lavinia in the *Roman d'Eneas* (see above, p. 31).

[136] First set to music by Pascal Colasse (a protégé and collaborator of Lully) in 1690, later by Antoine Dauvergne (Paris 1758) and in Italian by Tomasso Traetta (Naples/Parma 1761). The libretto *Enea e Lavinia*, attributed to Gaetano Sertor or Vincenzo de Stefano with music by P. A. Guglielmi (Naples 1785), follows the outlines of Fontenelle's plot in a cruder and more melodramatic form.

[137] Cf. her words in Act 3 scene 3: 'Turnus est plus sincère, | Turnus sait mieux aimer, je le connois trop bien. | Pourquoi l'infidèle Troyen | sait-il mieux l'art de plaire?'

praising A.[138] An opposite view of Lavinia enjoyed a brief vogue in the mid eighteenth century. In the solo cantata *Lavinia a Turno*, libretto by Maria Antonia Walpurgis, Electress of Saxony, Lavinia professes undying love for T. but is scorned by him and left to face her marriage to A. in helpless despair. The text was set to music at least three times within about a decade, by Giovanni Alberto Ristori (1748), Giovanni Marco Rutini (1756) and Carl Heinrich Graun (1759).[139]

The grandest of all musical works inspired by the *Aeneid*, Hector Berlioz's *Les Troyens* (1856–8), does not treat the events of the second half of the poem, but Berlioz did include A.'s address to Iulus (12.435–40), situating it shortly after the Trojans' arrival in Carthage, as A. prepares to lead the Carthaginians in battle against the invading Numidians. Also, the end of the opera in its definitive form, a howl of outrage and a declaration of undying hatred on the part of the Carthaginians ('haine éternelle à la race d'Enée'), can be understood as Berlioz's response to the death of T.[140] Berlioz's sympathy for T. and corresponding antipathy to A. are clear from several passages of his *Memoirs*, e.g. 'I wept for poor Turnus, robbed by the hypocrite Aeneas of kingdom, mistress and life; I wept for the beautiful and pathetic Lavinia, forced to wed an unknown brigand [cf. *latronis* 12.7!] with her lover's blood still fresh upon him.'[141] Berlioz would thus seem to be an ideal candidate as a 'pessimist' reader of Virgil. But his sympathy for the victims of Rome's destiny and his hostility to A. appear to have coexisted with a warm embrace of Rome's imperial future: the opera as originally conceived concludes with an Epilogue set in front of the Capitol in Rome, where Clio, muse of history, salutes Scipio Africanus, Julius Caesar and Augustus together with 'Divus Virgilius' with cries of 'Gloria!', before declaring 'Fuit Troja, stat Roma!'[142] Berlioz wisely abandoned that idea, and the unresolved ending that he finally adopted is dramatically far more powerful. Berlioz is perhaps best understood as an exemplar of a 'two voices' outlook: he accepted the *Aeneid*'s imperial message without irony or scepticism, but as an artist he responded far more deeply to its pathos and melancholy.[143]

[138] An especially bold reworking of V.'s story is Andrew Becket's tragedy *Lavinia* (London 1838), in which Latinus, Lavinia and her brother Melanthus are taken captive by Mezentius, who is in love with Lavinia. She agrees to marry him to save the lives of her father and brother but instead takes poison to preserve her honour; Mezentius is overthrown and killed, Latinus dies of grief, and Lausus (who had also been in love with Lavinia) and Melanthus are left to make peace between their peoples.

[139] Rutini's setting is available in a facsimile reprint (Florence 1980).

[140] For discussion of *Les Troyens* in relation to the *Aeneid* see D. Cairns (1969b), Bowersock (2009). In a slip that demonstrates his familiarity with the end of the poem, Berlioz in a letter applied the words *indignata sub umbras* (11.831 and 12.952) to Dido fleeing from A. in the Underworld; cf. D. Cairns (1999) 591.

[141] D. Cairns (1969a) 173. I owe my knowledge of these passages to Richard Thomas.

[142] The epilogue is printed as an appendix in Macdonald (1970) 900–28.

[143] Berlioz also seems to have admired French imperialism, at least as embodied in Napoleon: his grandiose *Te Deum* (1848–9, first performed 1855), was originally planned as a commemoration of Napoleon's triumphant return from the Italian campaign; cf. D. Cairns (1999) 429.

6 SOME ASPECTS OF VIRGIL'S METRE

Virgil's management of the hexameter is as essential a component of his style as his choice of words; indeed, Virgil's mastery of verse form is commonly thought to be one of his greatest achievements as a poet. A comprehensive study of Virgil's metre does not exist; this section aims only at a brief survey of some of his metrical practices, with the goal of enhancing appreciation of his poetry.[144] I have included the subject in part because instruction in metre is not now as central a part of classical studies as in the past, and also because suitable short treatments are not available in other recent single-book commentaries on the *Aeneid*. Lines of particular metrical interest are discussed in the commentary.

Virgil's hexameter, like all metres of classical Latin poetry, is quantitative; that is, it is based on the distribution of long and short syllables in the words comprising a given line of verse.[145] For purposes of scansion, a syllable is counted as long if it contains either a long vowel or diphthong, or a short vowel followed by two or more consonants. The two-consonant rule has an important exception: consonant clusters consisting of a mute/plosive or *f* followed by a liquid (*l* or *r*) – i.e. the combinations *bl, br, cl, cr, dr, fl, fr, gl, gr, pl, pr* and *tr* – are often treated as single consonants and therefore do not lengthen the preceding syllable.[146] Forms such as *patris* and *patrem* may therefore be scanned with either a short or a long first syllable, depending on their position in the line, and in one line Virgil juxtaposes the scansions for pointed effect (2.663): *natum ante ora pătris, pātrem qui obtruncat ad aras.*[147]

The dactylic hexameter as used by Virgil may be represented by the following metrical schema:

— ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ⏑⏑ — ×
     —   —   —   —

Expressed in words: each of the first four feet can consist of either a dactyl or a spondee; the fifth foot is almost always a dactyl;[148] and the sixth foot

[144] Some useful previous treatments: Maguinness (1953) 20–36 (a good starting point, with examples drawn from book 12); Norden (1927) 413–58; Knight (1939); Wilkinson (1963); Ott (1973–85), for raw data; Eden (1975) 193–201; Skutsch (1985) 46–58, on features of Ennian metrical practice in comparison with V.'s; Nussbaum (1986); Thomas (1988) 28–32 (mostly on ictus and accent); Ross (2007) 143–51.

[145] Strictly speaking, only vowels are long or short, while syllables are more accurately described as 'heavy' or 'light', but I have not thought it necessary to insist on that terminology.

[146] For a somewhat fuller statement see Maguinness (1953) 22–4. When, however, the consonants in question belong to different words (e.g. *at rabidae*) or to separate parts of a compound word (e.g. *ab/rumpo*), they are regularly treated as multiple consonants.

[147] V.'s treatment of some words of this type varies (e.g. *uolucris*, cf. 12.876 *obscenae uolŭcres* and 3.262 *obscenaeque uolūcres*), while others are always scanned in one way: for example, *lacrimae/-as/-is* and *lacrimans* are always scanned with a short first syllable, since otherwise this quintessentially Virgilian item of vocabulary could not be used in a hexameter.

[148] For the rare spondaic line endings see nn. on 83, 863.

consists of a long syllable followed by a syllable that can be either long or short (*syllaba anceps*).

One question connected with the quantitative basis of the hexameter is that of accentuation. If the first syllable of each foot is regarded as having a metrical 'beat', or *ictus*, the metrical pattern creates a notional rhythm of stressed syllables.[149] Accented in this way, the opening line of the *Aeneid* would read as follows: *árma uirúmque canó, Troiaé qui prímus ab óris.* But that pattern of metrical accents exists alongside the way in which individual words would normally be accented; that system of accentuation is also based on quantity (i.e. length of syllable), in particular the quantity of the penultimate syllable, or penult: in words of more than two syllables, the penult receives the accent if it is long (e.g. *orátor, metuéntem, quadripedántum*), with the stress falling on the previous syllable, the antepenult, if the penult is short (e.g. *féminae, agrícola, inimicítiae*).[150] If the rules for individual word accent are followed, the opening line of the *Aeneid* reads this way: *árma uirúmque cáno, Troíae qui prímus ab óris.* In this case, the two systems of accentuation coincide in the first, second, fifth and sixth feet of the line, and do not coincide in the third and fourth feet. The extent of correspondence between metrical ictus and word accent varies from line to line, but only in a very small number of cases do the two systems entirely coincide.[151]

The relationship between the two systems has long been a subject of debate. Specifically, which is to be given preference in reading hexameter verse? The currently prevailing doctrine among Anglophone classical scholars is that the word accent should predominate, with the metrical pattern making itself felt as an undercurrent.[152] One argument for doing so is that it avoids the monotony of a purely metrical system of stresses, and that the correspondences in each line are sufficient to keep the underlying metrical pattern from being obscured; in addition, since correspondence is the norm in the fifth and sixth feet of the line, almost every line ends by reaffirming the dactylic pulse. Whichever system of accenting is regarded as primary, however, the mixture of correspondence and non-correspondence in almost every line makes it clear that a degree of tension between the two was deliberately cultivated.[153]

[149] It is open to question whether Latin metrical ictus should be thought of in terms of stress, but speakers of languages such as English in which word accent is conveyed by stress will naturally conceive of ictus in those terms.

[150] Since the Latin word accent never falls on the final syllable of a word, all words of two syllables are accented on the penult, regardless of its quantity.

[151] In most of the places where they do coincide, some special effect can be observed: cf. e.g. 1.500 *hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades; illa pharetram* (a 'Homeric' rhythm, cf. Austin ad loc.), 12.176 *esto nunc sol testis et haec mihi terra uocanti* (a solemn tone for A.'s invocation).

[152] So, e.g., Wilkinson (1963) 94; also Thomas (1988) 30.

[153] I use the neutral terms 'non-correspondence' and 'non-coincidence' in preference to such descriptions as 'clash' or 'conflict' to avoid inappropriate connotations of dissonance or lack of harmony.

That conclusion is supported by another feature of the hexameter, the placement of word breaks (caesurae) within the line. More than 80 per cent of Virgil's hexameters have a word break in the third foot, the most common position being after the opening long syllable (e.g. *arma uirumque cano* ||).[154] A caesura at that point, if it comes after a word of more than one syllable, which is to say in almost all cases, guarantees non-correspondence of ictus and accent, because the ictus will then fall on the final syllable of a word, which in Latin never receives the word accent. If the third-foot caesura comes after the first of two short syllables, it is almost always accompanied by caesurae in the second and/or fourth feet, assuring non-correspondence at those points; see, for example, 12.6 and 7 *tum demum* || *mouet arma leo* || *gaudetque comantis* | *excutiens* || *ceruice toros* || *fixumque latronis*. Those clear preferences in the placement of caesurae suggest that non-correspondence of ictus and accent in the middle feet of the hexameter was thought desirable.[155] Inversely, correspondence of ictus and accent in the middle feet of the hexameter results in the absence of caesurae at those points, a pattern generally avoided and presumably regarded as inelegant.[156]

The interchangeability of spondees and dactyls in the first four feet generates 16 potential metrical patterns.[157] Virgil, like other Latin poets, exploits this diversity for the sake of variety – for example, eight patterns appear in the first 12 lines of book 12 – but Virgil shows clear preferences for certain patterns, and his preferences are not identical to those of other writers of hexameter.

By far the most frequently used pattern in the book is DSSS (as in 1 *Turnus ut infractos aduerso Marte Latinos*),[158] which appears more than 150 times, or in about 16 per cent of the total. The next most often used patterns, each with between 90 and 120 appearances, are, in order of descending frequency, DSDS (7 *excutiens ceruice toros fixumque latronis*), SDSS (3 *se signari oculis, ultro implacabilis ardet*) and DDSS (5 *saucius ille graui uenantum uulnere pectus*). The next group, each appearing between 50 and 75 times, comprises SSSS (16 *et solus ferro crimen commune refellam*), SDDS (2 *defecisse uidet, sua nunc promissa reposci*), SSDS (38 *si Turno exstincto socios*

[154] The caesura in that position is variously called 'penthemimeral' (i.e. following the fifth half-foot), 'strong', or (sorry) 'masculine' or 'male'. In his practice V. follows Ennius and Lucretius; in Homer the penthemimeral caesura is found in fewer than 45 per cent of lines, cf. Skutsch (1985) 46.

[155] Correspondence of ictus and accent in the fifth and sixth feet is secured by avoidance of a strong caesura in the fifth foot and of any caesura in the sixth foot; the line generally ends either in a disyllabic word not preceded by another disyllabic word (e.g. 12.5 *uulnere pectus*, 9 *uiolentia Turno*) or a trisyllabic word not preceded by a monosyllable (e.g. 12.1 *Marte Latinos*, 2 *promissa reposci*); cf. Maguinness (1953) 21, 28, Eden (1975) 196–7.

[156] For a line with no caesura in the second, third and fourth feet, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 221 *cui par imber et ignis, spiritus et grauis terra* (in a description of Discordia), characterized by Skutsch ad loc. as 'metrically monstrous'.

[157] Since the fifth and sixth feet of a hexameter almost always consist of a dactyl and a longum+anceps, metrical patterns are conventionally designated with reference to the first four feet only.

[158] For each pattern mentioned I cite its first appearance in the book.

sum ascire paratus), and DDDS (25 *nec genus indecores. sine me haec haud mollia fatu*). Patterns used between 25 and 50 times are DSSD (8 *impauidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento*), DDSD (86 *pectora plausa cauis et colla comantia pectunt*), DSDD (43 *respice res bello uarias, miserere parentis*) and SDSD (12 *ignaui Aeneadae, nec quae pepigere recusent*). The least often used patterns, each with fewer than 25 appearances, are SSSD (10 *tum sic adfatur regem atque ita turbidus infit*), SSDD (27 *me natam nulli ueterum sociare procorum*), DDDD (58 *tu requies miserae, decus imperiumque Latini*) and SDDD (26 *sublatis asperire dolis, simul hoc animo hauri*).

The cumulative effect of that distribution of metrical patterns is that lines in which spondees predominate are far more frequent than lines with a preponderance of dactyls: lines containing at least three spondees occur almost three times as often as lines with at least three dactyls, and the entirely spondaic pattern SSSS appears nearly four times as often as the corresponding dactylic pattern DDDD.

Certain patterns seem to have expressive potential in themselves. For example, lines of the pattern DDDD can depict rapid action such as flight or pursuit, often with the idea of swiftness conveyed by vocabulary as well: e.g. 263 *ui populat. petet ille fugam penitusque profundo* (also 733 *ni fuga subsidio subeat. fugit ocior Euro*, 758 *ille simul fugiens Rutulos simul increpat omnis*), 334 *ante Notos Zephyrumque uolant, gemit ultima pulsu* (also 478 *fertur equis rapidoque uolans obit omnia curru*, 650 *uix ea fatus erat: medios uolat ecce per hostis*, 906 *tum lapis ipse uiri uacuum per inane uolutus*).[159] Predominantly dactylic lines are also used to list the names of those killed in battle, probably suggesting the quick succession of their deaths, as in 341 *iamque neci Sthenelumque dedit Thamyrumque Pholumque* and 363 *Chloreaque Sybarimque Daretaque Thersilochumque* (both lines occur in the *aristeia* of T.). Other effects are likely though less clear-cut; for example, in 394 *augurium citharamque dabat celerisque sagittas* the swift movement would aptly mirror Apollo's effusiveness in offering gifts to his prospective lover Iapyx.

Lines with an exclusively spondaic pattern (SSSS) serve a wider variety of expressive functions. Slow-moving or impeded action is the most obvious effect, as in 386, which describes A.'s laboured progress after his wound: *alternos longa nitentem cuspide gressus*, or 772, when A.'s spear sticks fast in a tree trunk: *hic hasta Aeneae stabat, huc impetus illam*, or 919, as A. hesitates before hurling his spear at T.: *cunctanti telum Aeneas fatale coruscat*. Similarly mimetic is the description of large and/or heavy objects, as in 897–7 *nec plura effatus saxum circumspicit ingens, | saxum antiquum ingens, campo quod forte iacebat*. (In those cases vocabulary again reinforces metre: *nitentem*, *stabat*, *ingens*.) Spondaic lines may also depict physical exertion, e.g. 130 *defigunt tellure hastas et scuta reclinant*, 357 *impresso dextrae mucronem extorquet et alto* (cf. 950); highlight solemn pronouncements, e.g. 80 *illo quaeratur coniunx Lauinia campo* (also closural in position), 191 *inuictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant*, 795 *deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli* (cf. 204, 819); or reflect a character's mood or

[159] More subtly, 541 *pectora, nec misero clipei mora profuit aerei*, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.167 *conciliumque uocat; tenuit mora nulla uocatos.*

behaviour, such as Juturna's distress at the fate of her brother (160 *incertam et tristi turbatam uulnere mentis*, 870 *infelix crinis scindit Iuturna solutos*) or the puffed-up pride of Aulestes (289 *Messapus regem regisque insigne gerentem*).

Other metrical patterns in isolation do not appear to serve expressive functions. A partial exception is DSSS, which Virgil often places at the head of a new section of narrative or at the start of a speech (see 1, 113–15, 161, 175, 212, 244, 266, 311, 324 (echoing 1), 353, 362, 383, 411, 451, 498–9, 521, 560, 620, 632, 697, 715, 746, 807, 869). DSSS is also used, though less frequently, in closural position (see 106, 310, 464–6, 611, 664, 713–14, 765, 841–2, 895, 912).[160]

The potential effects of metrical patterns in combination are too varied to be discussed in this short sketch. I offer just a few observations.

The juxtaposition of contrasting metrical patterns may underscore a shift of tempo, such as from slow to fast: cf. e.g. 80–1 *'illo quaeratur coniunx Lauinia campo.'* (SSSS) | *haec ubi dicta dedit rapidusque in tecta recessit* (DDDS); 134–5 *at Iuno e summo qui nunc Albanus habetur* (SSSS) | *(tum neque nomen erat neque honos aut gloria monti)* (DDDS).

The repetition of a metrical pattern may occasionally have expressive effect, although most of the examples I have noted are not as marked as the previous types. So in 105–6 *arboris obnixus trunco, uentosque lacessit* | *ictibus aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena*, the repetition of DSSS may mirror the bull's determined efforts, or in 464–6 the threefold occurrence of DSSS may suggest A.'s dogged pursuit of T. But since DSSS is by far V.'s favourite pattern, one should perhaps hesitate to attribute a specific effect to its appearance in a given context.

The best example of a meaningful sequence of metrical patterns comes from the final three lines of the book (950–2): *hoc dicens ferrum aduerso sub pectore condit* (SSSS, A. striking the death blow) followed by *feruidus; ast illi soluuntur frigore membra* (DSSS, the opening dactyl relating to A., then spondees describing death's chill spreading through T.'s limbs), and finally *uitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras* (DDDS, as T.'s shade flees (*fugit*) to the Underworld).

The placement of caesurae also has expressive potential, because the normal pattern is so regular that any departure from it registers as exceptional. Two plausible instances in this book are 144 *magnanimi Iouis ingratum ascendere cubile* (no caesura in the third or fourth foot), creating a laboured effect,[161] and 619 *confusae sonus urbis et inlaetabile murmur* (weak third-foot caesura, no caesura in fourth foot), where the verbal stress on confused and grief-stricken sound may find its metrical counterpart in an irregular rhythm.[162]

Elision[163] is another metrical feature that Virgil can exploit for expressive effect, although deciding whether such an effect is intended is in most cases a

[160] The paragraph 746–65 is framed by lines of DSSS and has another such line at its midpoint, 755, where the narrative resumes after a simile.

[161] See commentary. [162] Fuller discussion in Norden (1927) 425–34.

[163] More properly called synaloepha.

matter of judgment.[164] The most common types, such as elision of *-que* after the first long syllable of the fourth foot, are usually unmarked and are hardly noticeable (e.g. 71 *ardet in arma magis paucisque adfatur Amatam*). At the other end of the spectrum are some clear cases of expressive elision: 897 *saxum antiquum ingens* (suggesting the mass of the stone), 721 *cornuaque obnixi infigunt* (reflecting the violent struggle of the opposing bulls). One function of elision that merits closer attention is that of depicting agitated speech: in three places in the book a speech or section thereof contains an average of about one elision per line, or twice the norm for the poem as a whole: 19–45 (Latinus, 24 elisions), 632–49 (T., 17 elisions), 808–20 (Juno, 11 elisions).[165] The last example is particularly revealing, since after the opening section of Juno's speech the following lines (821–8), in which she makes her request for the continuance of Latin language and customs, contain not a single elision. It seems clear that Virgil has regulated the occurrence of elision to heighten the contrast between the two parts of the speech.[166]

The best way to develop an appreciation for the metrical effects discussed here, as well as for non-metrical sonic effects such as alliteration, is to read the text aloud, as poetry was regularly read in Antiquity.[167]

7 ABOUT THIS COMMENTARY

In 1931 John Sparrow could write that 'a great deal of the commentary on Virgil has become, practically speaking, tralatician . . . So searching and so numerous have been the commentators on Virgil that there is little that is new left to say on any given passage.'[168] Sparrow wrote at a time when Virgilian commentary was in the doldrums, but the last fifty years have produced a wealth of new commentaries that have proved his assertion to be grossly premature. Commentators have continued to find new things to say about Virgil, in part because his texts are so rich and complex in their workings, and in part because notions of what a commentary should do have substantially expanded in recent decades.[169] I am deeply indebted to a long line of Virgilian commentators, but I hope to have

[164] See Soubiran (1966) 613–47 for many suggested examples and an attempt at a typology.

[165] Winbolt (1903) 183 remarked on the correlation between frequent elision and passages expressing 'strong perturbation', e.g. 4.463–73. Soubiran's categories include 'imprécations' and 'deuil, chagrin'.

[166] Gransden (1991) 25 notes a comparable disparity between the near-absence of elision in 11.76–88 (Pallas' funeral rites, one elision) and its frequent appearance in 352–6 (Drances' speech, five elisions) and 408–10 (T.'s reply, five elisions).

[167] Quintilian (*Inst.* 11.3.35–8, under *pronuntiatio*) gives detailed instructions on how *Aen.* 1.1–7 should be delivered. On reading aloud vs. silent reading (not uncommon, especially when privacy or secrecy was called for), see most recently Parker (2009), Lowrie (2009) 14 n. 50.

[168] Sparrow (1931) 138–9.

[169] Conte (2007) discusses some of these developments as they pertain to the exegesis of V.

added something to their accumulated store of knowledge, and also to have communicated some of the excitement of discovery that I have felt in the process.

My commentary is, remarkably, the first moderately full one in any language devoted to book 12. Of previous commentaries on this single book two have been particularly useful for my own work. W. S. Maguinness's school commentary of 1953 (reprinted 2002) exhibits compact good sense on many points of language and syntax, and the Introduction contains a helpful discussion of Virgil's metre and some penetrating and well-expressed observations on larger issues.

Even more valuable is the commentary by Alfonso Traina (1997, rev. edn 2004), presented in the modest guise of an anthology for Italian schools but containing much of interest to specialists.[170] The richness of Traina's notes belies their brevity; I have cited him frequently, but his comments are so economically phrased that I have probably overlooked some that I should have included. Traina's self-imposed limits include restricting the citation of parallels largely to passages of Virgil and his probable sources, with later authors mentioned only occasionally; his commentary also contains almost no references to other scholars by name, so modern Virgilian scholarship is mainly represented by his own numerous publications.

W. Warde Fowler's *The death of Turnus* (1919) – his last major work – is effectively a series of notes on selected passages, more discursive in style than would suit a commentary but often throwing light on a subtlety or drawing attention to a difficulty, and displaying on every page the author's long familiarity with Virgil's poem.

Of commentaries on the whole poem I have drawn most often on Conington–Nettleship and on the work of the Spanish Jesuit Juan Luis de la Cerda (*c.* 1558–1643). When I was a graduate student, La Cerda's commentary was something of a trade secret, passed on by word of mouth from teacher to student; as recently as the 1990s Philip Hardie included it among 'those less frequently consulted today'.[171] In recent years La Cerda's commentary has attained greater visibility – it is now accessible online – and has been recognized not only as a repository of comparative material unconfined by modern notions of relevance, but also as the work of an engaged and often acute interpreter.[172]

Among recent commentators on other parts of the *Aeneid* I am particularly indebted to the alliterative triumvirate of Hardie, Harrison and Horsfall, who in their different ways have added so much to our understanding and appreciation of the poem's latter books. If my commentary had been written when it was

[170] As rightly emphasized by Casali (1998/9). [171] Hardie (1994) vii.

[172] The online La Cerda is at the Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text and Image, University of Pennsylvania. For appreciations of La Cerda see Laird (2002), Conte (2007). Among the authors drawn on by La Cerda who do not regularly appear in Virgilian commentaries are the Greek orators, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the pseudo-Quintilianic declamations, Plutarch, Philostratus, Cassius Dio, Nonnus, and Quintus of Smyrna.

initially meant to be, before theirs had appeared, it would have been a much poorer piece of work.

In keeping with the aims of the series in which it appears, my commentary is designed to be accessible to students at the university level and in the upper classes of schools, but also to contain material of interest to professional classicists. On lexical matters I refer to *OLD* rather than *TLL*, unless the latter has relevant material not found in *OLD*. I cite Pöschl and Heinze in their respective English translations, after checking quotations against the German originals for accuracy. Quotations of Greek are accompanied by a translation; passages from the *Iliad* are cited in Richmond Lattimore's translation (1962a), except where otherwise indicated. Limits of space have not allowed me to attempt a comprehensive treatment of any of the topics dealt with; citation of parallel passages, for example, is confined to those that seemed the most relevant or illuminating. I often refer readers to fuller commentaries on Virgil and other authors where additional details can be found.

A commentator on Virgil today can legitimately be expected to offer an interpretation, as well as an explication, of the text, but doing so entails complexities of more than one kind. As a vehicle of literary interpretation, the lemmatized commentary has both advantages and drawbacks.[173] The main drawback is the necessary atomizing of the text and the difficulty of offering interpretations of larger units or of aspects that do not coincide neatly with particular sections; the main advantage for the reader is that the commentator must engage continuously with the text as it progresses and so cannot choose to pass over aspects of it that might pose problems for a given interpretation. In other words, the commentary form provides some protection against tendentious readings or at least makes it harder to present such readings without the fact becoming obvious through significant omissions or over-interpretations.[174]

A commentator who aims to interpret must also take care not to use the authority that attaches to statements of fact to dictate in areas where readers are entitled to reach their own conclusions. For that reason I have often phrased interpretative statements in a qualified way (with 'perhaps', 'may', 'possibly', etc.), not necessarily because I lack confidence in the points being made, but in order to signal their inherently subjective character and as an implicit invitation to the reader to form an independent judgment. The need for qualification of some kind is especially great in the area of internal echoes and cross-references, the significance of which is often hard to define with precision. When the words *sic Turno, quacumque uiam* are followed in 368 by *secat, agmina cedunt* and in 913–14 by *uirtute petiuit, | successum dea dira negat*, it seems beyond dispute that the latter passage is a bitter echo of the former that contrasts T.'s thwarted efforts at the

[173] Some relevant issues are discussed by Kraus (2002).

[174] For example, in this book the shifting balance of sympathy and criticism in V.'s portrayal of T. challenges a commentator to avoid a one-sided reading.

end with his former success on the battlefield. But many cases are far less clear-cut, as for example the phrase *fremit ore cruento*, in a lion simile describing T. in 12.8 and in a lion simile describing Euryalus in 9.341, both echoing 1.296 *fremet horridus ore cruento*, of *Furor impius*. The links among the three passages are almost certainly meaningful, but they have been very differently interpreted (see n.). In such cases and elsewhere as well I have quoted other commentators directly, sometimes because they make a point with particular clarity or force, but at other times to put on record a view that I may not share. It seems fitting that the interpretation of a text that has been called 'polyphonic'[175] should itself find space for a multitude of voices.

8 THE TEXT

The text[176] of Virgil is unique in being preserved in multiple copies surviving from the ancient world. Single ancient manuscripts are extant for a handful of other Latin authors (Plautus, Terence, Cicero, Livy), but for Virgil we have the testimony of three substantially complete manuscripts and sizable fragments of four others written between the end of the fourth and the first half of the sixth centuries. Other direct evidence from Antiquity includes a number of fragments on papyrus, which range from writing exercises that use a line of the *Aeneid* to practise the alphabet (e.g. P. Hawara 24) to leaves from deluxe codices (e.g. P. Antinoopolis 29). The papyri are for the most part too fragmentary to offer readings of textual interest, but they attest to Virgil's popularity in the eastern parts of the Empire.

The ancient manuscript evidence is complemented by an indirect tradition comprising hundreds of citations by authors such as Seneca and Quintilian, by late-antique grammarians and by ancient commentators on Virgil and other authors. These citations often make us aware of readings that circulated in Antiquity but are not reflected in the manuscript tradition, and a few of the readings so preserved have been accepted by editors (e.g. *Aen.* 6.383, where all manuscripts read *terrae* and Servius alone attests *terra*). The evidence of the indirect tradition, however, must be treated with caution; for one reason, the text of a citation in, say, Quintilian may have been corrupted in Quintilian's manuscripts by contamination from the Virgilian manuscript tradition (as in fact happened at *Ecl.* 4.62).

V.'s text quickly became the object of scholarly attention of a kind similar to that previously devoted by the critics of Alexandria to the text of Homer and other canonical authors. The indirect tradition has preserved information about readings (some of which may be conjectures) favoured by scholars such

[175] Conte (1999) 35 = (2007) 47.

[176] This sketch is a shortened version of my article 'Text and transmission', forthcoming in *VE*. For other brief accounts see Reynolds (1983) and Geymonat (1995).

as Valerius Probus (late first century CE); their work probably took the form of textual notes or a commentary rather than an edition and seems to have had little impact on the mainstream manuscript tradition. Probus is said to have consulted numerous copies of the authors he worked on, and there is no reason to doubt that he and other *grammatici* attempted to identify authoritative manuscripts, but assertions that they had access to copies 'from the household of Virgil' or 'corrected in his own hand', such as are found in Aulus Gellius, are rightly treated with scepticism.[177]

Given the richness and antiquity of the tradition, along with Virgil's almost immediate adoption as an author for schools, one might expect his text to be particularly well preserved. That is certainly true in a relative sense (i.e. in comparison with other Latin classical authors), but the Virgilian transmission is not without its problems and obscurities.

For one thing, the ancient witnesses are separated from Virgil himself by several centuries. The oldest copy of any part of Virgil's text is an unprepossessing scrap of a parchment roll (P. Strasb. Lat. 2) containing a few semi-legible verses of the *Eclogues*, which has been plausibly dated to the late first or early second centuries CE. The bulk of the ancient manuscript evidence, however, is much later. In particular, the three substantially complete capital manuscripts (so called from their distinctive capital script) that form the foundation of all modern editions, the Mediceus (M), Palatinus (P) and Romanus (R), were written within a few decades of one another in the late fifth and early sixth centuries. By the time MPR were written, there had been much cross-circulation and contamination of readings. As a result it is impossible to construct stable affiliations for the ancient witnesses, or to invoke the authority of a particular manuscript as a means to arbitrate between competing variants. In many cases an editor is faced with a choice between two readings (rarely more than two), each of which has the support of at least one ancient witness (direct or indirect) and each of which is acceptable on grounds of sense and Latinity.

Editorial problems are exacerbated by the circumstances of the *Aeneid*'s unrevised state and posthumous publication in an edition by Virgil's friend and fellow-poet L. Varius Rufus. The scope and nature of Varius' editorial intervention are beyond recovery. The decision to allow half-lines to remain incomplete might suggest a policy of restraint, but there must have been places where Virgil's intentions were unclear and a choice had to be made, and it seems very likely that the text as published contained some material that Virgil would have altered or removed in a final revision. A text containing obvious loose ends gave scope for invention by readers to fill lacunae, real or imagined, and the existence of lines not found in the mainstream tradition could easily have generated anecdotes of excisions made by the first editors.[178]

[177] On Probus' Virgilian scholarship see Delvigo (1987).
[178] A prominent, and controversial, case is the so-called Helen Episode, *Aen.* 2.567–88.

One fundamental issue that remains unsettled is the ultimate source of the manuscript tradition. In most traditions the presence in all manuscripts of errors that cannot have been in the author's original text requires postulating a common source later than the original; in historical terms that common source, or archetype, is usually situated in the late-antique or early medieval period. Editors of Virgil agree that his manuscripts share a certain number of errors, but many critics have resisted positing descent from an archetype because of the early date of the capital manuscripts.[179] The alternative is to suppose that errors made in early witnesses found their way into unrelated copies through a process of horizontal transmission, as when readings from manuscript A are first entered in manuscript B as variants or corrections and then replace the original readings of B in a subsequent copy C. That hypothesis too has its problematic aspect: although none of the ancient readings considered erroneous by editors is impossible and many are plausible in themselves, they are almost all clearly inferior to the putative original reading, and it is therefore difficult to understand how they could have been so often preferred to those readings if they were still available.

Whatever the truth of that question, the widely held belief that the manuscript tradition of the *Aeneid* ultimately derives from Varius' edition surely helps to explain why modern editors have shown a degree of deference to the transmitted text that would be regarded as excessive in the editing of other classical authors. In the text of the *Aeneid* both the Oxford edition of R. A. B. Mynors and the more recent Teubner edition of G. B. Conte adopt post-Renaissance conjectures in roughly 25 places; since their choices only coincide ten times, the total of conjectures accepted by one or the other or both is about 40. But the notion that in a poem of nearly 10,000 verses the original reading has been faithfully preserved somewhere in the tradition in all but about 40 places strains belief. Recent editors have almost certainly erred on the side of conservatism, and a number of conjectures currently either forgotten or relegated to the *apparatus criticus* deserve a re-hearing. But any large-scale effort to penetrate beyond the ancient vulgate text is likely to have only limited success.[180] Virgil's earliest editors and readers have created a version of his text that may not fully correspond to the original, but from which it is hard to depart with any confidence.

For those reasons the text printed here is a fundamentally conservative one; the only editorial decision that is likely to raise eyebrows is the bracketing of lines 882–4. My text differs from those of either Mynors or Conte or both in about 130 places, but many of those involve relatively minor matters of punctuation or orthography. The following table lists divergences that affect the text or the sense.

[179] Courtney (1981, 2002–3), however, has argued that an influential fourth-century copy could be responsible for the errors common to all manuscripts.

[180] For example, the hypothesis advanced by Zwierlein ((1999), somewhat modified in (2000) 80 n. 161), that our text of V. contains substantial interpolations by the Tiberian poet-rhetor Julius Montanus has found few adherents.

Line	This edition	Mynors	Conte
134	ex	ex	e
154	profudit	profundit	profudit
218	[non uiribus aequis]	non uiribus aequos	[non uiribus aequis]
329	seminecis multos; aut	seminecis multos: aut	semineces multos: aut
371	frementem:	frementem	frementem:
605	flauos	flauos	floros
641	nostrum ne	ne nostrum	nostrum ne
678	stat quidquid acerbi est	stat, quidquid acerbi est,	stat quidquid acerbi est
714	miscentur	miscetur	miscentur
790	certamine	certamina	certamine
838	surget	surget,	surget,
882–4	bracketed	not bracketed	not bracketed
893	clausumque	clausumque	clausumue
899	illum	illum	illud

The *apparatus criticus* represents a synthesis of information from Mynors, Conte and Geymonat; I have verified a few readings where editors disagree, but I have not collated any manuscripts. My aim has been to keep the *apparatus* brief and legible while incorporating the most useful new information provided by Conte, in particular the fuller account of the ninth-century tradition and the more generous reporting of readings from the indirect tradition. In the interest of brevity I often cite the ninth-century MSS with collective *sigla*: ω (similarly used by Mynors and Conte) represents either all those MSS or the majority of them, while φ (my innovation) signifies three or more MSS, but not the majority. My assumption in introducing φ is that it is more useful for a reader to know that a variant has a certain degree of attestation in that period than to know that it is found in MSS *abcd* rather than in *efgh*. Another means of economy is the negative apparatus entry: instead of recording all the witnesses that support the reading in the text as well as any that differ (the positive form), a negative entry records only those witnesses that do not contain the reading adopted by the editor. For example, on line 124 the entry 'ferro] bello *M*' signifies that *ferro* is the reading of all other manuscript witnesses (in this case *PR* ω).[181] Where a variant can be easily related to the text as printed, a heading (lemma) is omitted, as in line 16, where the text reads *ferro crimen* and *R* φ have the inversion *crimen ferro*. Finally, I have omitted some obviously erroneous readings found in a single

[181] Servius' commentary does not cite every line of V.'s text; it is therefore not possible to infer from the silence of a negative entry that Servius supports the reading in the text. When Servius (or another source in the indirect tradition) supports a reading other than the one adopted in the text, that fact is recorded in the *apparatus*.

manuscript. For fuller reports readers should consult the editions of Conte and Geymonat.

Many variants in the Virgilian manuscript tradition are probably echo variants, i.e. alterations prompted by recollection of a similar passage elsewhere in Virgil; I have followed the practice of recent editors in citing the likely sources of such variants. Other parallels and textual remarks found in the commentary are not repeated in the *apparatus*.

Manuscripts Cited

Capital manuscripts

M	Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana plut. lat. 39.1 ('codex Mediceus'), late fifth century (before 494).
M^{ac}/M^{c}	The reading of M before correction and after correction, respectively; similarly for other MSS.
P	Vatican, Palatinus lat. 1631 ('codex Palatinus'), late fifth or early sixth century; missing 12.47–92.
R	Vatican, Vat. lat. 3867 ('codex Romanus'), late fifth or early sixth century; missing 12.651–86, 759–830, 939–52.
V	Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare XL (formerly 38), fifth century; contains 12.456–508, 667–718. The MS is a palimpsest, in which the text of Virgil (and parts of several other classical authors) was written over in the eighth century.

Ninth-century manuscripts[182]

a	Bern, Burgerbibliothek 172 + Paris BnF lat. 7929 (a single manuscript now divided between two locations). Descended from R in 12.1–819; missing 12.868–952. I cite a only where R is missing or where a is independent of R.
b	Bern 165; missing 12.919–52
c	Bern 184
d	Bern 255 and 239 + Paris lat. 8093
e	Bern 167; missing 12.452–579, 772–952
f	Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F. 2. 8
g	Paris lat. 7925
h	Valenciennes, Bibl. municipale 407 (389)
i	Vatican, Reginensis lat. 1669
j	Brussels, Bibl. Royale 5325–5327
k	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek 52 in scrinio
n	Naples, Bibl. Nazionale Vind. lat. 6 (previously in Vienna); missing 12.676–952
r	Paris lat. 7926; contains 12.1–138
u	Paris lat. 13044; contains 12.1–364

[182] I use the *sigla* assigned by Conte. Three of the group are dated to the tenth century by Munk Olsen (1982–9): c (tentatively, citing Bernhard Bischoff), n and z.

v	Vatican, Vat. lat. 1570
x	Montpellier, Bibl. de la Faculté de Médecine H 253
y	Paris lat. 10307
z	Paris lat. 7927
γ	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek Gud. lat. 2° 70. Closely related to P; I cite γ only when its readings differ from those of P^{ac} or P^{c}.
ω	Consensus of ninth-century MSS, or a majority of them
φ	Three or more ninth-century MSS, but not a majority
recc.	Later MSS (i.e. later than the ninth century)
codd.	Consensus of all MSS (or of all those not otherwise mentioned)

Indirect tradition[183]

ps.-Acro	Scholia on Horace (ed. O. Keller, Leipzig 1902–4)
Agroec.	Agroecius (fifth century), *Ars de orthographia* (*GLK* vii; ed. M. Pugliarello, Milan 1978)
Arus.	Arusianus Messius (late fourth century), *Exempla elocutionum* (*GLK* vii; ed. A. Della Casa, Milan 1977)
Asper	Aemilius Asper (third century?), *Grammatica Vergiliana* (in the *Appendix Seruiana*, ed. H. Hagen, Leipzig 1902)
Caper	Flavius Caper (second century); cited by Servius (see 12.120)
Char.	Flavius Sosipater Charisius (fourth century), *Ars grammatica* (*GLK* i)
Comm. Luc.	*M. Annaei Lucani Commenta Bernensia* (ed. H. Usener, Leipzig 1869)
Diom.	Diomedes (fourth century), *Ars grammatica* (*GLK* i)
Donatus	Aelius Donatus (fourth century), commentary on V.; cited by Servius (see 12.365)
Don. *ad Ter.*	Aelius Donatus, *Commentum Terenti* (ed. P. Wessner, Leipzig 1902–5)
Dosith.	Dositheus (fourth century?), *Ars grammatica* (*GLK* vii; ed. G. Bonnet, Paris 2005)
DSeru.	Servius Danielis (also known as Servius Auctus)
GLK	*Grammatici latini* (ed. H. Keil, Leipzig 1857–80)
Gramm.	Three or more of the *grammatici* in *GLK*
Hyginus	Gaius Julius Hyginus, freedman of Augustus; cited by Servius (see 12.120)
Isid.	Isidore of Seville (*c.* 600), *Etymologiae* (ed. W. M. Lindsay, Oxford 1911)
Macrob.	Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius (early fifth century), *Saturnalia* (ed. J. Willis, Leipzig 1963/1994; R. A. Kaster, Cambridge, MA 2011)
Mar. Vict.	Gaius Marius Victorinus (fourth century), *Ars grammatica* (*GLK* vi; ed. I. Mariotti, Florence 1967)

[183] This list does not include standard authors such as Horace, Seneca and Quintilian.

Non.	Nonius Marcellus (fourth century), *De compendiosa doctrina* (ed. W. M. Lindsay, Leipzig 1903)
Pomp.	Pompeius (fifth century), *Commentum artis Donati* (*GLK* v)
Prisc.	Priscian of Caesarea (fifth/sixth century), *Institutiones grammaticae* (*GLK* ii–iii)
Probus	M. Valerius Probus (attrib.: fourth century?), *Instituta artium* (*GLK* iv)
Rufin.	Julius Rufinianus (fourth century?), *De figuris sententiarum* (*Rhetores latini minores*, ed. C. Halm, Leipzig 1863)
Seru.	Servius (called Marius or Maurus Servius Honoratus in some MSS, fourth century), *Commentarii* (ed. G. Thilo, Leipzig 1881–7)
Tib.	Tiberius Claudius Donatus (fourth century?), *Interpretationes Vergilianae* (ed. H. Georgii, Leipzig 1905–6). At times the reading in the heading to a note (= *Tib. in lemm.*) differs from the reading found in or presupposed by the note itself (= *Tib. in interpr.*).

Some abbreviations and conventions used in the apparatus

def.	*deficit*; used when a MS is missing or illegible at the point in question
del.	*deleuit*; bracketed as spurious (similarly *secl.* = *seclusi*, *seclusit*)
dist.	*distinguit* ('punctuates')
fere	'nearly', 'almost'; used with ω to indicate a nearly unanimous reading
prob.	*probauit* ('approved of', 'gave approval to')
ut uid.	*ut uidetur* ('as it seems', 'apparently'); used when a reading cannot be reported with certainty. A question mark appended to a MS *siglum* indicates a greater degree of doubt.

Other terms used in the *apparatus* are, it is hoped, self-explanatory.

P. VERGILI MARONIS
AENEIDOS
LIBER DVODECIMVS

P. VERGILI MARONIS
AENEIDOS LIBER DVODECIMVS

Turnus ut infractos aduerso Marte Latinos
defecisse uidet, sua nunc promissa reposci,
se signari oculis, ultro implacabilis ardet
attollitque animos. Poenorum qualis in aruis
saucius ille graui uenantum uulnere pectus 5
tum demum mouet arma leo gaudetque comantis
excutiens ceruice toros fixumque latronis
impauidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento:
haud secus accenso gliscit uiolentia Turno.
tum sic adfatur regem atque ita turbidus infit: 10
'nulla mora in Turno; nihil est quod dicta retractent
ignaui Aeneadae, nec quae pepigere recusent:
congredior. fer sacra, pater, et concipe foedus.
aut hac Dardanium dextra sub Tartara mittam
desertorem Asiae (sedeant spectentque Latini), 15
et solus ferro crimen commune refellam,
aut habeat uictos, cedat Lauinia coniunx.'
Olli sedato respondit corde Latinus:
'o praestans animi iuuenis, quantum ipse feroci
uirtute exsuperas, tanto me impensius aequum est 20
consulere atque omnis metuentem expendere casus.
sunt tibi regna patris Dauni, sunt oppida capta
multa manu, nec non aurumque animusque Latino est;
sunt aliae innuptae Latio et Laurentibus aruis
nec genus indecores. sine me haec haud mollia fatu 25
sublatis aperire dolis, simul hoc animo hauri:
me natam nulli ueterum sociare procorum
fas erat, idque omnes diuique hominesque canebant.
uictus amore tui, cognato sanguine uictus
coniugis et maestae lacrimis, uincla omnia rupi: 30
promissam eripui genero, arma impia sumpsi.
ex illo qui me casus, quae, Turne, sequantur

1–32 *MPR* 11 turno est *Seneca benef.* VI xli 2 16 crimen ferro *R* φ 22–3 multa . . . capta *DSeru. ad A.* xi 224, *Tib.* 24 aruis *M*, *Seru.* : agris *PR* ω, *Tib.* (*cf. A.* xi 431) 25 haud haec φ, *Non.* 319.28 (*recte idem* 385.22)

bella, uides, quantos primus patiare labores.
bis magna uicti pugna uix urbe tuemur
spes Italas; recalent nostro Thybrina fluenta 35
sanguine adhuc campique ingentes ossibus albent.
quo referor totiens? quae mentem insania mutat?
si Turno exstincto socios sum ascire paratus,
cur non incolumi potius certamina tollo?
quid consanguinei Rutuli, quid cetera dicet 40
Italia, ad mortem si te (fors dicta refutet!)
prodiderim, natam et conubia nostra petentem?
respice res bello uarias, miserere parentis
longaeui, quem nunc maestum patria Ardea longe
diuidit.' haudquaquam dictis uiolentia Turni 45
flectitur; exsuperat magis aegrescitque medendo.
ut primum fari potuit, sic institit ore:
'quam pro me curam geris, hanc, precor, optime, pro me
deponas letumque sinas pro laude pacisci.
et nos tela, pater, ferrumque haud debile dextra 50
spargimus, et nostro sequitur de uulnere sanguis.
longe illi dea mater erit, quae nube fugacem
feminea tegat et uanis sese occulat umbris.'
At regina noua pugnae conterrita sorte
flebat et ardentem generum moritura tenebat: 55
'Turne, per has ego te lacrimas, per si quis Amatae
tangit honos animum – spes tu nunc una, senectae
tu requies miserae, decus imperiumque Latini
te penes, in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit –
unum oro: desiste manum committere Teucris. 60
qui te cumque manent isto certamine casus
et me, Turne, manent; simul haec inuisa relinquam
lumina nec generum Aenean captiua uidebo.'
accepit uocem lacrimis Lauinia matris
flagrantis perfusa genas, cui plurimus ignem 65
subiecit rubor et calefacta per ora cucurrit.
Indum sanguineo ueluti uiolauerit ostro
si quis ebur, aut mixta rubent ubi lilia multa

33–46 *MPR*; 47–68 *MγR* 33 patiare M^c *P ω*, *Tib.* : -iere M^{ac} *R φ* 46 ardescitque tuendo M^{ac} (*cf. A.* i 713) 47 institit] incipit *M* $γ^c$ *n*, *Don. ad Ter. Hec.* 745 (*cf. u.* 692) 53 et] ut *Schrader* 55 monitura *Ribbeck*

alba rosa, talis uirgo dabat ore colores.
illum turbat amor figitque in uirgine uultus; 70
ardet in arma magis paucisque adfatur Amatam:
'ne, quaeso, ne me lacrimis neue omine tanto
prosequere in duri certamina Martis euntem,
o mater; neque enim Turno mora libera mortis.
nuntius haec, Idmon, Phrygio mea dicta tyranno 75
haud placitura refer: cum primum crastina caelo
puniceis inuecta rotis Aurora rubebit,
non Teucros agat in Rutulos, Teucrum arma quiescant
et Rutuli; nostro dirimamus sanguine bellum,
illo quaeratur coniunx Lauinia campo.' 80

Haec ubi dicta dedit rapidusque in tecta recessit,
poscit equos gaudetque tuens ante ora frementis,
Pilumno quos ipsa decus dedit Orithyia,
qui candore niues anteirent, cursibus auras.
circumstant properi aurigae manibusque lacessunt 85
pectora plausa cauis et colla comantia pectunt.
ipse dehinc auro squalentem alboque orichalco
circumdat loricam umeris, simul aptat habendo
ensemque clipeumque et rubrae cornua cristae,
ensem quem Dauno ignipotens deus ipse parenti 90
fecerat et Stygia candentem tinxerat unda.
exim quae mediis ingenti adnixa columnae
aedibus astabat, ualidam ui corripit hastam,
Actoris Aurunci spolium, quassatque trementem
uociferans: 'nunc, o numquam frustrata uocatus 95
hasta meos, nunc tempus adest: te maximus Actor,
te Turni nunc dextra gerit; da sternere corpus
loricamque manu ualida lacerare reuulsam
semiuiri Phrygis et foedare in puluere crinis
uibratos calido ferro murraque madentis.' 100
his agitur furiis, totoque ardentis ab ore
scintillae absistunt, oculis micat acribus ignis:
mugitus ueluti cum prima in proelia taurus

69–92 *MγR*; 93–103 *MPR* 76 refer *MR φ*, *Mar. Vict.* xv 26: refert ω, *Tib.* (*de γ ambigitur*) 84 auras] amnes *ps.-Acro ad Hor. serm.* I vii 8 85 properi] -e *R* γ^{ac} *b?* 92 columna *γ φ*, *Arus.* 455.19, *Tib.* 96 nunc (tempus) ades *Heinsius* : nunc t., ades *Peerlkamp* 101 ardentis] loquentis P^{ac} (*ut uid.*), *Macrob.* IV i 2, *Tib.* (*cf. A.* vii 118) 102 absistunt] exs- P^{ac}*R* 103 primam M^{ac} : primum *R f*, *Tib.*

terrificos ciet aut irasci in cornua temptat
arboris obnixus trunco, uentosque lacessit 105
ictibus aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.
Nec minus interea maternis saeuus in armis
Aeneas acuit Martem et se suscitat ira,
oblato gaudens componi foedere bellum.
tum socios maestique metum solatur Iuli 110
fata docens, regique iubet responsa Latino
certa referre uiros et pacis dicere leges.
Postera uix summos spargebat lumine montis
orta dies, cum primum alto se gurgite tollunt
Solis equi lucemque elatis naribus efflant. 115
campum ad certamen magnae sub moenibus urbis
dimensi Rutulique uiri Teucrique parabant
in medioque focos et dis communibus aras
gramineas; alii fontemque ignemque ferebant
uelati limo et uerbena tempora uincti. 120
procedit legio Ausonidum, pilataque plenis
agmina se fundunt portis. hinc Troius omnis
Tyrrhenusque ruit uariis exercitus armis,
haud secus instructi ferro quam si aspera Martis
pugna uocet. nec non mediis in milibus ipsi 125
ductores auro uolitant ostroque superbi,
et genus Assaraci Mnestheus et fortis Asilas
et Messapus equum domitor, Neptunia proles.
utque dato signo spatia in sua quisque recessit,
defigunt tellure hastas et scuta reclinant. 130
tum studio effusae matres et uulgus inermum
inualidique senes turris ac tecta domorum
obsedere, alii portis sublimibus astant.
At Iuno ex summo (qui nunc Albanus habetur;
tum neque nomen erat neque honos aut gloria monti) 135
prospiciens tumulo campum aspectabat et ambas

104–36 *MPR* 104 aut] atque *M*^{ac} γ^{c} ω (*cf. G.* iii 232) 113 summo *M* ω, *D Seru.*, *Diom.* 449.28 montis] terras *b*, *Diom.* (*cf. A.* iv 584, ix 459) 117 demensi *M* γ^{ac} φ 120 limo *z*, *Caper et Hyginus ap. Seru.* : lino *codd.*, *DSeru. ad u.* 169, *Tib.* 124 ferro] bello *M* 126 superbi *M* : decori *PR* ω, *Tib.* (*cf. A.* v 133) 130 tellure *MP* ω, *Arus.* 467.11, *DSeru. ad u.* 121 (*cf. A.* vi 652) : -ri *R* φ, *Seru. ad u.* 563, *Tib.* (*cf. G.* ii 290) 132 ac *PR* φ, *Tib. in interpr.* (*cf. A.* ii 445) : et *M* ω, *Tib. in lemm.* 134 ex *P*^{ac} *R* ω, *Tib. in lemm.* : e *MP*^{c}, *Tib. in interpr.* 135 neque^{2}] nec *M* φ

Laurentum Troumque acies urbemque Latini.
extemplo Turni sic est adfata sororem
diua deam, stagnis quae fluminibusque sonoris
praesidet (hunc illi rex aetheris altus honorem 140
Iuppiter erepta pro uirginitate sacrauit):
'nympha, decus fluuiorum, animo gratissima nostro,
scis ut te cunctis unam, quaecumque Latinae
magnanimi Iouis ingratum ascendere cubile,
praetulerim caelique libens in parte locarim: 145
disce tuum, ne me incuses, Iuturna, dolorem.
qua uisa est Fortuna pati Parcaeque sinebant
cedere res Latio, Turnum et tua moenia texi;
nunc iuuenem imparibus uideo concurrere fatis,
Parcarumque dies et uis inimica propinquat. 150
non pugnam aspicere hanc oculis, non foedera possum.
tu pro germano si quid praesentius audes,
perge; decet. forsan miseros meliora sequentur.'
uix ea, cum lacrimas oculis Iuturna profudit
terque quaterque manu pectus percussit honestum. 155
'non lacrimis hoc tempus' ait Saturnia Iuno:
'accelera et fratrem, si quis modus, eripe morti;
aut tu bella cie conceptumque excute foedus.
auctor ego audendi.' sic exhortata reliquit
incertam et tristi turbatam uulnere mentis. 160
    Interea reges, ingenti mole Latinus
quadriiugo uehitur curru (cui tempora circum
aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt,
Solis aui specimen), bigis it Turnus in albis,
bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro. 165
hinc pater Aeneas, Romanae stirpis origo,
sidereo flagrans clipeo et caelestibus armis,
et iuxta Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae,
procedunt castris, puraque in ueste sacerdos
saetigeri fetum suis intonsamque bidentem 170
attulit admouitque pecus flagrantibus aris.

137–71 *MPR* 142 gratissima *M ω, Seru., Tib.* : car- *PR b* 147 qua] quoad *Arus.* 505.1, *'quidam' ap. DSeru.* 149 fatis] telis *γ^c fg, Tib.* (*cf. G.* i 489) 150 uis] lux *Macrob.* V xiii 39 (*cf. A.* ix 355) 154 profudit *M^c R ω, DSeru., Tib.* : -fundit *M^ac j* : -fugit *R* 161 interea] continuo *Gramm.* 166 hinc] tum *Char.* 280.6, *Diom.* 443.26 168 magna *γ, Char., Diom., 'quidam' ap. Seru.*

illi ad surgentem conuersi lumina solem
dant fruges manibus salsas et tempora ferro
summa notant pecudum paterisque altaria libant.
  Tum pius Aeneas stricto sic ense precatur: 175
'esto nunc Sol testis et haec mihi terra uocanti,
quam propter tantos potui perferre labores,
et pater omnipotens et tu Saturnia coniunx
(iam melior, iam, diua, precor), tuque inclute Mauors,
cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques; 180
fontisque fluuiosque uoco, quaeque aetheris alti
religio et quae caeruleo sunt numina ponto:
cesserit Ausonio si fors uictoria Turno,
conuenit Euandri uictos discedere ad urbem,
cedet Iulus agris, nec post arma ulla rebelles 185
Aeneadae referent ferroue haec regna lacessent.
sin nostrum adnuerit nobis uictoria Martem
(ut potius reor et potius di numine firment),
non ego nec Teucris Italos parere iubebo
nec mihi regna peto: paribus se legibus ambae 190
inuictae gentes aeterna in foedera mittant.
sacra deosque dabo; socer arma Latinus habeto,
imperium sollemne socer. mihi moenia Teucri
constituent urbique dabit Lauinia nomen.'
  Sic prior Aeneas; sequitur sic deinde Latinus 195
suspiciens caelum, tenditque ad sidera dextram:
'haec eadem, Aenea, terram, mare, sidera, iuro
Latonaeque genus duplex Ianumque bifrontem
uimque deum infernam et duri sacraria Ditis;
audiat haec genitor qui foedera fulmine sancit. 200
tango aras, medios ignis et numina testor:
nulla dies pacem hanc Italis nec foedera rumpet,
quo res cumque cadent; nec me uis ulla uolentem
auertet, non, si tellurem effundat in undas
diluuio miscens caelumque in Tartara soluat, 205
ut sceptrum hoc' (dextra sceptrum nam forte gerebat)

172–206 *MPR*   176 uocanti *PR* ω : prec- *M* φ, *Seru.*, *Tib.*   178 coniunx *PR* φ, *Tib.* : iuno *M* ω, *Seru. ad u.* 176 (*cf. u.* 156)   179 diua] nostra *Wagner*   185 cedat *R* φ   187 si *R* φ, *DSeru. ad u.* 176, *Tib.*   188 potius^{2}] propius *R* (*cf. A.* viii 78)   numina P^{c}*R*   202 rumpit P^{ac} : -at P^{c} 203 cadet *R n*   205 caelumue φ

'numquam fronde leui fundet uirgulta nec umbras,
cum semel in siluis imo de stirpe recisum
matre caret posuitque comas et bracchia ferro,
olim arbos, nunc artificis manus aere decoro 210
inclusit patribusque dedit gestare Latinis.'
talibus inter se firmabant foedera dictis
conspectu in medio procerum. tum rite sacratas
in flammam iugulant pecudes et uiscera uiuis
eripiunt cumulantque oneratis lancibus aras. 215
At uero Rutulis impar ea pugna uideri
iamdudum et uario misceri pectora motu,
tum magis ut propius cernunt [non uiribus aequis].
adiuuat incessu tacito progressus et aram
suppliciter uenerans demisso lumine Turnus 220
pubentesque genae et iuuenali in corpore pallor.
quem simul ac Iuturna soror crebrescere uidit
sermonem et uulgi uariare labantia corda,
in medias acies formam adsimulata Camerti
(cui genus a proauis ingens clarumque paternae 225
nomen erat uirtutis, et ipse acerrimus armis),
in medias dat sese acies haud nescia rerum
rumoresque serit uarios ac talia fatur:
'non pudet, o Rutuli, pro cunctis talibus unam
obiectare animam? numerone an uiribus aequi 230
non sumus? en, omnes et Troes et Arcades hi sunt,
fatalisque manus, infensa Etruria Turno:
uix hostem, alterni si congrediamur, habemus.
ille quidem ad superos, quorum se deuouet aris,
succedet fama uiuusque per ora feretur; 235
nos patria amissa dominis parere superbis
cogemur, qui nunc lenti consedimus aruis.'
Talibus incensa est iuuenum sententia dictis
iam magis atque magis, serpitque per agmina murmur:

207–39 *MPR* 207 nec] neque *φ*, *Macrob.* V iii 14 213 prospectu *M*, *Tib.* (-um) in *om.* $M^{ac}P^{ac}$ *bn* (*cf. A.* ii 67) 218 non uiribus aequis *del. Brunck* aequis] -os *Schrader* 219 ingressu γ^{c} *dh*, *Tib.* tacito] tardo *Schrader* 221 pubentesque] tab- *φ*, *Tib.* 222 ac] ut γ^{c} *et fere ω* 223 labentia *R et fere ω*, *Tib. in lemm.* 224 Camertae *f*, *Macrob.* V xv 11, *Prisc.* VIII xxiv *et* xxviii 230 an] ac P^{c} aequis *P hj* 231 hi] hinc *R* : hic *n* 232 fatalisque P^{ac} *ω*, *Seru.* : -esque $MP^{c}R$ *b*, *Tib.* 237 lentis γ^{ac} armis M^{ac} γ^{ac} (lentis . . . armis *recc.*) 238 accensa *k*, *Tib.* 239 iam] tum *P*

ipsi Laurentes mutati ipsique Latini. 240
qui sibi iam requiem pugnae rebusque salutem
sperabant, nunc arma uolunt foedusque precantur
infectum et Turni sortem miserantur iniquam.
his aliud maius Iuturna adiungit et alto
dat signum caelo, quo non praesentius ullum 245
turbauit mentes Italas monstroque fefellit.
namque uolans rubra fuluus Iouis ales in aethra
litoreas agitabat auis turbamque sonantem
agminis aligeri, subito cum lapsus ad undas
cycnum excellentem pedibus rapit improbus uncis. 250
arrexere animos Itali, cunctaeque uolucres
conuertunt clamore fugam (mirabile uisu),
aetheraque obscurant pennis hostemque per auras
facta nube premunt, donec ui uictus et ipso
pondere defecit praedamque ex unguibus ales 255
proiecit fluuio penitusque in nubila fugit.
Tum uero augurium Rutuli clamore salutant
expediuntque manus, primusque Tolumnius augur
'hoc erat, hoc uotis' inquit 'quod saepe petiui.
accipio agnoscoque deos; me, me duce ferrum 260
corripite, o miseri, quos improbus aduena bello
territat inualidas ut auis, et litora uestra
ui populat. petet ille fugam penitusque profundo
uela dabit; uos unanimi densete cateruas
et regem uobis pugna defendite raptum.' 265
dixit, et aduersos telum contorsit in hostis
procurrens; sonitum dat stridula cornus et auras
certa secat. simul hoc, simul ingens clamor et omnes
turbati cunei calefactaque corda tumultu.
hasta uolans, ut forte nouem pulcherrima fratrum 270
corpora constiterant contra, quos fida crearat
una tot Arcadio coniunx Tyrrhena Gylippo,
horum unum ad medium, teritur qua sutilis aluo

240–73 *MPR* 245 praesentius *MP* φ, *Seru.*, *Tib. in interpr.* : -stantius *R* ω, *Tib. in lemm.* (*cf. u.* 152, *G.* ii 127) 247 fuluus rubra M^{ac} Iouis] acer P^{c} (*cf. A.* xi 721) 250 improbus] armiger *Tib.* (*cf. A.* ix 564) 261 miseri] rutuli γ^{c} φ 264 unanimis *M*, *GLK* V 482.21 (-es *i*, *DSeru. ad A.* xi 650) : -e *P* densate *MP dz*, *Tib.*^{ac} (*cf. A.* x 432, xi 650) 273 mediam M^{ac} *i* aluo] alueo P^{ac} : auro *M* (mediam . . . aluum *recc.*, *coni. Deuticke*)

balteus et laterum iuncturas fibula mordet,
egregium forma iuuenem et fulgentibus armis, 275
transadigit costas fuluaque effundit harena.
at fratres, animosa phalanx accensaque luctu,
pars gladios stringunt manibus, pars missile ferrum
corripiunt caecique ruunt. quos agmina contra
procurrunt Laurentum, hinc densi rursus inundant 280
Troes Agyllinique et pictis Arcades armis:
sic omnis amor unus habet decernere ferro.
diripuere aras (it toto turbida caelo
tempestas telorum ac ferreus ingruit imber)
craterasque focosque ferunt. fugit ipse Latinus 285
pulsatos referens infecto foedere diuos.
infrenant alii currus aut corpora saltu
subiciunt in equos et strictis ensibus adsunt.
Messapus regem regisque insigne gerentem
Tyrrhenum Aulesten, auidus confundere foedus, 290
aduerso proterret equo: ruit ille recedens
et miser oppositis a tergo inuoluitur aris
in caput inque umeros. at feruidus aduolat hasta
Messapus teloque orantem multa trabali
desuper altus equo grauiter ferit atque ita fatur: 295
'hoc habet, haec melior magnis data uictima diuis.'
concurrunt Itali spoliantque calentia membra.
obuius ambustum torrem Corynaeus ab ara
corripit et uenienti Ebyso plagamque ferenti
occupat os flammis: olli ingens barba reluxit 300
nidoremque ambusta dedit. super ipse secutus
caesariem laeua turbati corripit hostis
impressoque genu nitens terrae applicat ipsum;
sic rigido latus ense ferit. Podalirius Alsum
pastorem primaque acie per tela ruentem 305
ense sequens nudo superimminet; ille securi
aduersi frontem mediam mentumque reducta
dissicit et sparso late rigat arma cruore.

274–308 *MPR* 276 effudit *Tib.* : extendit γ^c φ (*cf. A.* v 374, ix 589) 283 it] id M^{ac} : et P^{ac} 287 aut] et *M*, *Seru. ad G.* i 202 288 adstant M^c 291 auerso *M* 297 cadentia φ 300 olli *M* : illi *PR* ω, *Tib.* 304 feret M^{ac} γ^c : pedit *P* 308 discidit *R*

olli dura quies oculos et ferreus urget
somnus, in aeternam conduntur lumina noctem. 310
At pius Aeneas dextram tendebat inermem
nudato capite atque suos clamore uocabat:
'quo ruitis? quaeue ista repens discordia surgit?
o cohibete iras! ictum iam foedus et omnes
compositae leges. mihi ius concurrere soli; 315
me sinite atque auferte metus. ego foedera faxo
firma manu; Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra.'
has inter uoces, media inter talia uerba
ecce uiro stridens alis adlapsa sagitta est,
incertum qua pulsa manu, quo turbine adacta, 320
quis tantam Rutulis laudem, casusne deusne,
attulerit; pressa est insignis gloria facti,
nec sese Aeneae iactauit uulnere quisquam.
Turnus ut Aenean cedentem ex agmine uidit
turbatosque duces, subita spe feruidus ardet; 325
poscit equos atque arma simul, saltuque superbus
emicat in currum et manibus molitur habenas.
multa uirum uolitans dat fortia corpora leto.
seminecis uoluit multos; aut agmina curru
proterit aut raptas fugientibus ingerit hastas. 330
qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri
sanguineus Mauors clipeo increpat atque furentis
bella mouens immittit equos, illi aequore aperto
ante Notos Zephyrumque uolant, gemit ultima pulsu
Thraca pedum circumque atrae Formidinis ora 335
Iraeque Insidiaeque, dei comitatus, aguntur:
talis equos alacer media inter proelia Turnus
fumantis sudore quatit, miserabile caesis
hostibus insultans; spargit rapida ungula rores
sanguineos mixtaque cruor calcatur harena. 340
iamque neci Sthenelumque dedit Thamyrumque Pholumque,
hunc congressus et hunc, illum eminus; eminus ambo
Imbrasidas, Glaucum atque Laden, quos Imbrasus ipse

309–43 *MPR* 310 conduntur *P*, *Tib.* : claud- *MR* γ ω (*cf. A.* x 746) 311 inertem M^{ac} (*cf. A.* xi 414, 672) 313 quaeue] quoue *R* φ 321 casusue deusue *M* (*cf. A.* ix 211) 330 aut] et *R*, *Diom.* 418.32 332 increpat *P* ω, *Seru.*, *Tib.* : intonat *MR* φ (*cf. u.* 700, ix 709) furentis] -nti *R* : prementi M^{ac} 342 eminus *bis* M^{c} γ^{c} φ : *semel* M^{ac} *PR* ω, *Tib.*

nutrierat Lycia paribusque ornauerat armis
uel conferre manum uel equo praeuertere uentos. 345
 Parte alia media Eumedes in proelia fertur,
antiqui proles bello praeclara Dolonis,
nomine auum referens, animo manibusque parentem,
qui quondam, castra ut Danaum speculator adiret,
ausus Pelidae pretium sibi poscere currus; 350
illum Tydides alio pro talibus ausis
adfecit pretio nec equis aspirat Achillis.
hunc procul ut campo Turnus prospexit aperto,
ante leui iaculo longum per inane secutus
sistit equos biiugis et curru desilit atque 355
semianimi lapsoque superuenit, et pede collo
impresso dextrae mucronem extorquet et alto
fulgentem tingit iugulo atque haec insuper addit:
'en agros et quam bello, Troiane, petisti
Hesperiam metire iacens; haec praemia, qui me 360
ferro ausi temptare, ferunt, sic moenia condunt.'
huic comitem Asbyten coniecta cuspide mittit
Chloreaque Sybarimque Daretaque Thersilochumque
et sternacis equi lapsum ceruice Thymoeten.
ac uelut Edoni Boreae cum spiritus alto 365
insonat Aegaeo sequiturque ad litora fluctus,
qua uenti incubuere, fugam dant nubila caelo:
sic Turno, quacumque uiam secat, agmina cedunt
conuersaeque ruunt acies; fert impetus ipsum
et cristam aduerso curru quatit aura uolantem. 370
non tulit instantem Phegeus animisque frementem:
obiecit sese ad currum et spumantia frenis
ora citatorum dextra detorsit equorum.
dum trahitur pendetque iugis, hunc lata retectum
lancea consequitur rumpitque infixa bilicem 375
loricam et summum degustat uulnere corpus.
ille tamen clipeo obiecto conuersus in hostem
ibat et auxilium ducto mucrone petebat,

344–78 *MPR* 345 uentos] gentes *φ* 352 neque *φ*, *Tib.* achillis] -es *M gh* : -i *i* (-ei *Heinsius*) 353 conspexit *fere ω* 356 lapsoque *MP*^{c} *R φ*, *Tib.* : el- *P*^{ac} *ω*, *DSeru.* 357 dextra *R γ*^{ac} *φ* 359 petebas *Pomp.* 312.3 365 edonii *M*^{c} (-ea *M*^{ac}) *γ*^{c} *be*, *Donatus ap. Seru.*, *Tib.* 373 dextra] cursu *Diom.* 499.11 374 hunc *M ω*, *Tib.* : huic *P* : hic *R fg* : hinc *d* 378 ducto] d. a *R e* : stricto *Tib.*

cum rota praecipitem et procursu concitus axis
impulit effunditque solo, Turnusque secutus 380
imam inter galeam summi thoracis et oras
abstulit ense caput truncumque reliquit harenae.
Atque ea dum campis uictor dat funera Turnus,
interea Aenean Mnestheus et fidus Achates
Ascaniusque comes castris statuere cruentum, 385
alternos longa nitentem cuspide gressus.
saeuit et infracta luctatur harundine telum
eripere auxilioque uiam, quae proxima, poscit:
ense secent lato uulnus telique latebram
rescindant penitus seseque in bella remittant. 390
iamque aderat Phoebo ante alios dilectus Iapyx
Iasides, acri quondam cui captus amore
ipse suas artis, sua munera, laetus Apollo
augurium citharamque dabat celerisque sagittas.
ille, ut depositi proferret fata parentis, 395
scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi
maluit et mutas agitare inglorius artis.
stabat acerba fremens ingentem nixus in hastam
Aeneas magno iuuenum et maerentis Iuli
concursu, lacrimis immobilis. ille retorto 400
Paeonium in morem senior succinctus amictu
multa manu medica Phoebique potentibus herbis
nequiquam trepidat, nequiquam spicula dextra
sollicitat prensatque tenaci forcipe ferrum.
nulla uiam Fortuna regit, nihil auctor Apollo 405
subuenit; et saeuus campis magis ac magis horror
crebrescit propiusque malum est. iam puluere caelum
stare uident: subeunt equites et spicula castris
densa cadunt mediis. it tristis ad aethera clamor
bellantum iuuenum et duro sub Marte cadentum. 410
Hic Venus indigno nati concussa dolore
dictamnum genetrix Cretaea carpit ab Ida,

379–412 *MPR* 379 cum] quem γ^c φ 380 effuditque *R* γ φ 382 harenae *MP, Seru. ad A.* xi 87, *Tib.* : -na *R* γ ω 385 comes] puer *R* φ, *Tib.* (*cf. A.* ii 598) 389 latebras *M b?d* (*cf. A.* x 601) 394 citharamue . . . celerisue *Bentley* dedit *M*, *ps.-Acro ad Hor. c. s.* 61, *Seru. ad G.* ii 486 (*sed respuit Seru. hic*) 397 multas P^{ac} φ 398 fixus M^{ac} 400 lacrimisque *R* φ, *DSeru.* 406 et] it P^{ac} 408 subeunt *om.* M^{ac} : subeuntque *R* φ 412 ipsa manu genetrix dictea *Tib. in interpr.* carpsit *R* φ

puberibus caulem foliis et flore comantem
purpureo; non illa feris incognita capris
gramina, cum tergo uolucres haesere sagittae. 415
hoc Venus obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo
detulit, hoc fusum labris splendentibus amnem
inficit occulte medicans, spargitque salubris
ambrosiae sucos et odoriferam panaceam.
fouit ea uulnus lympha longaeuus Iapyx 420
ignorans, subitoque omnis de corpore fugit
quippe dolor, omnis stetit imo uulnere sanguis;
iamque secuta manum nullo cogente sagitta
excidit, atque nouae rediere in pristina uires.
'arma citi properate uiro! quid statis?' Iapyx 425
conclamat primusque animos accendit in hostem.
'non haec humanis opibus, non arte magistra
proueniunt, neque te, Aenea, mea dextera seruat:
maior agit deus atque opera ad maiora remittit.'
ille auidus pugnae suras incluserat auro 430
hinc atque hinc oditque moras hastamque coruscat.
postquam habilis lateri clipeus loricaque tergo est,
Ascanium fusis circum complectitur armis
summaque per galeam delibans oscula fatur:
'disce, puer, uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem, 435
fortunam ex aliis. nunc te mea dextera bello
defensum dabit et magna inter praemia ducet;
tu facito, mox cum matura adoleuerit aetas,
sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
et pater Aeneas et auunculus excitet Hector.' 440
Haec ubi dicta dedit, portis sese extulit ingens
telum immane manu quatiens; simul agmine denso
Antheusque Mnestheusque ruunt, omnisque relictis
turba fluit castris. tum caeco puluere campus
miscetur pulsuque pedum tremit excita tellus. 445
uidit ab aduerso uenientis aggere Turnus,
uidere Ausonii, gelidusque per ima cucurrit

413–47 *MPR* 417 plendentibus P^{ac} : pend- *R z* 421 fugit] cessit *Tib. in lemm.* 422 imo MP^{ac} φ : imo in $P^{c}R$ ω, *Tib.* 423 manum $M^{c}R$ ω, *DSeru.* : manus P^{ac} : manu $M^{ac}P^{c}$, *Tib.* 428 te Aenea] aenean M^{ac} 444 fluit] ruit *P* (*cf. A.* xi 236) 446 agmine *R j*

ossa tremor; prima ante omnis Iuturna Latinos
audiit agnouitque sonum et tremefacta refugit.
ille uolat campoque atrum rapit agmen aperto. 450
qualis ubi ad terras abrupto sidere nimbus
it mare per medium (miseris, heu, praescia longe
horrescunt corda agricolis: dabit ille ruinas
arboribus stragemque satis, ruet omnia late),
ante uolant sonitumque ferunt ad litora uenti: 455
talis in aduersos ductor Rhoeteius hostis
agmen agit, densi cuneis se quisque coactis
adglomerant. ferit ense grauem Thymbraeus Osirim,
Arcetium Mnestheus, Epulonem obtruncat Achates
Vfentemque Gyas; cadit ipse Tolumnius augur, 460
primus in aduersos telum qui torserat hostis.
tollitur in caelum clamor, uersique uicissim
puluerulenta fuga Rutuli dant terga per agros.
ipse neque auersos dignatur sternere morti
nec pede congressos aequo nec tela ferentis 465
insequitur: solum densa in caligine Turnum
uestigat lustrans, solum in certamina poscit.
Hoc concussa metu mentem Iuturna uirago
aurigam Turni media inter lora Metiscum
excutit et longe lapsum temone relinquit; 470
ipsa subit manibusque undantis flectit habenas
cuncta gerens, uocemque et corpus et arma Metisci.
nigra uelut magnas domini cum diuitis aedes
peruolat et pennis alta atria lustrat hirundo
pabula parua legens nidisque loquacibus escas, 475
et nunc porticibus uacuis, nunc umida circum
stagna sonat: similis medios Iuturna per hostis
fertur equis rapidoque uolans obit omnia curru;
iamque hic germanum iamque hic ostentat ouantem
nec conferre manum patitur, uolat auia longe. 480
haud minus Aeneas tortos legit obuius orbis

448–55 *MPR*; 456–81 *MPRV* 448 omnis] alios *Tib.* 449 adgnoscitque *P i* 454 ruet *PR ω*, *Seru.* : ruit *M φ*, *Diom.* 441.24, *Tib. in lemm.* 455 uolant P^{ac} *R ω*, *Tib.* : -ans MP^{c} *b* 457 densis *n*, *Tib.* coacti M^{c} 461 auersos *R* (*cf. u.* 464) torserat] torsit in *R v* (*cf. u.* 266) 464 nec *Pb*, *Tib.* auersos *RV* : adu- *MP ω*, *Tib.* 465 aequo] nec equo *recc.* 470 relinquit M^{c} *V* : reliquit M^{ac} *PR ω*, *Tib.* 475 escam *Tib.* 479 ostentat M^{c}*RV γ v* : ostendit M^{ac} *ω* (*def. P*), *Tib.* 481 totos *V* (*def. P*)

uestigatque uirum et disiecta per agmina magna
uoce uocat. quotiens oculos coniecit in hostem
alipedumque fugam cursu temptauit equorum,
auersos totiens currus Iuturna retorsit. 485
heu, quid agat? uario nequiquam fluctuat aestu,
diuersaeque uocant animum in contraria curae.
huic Messapus, uti laeua duo forte gerebat
lenta, leuis cursu, praefixa hastilia ferro,
horum unum certo contorquens derigit ictu. 490
substitit Aeneas et se collegit in arma
poplite subsidens; apicem tamen incita summum
hasta tulit summasque excussit uertice cristas.
tum uero adsurgunt irae, insidiisque subactus,
diuersos ubi sensit equos currumque referri, 495
multa Iouem et laesi testatus foederis aras
iam tandem inuadit medios et Marte secundo
terribilis saeuam nullo discrimine caedem
suscitat, irarumque omnis effundit habenas.
Quis mihi nunc tot acerba deus, quis carmine caedes 500
diuersas obitumque ducum, quos aequore toto
inque uicem nunc Turnus agit, nunc Troius heros,
expediat? tanton placuit concurrere motu,
Iuppiter, aeterna gentis in pace futuras?
Aeneas Rutulum Sucronem (ea prima ruentis 505
pugna loco statuit Teucros) haud multa morantem
excipit in latus et, qua fata celerrima, crudum
transadigit costas et cratis pectoris ensem.
Turnus equo deiectum Amycum fratremque Dioren,
congressus pedes, hunc uenientem cuspide longa, 510
hunc mucrone ferit, curruque abscisa duorum
suspendit capita et rorantia sanguine portat.
ille Talon Tanaimque neci fortemque Cethegum,
tris uno congressu, et maestum mittit Oniten,

482–508 *MPRV*; 509–14 *MPR* 482 magna] longa *dk* 485 aduersos $M^c P$ φ currus totiens *Tib.* 489 leui γ *n* 490 dirigit γ *et fere* ω, *Tib.* 494 subactis *fere* ω 495 sentit *M n*, *Tib.* 496 testatus *MV* γ ω, *Tib.* : -tur *PR n* 498 *post* terribilis *dist.* $M^c P^c$, *Tib.* : '*potest et* Marte secundo *distingui*...*potest et iungi, ut sit* Marte secundo terribilis' *DSeru.* 499–500 *om.* M^{ac} 503 *om. V* expediet *Tib.* tanto *R* γ^{ac} *xz* (*def. P*) 505 furentis *V* 506 morantis *V* : -atus *n Seru. ad u.* 507 : -atum *DSeru.* (*cf. A.* iii 610) 511 abscisa P^c (-se P^{ac}) ω : abscissa *MR by*

nomen Echionium matrisque genus Peridiae; 515
hic fratres Lycia missos et Apollinis agris
et iuuenem exosum nequiquam bella Menoeten,
Arcada, piscosae cui circum flumina Lernae
ars fuerat pauperque domus nec nota potentum
munera, conductaque pater tellure serebat. 520
ac uelut immissi diuersis partibus ignes
arentem in siluam et uirgulta sonantia lauro,
aut ubi decursu rapido de montibus altis
dant sonitum spumosi amnes et in aequora currunt,
quisque suum populatus iter: non segnius ambo 525
Aeneas Turnusque ruunt per proelia; nunc, nunc
fluctuat ira intus, rumpuntur nescia uinci
pectora, nunc totis in uulnera uiribus itur.
Murranum hic, atauos et auorum antiqua sonantem
nomina per regesque actum genus omne Latinos, 530
praecipitem scopulo atque ingentis turbine saxi
excutit effunditque solo; hunc lora et iuga subter
prouoluere rotae, crebro super ungula pulsu
incita nec domini memorum proculcat equorum.
ille ruenti Hyllo animisque immane frementi 535
occurrit telumque aurata ad tempora torquet:
olli per galeam fixo stetit hasta cerebro.
dextera nec tua te, Graium fortissime Cretheu,
eripuit Turno, nec di texere Cupencum
Aenea ueniente sui: dedit obuia ferro 540
pectora, nec misero clipei mora profuit aerei.
te quoque Laurentes uiderunt, Aeole, campi
oppetere et late terram consternere tergo.
occidis, Argiuae quem non potuere phalanges
sternere nec Priami regnorum euersor Achilles; 545
hic tibi mortis erant metae, domus alta sub Ida,
Lyrnesi domus alta, solo Laurente sepulcrum.
totae adeo conuersae acies omnesque Latini,
omnes Dardanidae, Mnestheus acerque Serestus

515–49 *MPR* 515 nomen echionium γ^{c} ω, *Seru.* (*et ad A.* ii 89, vi 758) : -ine ech. *MP* : -ine chionium *R* γ^{ac} φ, *'quidam' ap. Seru.*, *Tib.* 520 munera] limina *M* 522 ardentem M^{ac} γ 526 per] in *k*, *Tib.* 532 excutit] excipit *M* (*cf. u.* 507) 536 aerata *Schrader* 541 aerei *ed. Aldina a.* 1501: aeris *codd.*, *Tib.* (*cf. A.* vi 609)

et Messapus equum domitor et fortis Asilas 550
Tuscorumque phalanx Euandrique Arcades alae,
pro se quisque uiri summa nituntur opum ui;
nec mora nec requies, uasto certamine tendunt.
    Hic mentem Aeneae genetrix pulcherrima misit
iret ut ad muros urbique aduerteret agmen 555
ocius et subita turbaret clade Latinos.
ille ut uestigans diuersa per agmina Turnum
huc atque huc acies circumtulit, aspicit urbem
immunem tanti belli atque impune quietam.
continuo pugnae accendit maioris imago: 560
Mnesthea Sergestumque uocat fortemque Serestum
ductores, tumulumque capit quo cetera Teucrum
concurrit legio, nec scuta aut spicula densi
deponunt. celso medius stans aggere fatur:
'ne qua meis esto dictis mora (Iuppiter hac stat), 565
neu quis ob inceptum subitum mihi segnior ito.
urbem hodie, causam belli, regna ipsa Latini,
ni frenum accipere et uicti parere fatentur,
eruam et aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam.
scilicet exspectem libeat dum proelia Turno 570
nostra pati rursusque uelit concurrere uictus?
hoc caput, o ciues, haec belli summa nefandi.
ferte faces propere foedusque reposcite flammis.'
dixerat, atque animis pariter certantibus omnes
dant cuneum densaque ad muros mole feruntur; 575
scalae improuiso subitusque apparuit ignis.
discurrunt alii ad portas primosque trucidant,
ferrum alii torquent et obumbrant aethera telis.
ipse inter primos dextram sub moenia tendit
Aeneas magnaque incusat uoce Latinum 580
testaturque deos iterum se ad proelia cogi,
bis iam Italos hostis, haec altera foedera rumpi.
exoritur trepidos inter discordia ciuis:
urbem alii reserare iubent et pandere portas
Dardanidis ipsumque trahunt in moenia regem; 585

550–85 *MPR* 559 quietem *R* γ^{ac} *gy* 565 hic *Don. ad Ter. Phorm.* 269 566 ne *Probus* 254.12, *GLK* V 641.28 568 uicti] dicto γ^{ac} *i, Char.* 99.1 (*cf. A.* vii 433) 573 properi *d* 577 trucidant] fatigant *d* (*cf. e.g. A.* vii 582) 582 haec] h. iam M^{c}

arma ferunt alii et pergunt defendere muros,
inclusas ut cum latebroso in pumice pastor
uestigauit apes fumoque impleuit amaro;
illae intus trepidae rerum per cerea castra
discurrunt magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras; 590
uoluitur ater odor tectis, tum murmure caeco
intus saxa sonant, uacuas it fumus ad auras.
Accidit haec fessis etiam fortuna Latinis,
quae totam luctu concussit funditus urbem.
regina ut tectis uenientem prospicit hostem, 595
incessi muros, ignis ad tecta uolare,
nusquam acies contra Rutulas, nulla agmina Turni,
infelix pugnae iuuenem in certamine credit
exstinctum et subito mentem turbata dolore
se causam clamat crimenque caputque malorum, 600
multaque per maestum demens effata furorem
purpureos moritura manu discindit amictus
et nodum informis leti trabe nectit ab alta.
quam cladem miserae postquam accepere Latinae,
filia prima manu flauos Lauinia crinis 605
et roseas laniata genas, tum cetera circum
turba furit; resonant late plangoribus aedes.
hinc totam infelix uulgatur fama per urbem:
demittunt mentes, it scissa ueste Latinus
coniugis attonitus fatis urbisque ruina, 610
canitiem immundo perfusam puluere turpans. 611
Interea extremo bellator in aequore Turnus 614
palantis sequitur paucos iam segnior atque 615
iam minus atque minus successu laetus equorum.
attulit hunc illi caecis terroribus aura
commixtum clamorem, arrectasque impulit auris
confusae sonus urbis et inlaetabile murmur.
'ei mihi! quid tanto turbantur moenia luctu? 620
quisue ruit tantus diuersa clamor ab urbe?'

586–621 *MPR* 587 ut cum] ueluti *M* (*cf. u.* 749) 596 incessi $M^c P$ φ, *Seru.* (*et ad G.* iv 68), *Tib.*, *Gramm.* : incedi M^{ac} : incensi *R* : incendi γ ω ignesque *R* φ 598 in *om.* γ^{ac} *b* : a *R* 605 flauos *codd.*, *Tib.* : floros '*antiqua lectio*' *ap. Seru.*, *Probus* (*teste DSeru.*) 612–13 multaque se incusat quod non acceperit ante | Dardanium Aenean generumque adsciuerit ultro (*fere* = *A.* xi 471–2) *om. MPR* φ, *Tib.*, *non interpr. Seru.* : *habent* ω 617 huc *recc.* caecis illi R^{ac} *ev*

sic ait adductisque amens subsistit habenis.
atque huic, in faciem soror ut conuersa Metisci
aurigae currumque et equos et lora regebat,
talibus occurrit dictis: 'hac, Turne, sequamur 625
Troiugenas, qua prima uiam uictoria pandit;
sunt alii qui tecta manu defendere possint.
ingruit Aeneas Italis et proelia miscet:
et nos saeua manu mittamus funera Teucris.
nec numero inferior pugnae neque honore recedes.' 630
Turnus ad haec:
'o soror, et dudum agnoui, cum prima per artem
foedera turbasti teque haec in bella dedisti,
et nunc nequiquam fallis dea. sed quis Olympo
demissam tantos uoluit te ferre labores? 635
an fratris miseri letum ut crudele uideres?
nam quid ago? aut quae iam spondet Fortuna salutem?
uidi oculos ante ipse meos me uoce uocantem
Murranum, quo non superat mihi carior alter,
oppetere ingentem atque ingenti uulnere uictum. 640
occidit infelix nostrum ne dedecus Vfens
aspiceret; Teucri potiuntur corpore et armis.
exscindine domos (id rebus defuit unum!)
perpetiar, dextra nec Drancis dicta refellam?
terga dabo et Turnum fugientem haec terra uidebit? 645
usque adeone mori miserum est? uos o mihi, Manes,
este boni, quoniam superis auersa uoluntas.
sancta ad uos anima atque istius inscia culpae
descendam, magnorum haud umquam indignus auorum.'
Vix ea fatus erat: medios uolat ecce per hostis 650
uectus equo spumante Saces, aduersa sagitta
saucius ora, ruitque implorans nomine Turnum:
'Turne, in te suprema salus, miserere tuorum.
fulminat Aeneas armis summasque minatur

622–50 *MPR*; 651–4 *MPa* 624 gerebat *P* 627 possint *MR* φ, *Seru. ad u.* 661: -unt *P* ω : -ent *d* 628 Italis] armis *Seru. ad A.* xi 899 (*sed* italis *idem ad A.* ii 301) 630 neque *P h* : nec *MR* γ ω, *Seru.* 635 te ferre] te perferre *R fg* : perferre φ (*cf. u.* 177) 636 miseri fratris *Macrob.* IV ii 10 639 superat] fu- M^{ac} γ^{ac} *dj* 641 infelix] en felix *Gehring* nostrum ne *P* : ne n. *MR* γ ω, *Seru.* 647 aduersa M^{ac} γ φ 648 inscia *codd.*, *Macrob.* III iii 6, *Seru.* : nescia *recc.* : sancta atque istius ad uos anima inscia c. *Housman* (*Cl. Pap.* III 1124–5) : s. ad uos anima, en, atque istius inscia c. *Conte dubitanter*

deiecturum arces Italum excidioque daturum, 655
iamque faces ad tecta uolant. in te ora Latini,
in te oculos referunt; mussat rex ipse Latinus
quos generos uocet aut quae sese ad foedera flectat.
praeterea regina, tui fidissima, dextra
occidit ipsa sua lucemque exterrita fugit. 660
soli pro portis Messapus et acer Atinas
sustentant acies; circum hos utrimque phalanges
stant densae strictisque seges mucronibus horret
ferrea. tu currum deserto in gramine uersas.'
obstipuit uaria confusus imagine rerum 665
Turnus et obtutu tacito stetit; aestuat ingens
uno in corde pudor mixtoque insania luctu
et furiis agitatus amor et conscia uirtus.
ut primum discussae umbrae et lux reddita menti,
ardentis oculorum orbis ad moenia torsit 670
turbidus eque rotis magnam respexit ad urbem.
Ecce autem flammis inter tabulata uolutus
ad caelum undabat uertex turrimque tenebat,
turrim compactis trabibus quam eduxerat ipse
subdideratque rotas pontisque instrauerat altos. 675
'iam iam fata, soror, superant, absiste morari;
quo deus et quo dura uocat Fortuna sequamur.
stat conferre manum Aeneae, stat quidquid acerbi est
morte pati, neque me indecorem, germana, uidebis
amplius. hunc, oro, sine me furere ante furorem.' 680
dixit et e curru saltum dedit ocius aruis
perque hostis, per tela ruit maestamque sororem
deserit ac rapido cursu media agmina rumpit.
ac ueluti montis saxum de uertice praeceps
cum ruit auulsum uento, seu turbidus imber 685
proluit aut annis soluit sublapsa uetustas;
fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu
exsultatque solo, siluas armenta uirosque
inuoluens secum: disiecta per agmina Turnus

655–66 *MPa*; 667–86 *MPaV*; 687–9 *MPRV*   661 Atinas] asilas *recc.* (*cf. u.* 550)   662 acies *M a γ φ*, *DSeru.* : aciem *P ω*, *Diom.* 414.17, *Dosith.* 416.29   667 uno] imo *Tib.*   677 quo^2] qua *P*   678 acerbum est *Seru.* (*et ad A.* ii 750) : *def. V*   679 *post* uidebis *dist.* P^c
687 actu] ictu *φ*

sic urbis ruit ad muros, ubi plurima fuso 690
sanguine terra madet striduntque hastilibus aurae,
significatque manu et magno simul incipit ore:
'parcite iam, Rutuli, et uos tela inhibete, Latini:
quaecumque est fortuna mea est; me uerius unum
pro uobis foedus luere et decernere ferro.' 695
discessere omnes medii spatiumque dedere.

At pater Aeneas audito nomine Turni
deserit et muros et summas deserit arces
praecipitatque moras omnis, opera omnia rumpit
laetitia exsultans horrendumque intonat armis: 700
quantus Athos aut quantus Eryx aut ipse coruscis
cum fremit ilicibus quantus gaudetque niuali
uertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras.
iam uero et Rutuli certatim et Troes et omnes
conuertere oculos Itali, quique alta tenebant 705
moenia quique imos pulsabant ariete muros,
armaque deposuere umeris. stupet ipse Latinus
ingentis, genitos diuersis partibus orbis,
inter se coiisse uiros et cernere ferro.
atque illi, ut uacuo patuerunt aequore campi, 710
procursu rapido coniectis eminus hastis
inuadunt Martem clipeis atque aere sonoro.
dat gemitum tellus; tum crebros ensibus ictus
congeminant, fors et uirtus miscentur in unum.
ac ueluti ingenti Sila summoue Taburno 715
cum duo conuersis inimica in proelia tauri
frontibus incurrunt, pauidi cessere magistri,
stat pecus omne metu mutum, mussantque iuuencae
quis nemori imperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur;
illi inter sese multa ui uulnera miscent 720
cornuaque obnixi infigunt et sanguine largo
colla armosque lauant, gemitu nemus omne remugit:

690–718 *MPRV*; 719–22 *MPR*   698–9 *inu. ord. V*   701 athon φ, *'uera lectio' iudice Seru.*, *DSeru.*   708 orbes *PV*   709 uirosque *y*, *Prisc.* i 40   et *om. cx*   cernere P^{ac} *y*, *Sen. epist.* 58.3, *'uera et antiqua lectio' iudice Seru.* : dec- $MP^{c}RV$ ω, *Seru. ad G.* ii 256, *A.* ii 508: disc- *bx*, *Prisc.*   713 crebris M^{ac} γ^{ac} (*def. V*)   714 miscentur *MPR* ω, *Seru.*, *comm. Lucan.* iv 634: -etur *V*   715 sila *MP* ω, *Asper* 538.17, *Seru.* (*et ad G.* iii 219) : silua *R* γ^{ac} φ, *'quidam' ap. Seru.* : *om. V*   719 nemori] pecori γ^{c} φ imperet et *R* γ^{c} ω 720 uulnera] proelia γ^{ac} (*cf. G.* iii 220)

non aliter Tros Aeneas et Daunius heros
concurrunt clipeis, ingens fragor aethera complet.
Iuppiter ipse duas aequato examine lances 725
sustinet et fata imponit diuersa duorum,
quem damnet labor et quo uergat pondere letum.
  Emicat hic impune putans et corpore toto
alte sublatum consurgit Turnus in ensem
et ferit; exclamant Troes trepidique Latini, 730
arrectaeque amborum acies. at perfidus ensis
frangitur in medioque ardentem deserit ictu,
ni fuga subsidio subeat. fugit ocior Euro,
ut capulum ignotum dextramque aspexit inermem.
fama est praecipitem, cum prima in proelia iunctos 735
conscendebat equos, patrio mucrone relicto,
dum trepidat, ferrum aurigae rapuisse Metisci;
idque diu, dum terga dabant palantia Teucri,
suffecit; postquam arma dei ad Volcania uentum est,
mortalis mucro glacies ceu futtilis ictu 740
dissiluit, fulua resplendent fragmina harena.
ergo amens diuersa fuga petit aequora Turnus
et nunc huc, inde huc incertos implicat orbis;
undique enim densa Teucri inclusere corona
atque hinc uasta palus, hinc ardua moenia cingunt. 745
  Nec minus Aeneas, quamquam tardata sagitta
interdum genua impediunt cursumque recusant,
insequitur trepidique pedem pede feruidus urget:
inclusum ueluti si quando flumine nactus
ceruum aut puniceae saeptum formidine pennae 750
uenator cursu canis et latratibus instat;
ille autem insidiis et ripa territus alta
mille fugit refugitque uias, at uiuidus Vmber
haeret hians, iam iamque tenet similisque tenenti
increpuit malis morsuque elusus inani est; 755
tum uero exoritur clamor ripaeque lacusque
responsant circa et caelum tonat omne tumultu.

723–57 *MPR* 727 et] aut φ, *Non.* 277.7, *Prisc.* viii 27, *Agroec.* 120.11 732 ictum M^{c} (*ut uid.*) *R* 735 prima *M* ω : -um *PR* in] ad *P* 739 sufficit P^{ac} *R* φ est *om.* M^{ac} 741 resplendet fragmen M^{c}*R* 744 teucri densa *M* 746 tardante M^{c} *d* 749 in flumine φ 753 at] ac M^{ac} *bd* : ad *R* 754 tenet] -ens *R* φ 757 intonet φ tumultu] fragore φ, *Tib.* (*cf. A.* ix 541)

ille simul fugiens Rutulos simul increpat omnis
nomine quemque uocans notumque efflagitat ensem.
Aeneas mortem contra praesensque minatur 760
exitium, si quisquam adeat, terretque trementis
excisurum urbem minitans et saucius instat.
quinque orbis explent cursu totidemque retexunt
huc illuc; neque enim leuia aut ludicra petuntur
praemia, sed Turni de uita et sanguine certant. 765
Forte sacer Fauno foliis oleaster amaris
hic steterat, nautis olim uenerabile lignum,
seruati ex undis ubi figere dona solebant
Laurenti diuo et uotas suspendere uestis;
sed stirpem Teucri nullo discrimine sacrum 770
sustulerant, puro ut possent concurrere campo.
hic hasta Aeneae stabat, huc impetus illam
detulerat fixam et lenta radice tenebat.
incubuit uoluitque manu conuellere ferrum
Dardanides, teloque sequi quem prendere cursu 775
non poterat. tum uero amens formidine Turnus
'Faune, precor, miserere' inquit 'tuque optima ferrum
Terra tene, colui uestros si semper honores,
quos contra Aeneadae bello fecere profanos.'
dixit, opemque dei non cassa in uota uocauit. 780
namque diu luctans lentoque in stirpe moratus
uiribus haud ullis ualuit discludere morsus
roboris Aeneas. dum nititur acer et instat,
rursus in aurigae faciem mutata Metisci
procurrit fratrique ensem dea Daunia reddit. 785
quod Venus audaci nymphae indignata licere
accessit telumque alta ab radice reuellit.
olli sublimes, armis animisque refecti,
hic gladio fidens, hic acer et arduus hasta,
adsistunt contra certamine Martis anheli. 790
Iunonem interea rex omnipotentis Olympi
adloquitur fulua pugnas de nube tuentem:

758 *MPR*; 759–92 *MPa* 764 neque] nec γ^{ac} *a ev* 773 et *del.* M^{c}, *om. a* φ, *Tib.* ab radice $M^{c}P^{c}$ (barad- P^{ac}) *b?* (*cf. u.* 787) 782 discludere M^{c}*P a* ω, *Tib.* : discurrere M^{ac} γ^{c} : conuellere γ^{ac} φ (*cf. u.* 744) 784 mutata] conuersa M^{c}*P i* (*cf. u.* 623) 788 animumque P^{ac} 790 certamine *b*, *'alii' ap. Seru.* : -ina *codd.*, *Seru.* (*fort. recte*)

'quae iam finis erit, coniunx? quid denique restat?
indigetem Aenean scis ipsa et scire fateris
deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli. 795
quid struis? aut qua spe gelidis in nubibus haeres?
mortalin decuit uiolari uulnere diuum?
aut ensem (quid enim sine te Iuturna ualeret?)
ereptum reddi Turno et uim crescere uictis?
desine iam tandem precibusque inflectere nostris, 800
ne te tantus edit tacitam dolor et mihi curae
saepe tuo dulci tristes ex ore recursent.
uentum ad supremum est. terris agitare uel undis
Troianos potuisti, infandum accendere bellum,
deformare domum et luctu miscere hymenaeos: 805
ulterius temptare ueto.' sic Iuppiter orsus;
sic dea summisso contra Saturnia uultu:
'ista quidem quia nota mihi tua, magne, uoluntas,
Iuppiter, et Turnum et terras inuita reliqui;
nec tu me aeria solam nunc sede uideres 810
digna indigna pati, sed flammis cincta sub ipsa
starem acie traheremque inimica in proelia Teucros.
Iuturnam misero (fateor) succurrere fratri
suasi et pro uita maiora audere probaui,
non ut tela tamen, non ut contenderet arcum; 815
adiuro Stygii caput implacabile fontis,
una superstitio superis quae reddita diuis.
et nunc cedo equidem pugnasque exosa relinquo.
illud te, nulla fati quod lege tenetur,
pro Latio obtestor, pro maiestate tuorum: 820
cum iam conubiis pacem felicibus (esto)
component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent,
ne uetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos
neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque uocari
aut uocem mutare uiros aut uertere uestem. 825

793–825 *MPa* 795 fatis caeloque *P i* 797 mortali γ^{ac} $a^{ac}g$ 801–2 *post* 832 *transp. Ribbeck* 801 ne MP^{c} *a φ*, *Diom.* 362.24: ni P^{ac} : nec *ω*, *ps.-Acro ad Hor. epod. iii 3*, *Seru.* edit P^{ac}, *ps.-Acro*, *Diom.* : edat MP^{c} *a ω*, *Seru.* 802 recusent M^{ac} *cx* 808 magna *cf* 809 relinquo P^{c} *x* (*cf. u.* 818) 811–12 ipsam . . . aciem *M jz* 812 stare *M* γ^{ac} *z* 813 fateor misero *Macrob.* VI vi 11 815 ostenderet *'alii' ap. DSeru.* 819 fati nulla *av* 824 teucrosue P^{ac} (*ut uid.*) *fg* (*def. b*) 825 uestem *M* : -es *P ω* (*def. b*)

sit Latium, sint Albani per saecula reges,
sit Romana potens Itala uirtute propago:
occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia.'
olli subridens hominum rerumque repertor:
'es germana Iouis Saturnique altera proles: 830
irarum tantos uoluis sub pectore fluctus.
uerum age et inceptum frustra summitte furorem:
do quod uis, et me uictusque uolensque remitto.
sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt,
utque est nomen erit; commixti corpore tantum 835
subsident Teucri. morem ritusque sacrorum
adiciam faciamque omnis uno ore Latinos.
hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget
supra homines, supra ire deos pietate uidebis,
nec gens ulla tuos aeque celebrabit honores.' 840
adnuit his Iuno et mentem laetata retorsit;
interea excedit caelo nubemque relinquit.
His actis aliud genitor secum ipse uolutat
Iuturnamque parat fratris dimittere ab armis.
dicuntur geminae pestes cognomine Dirae, 845
quas et Tartaream Nox intempesta Megaeram
uno eodemque tulit partu paribusque reuinxit
serpentum spiris uentosasque addidit alas.
hae Iouis ad solium saeuique in limine regis
apparent acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris, 850
si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex
molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes.
harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo
Iuppiter inque omen Iuturnae occurrere iussit:
illa uolat celerique ad terram turbine fertur. 855
non secus ac neruo per nubem impulsa sagitta,
armatam saeui Parthus quam felle ueneni,
Parthus siue Cydon, telum immedicabile, torsit,
stridens et celeris incognita transilit umbras:
talis se sata Nocte tulit terrasque petiuit. 860

826–30 *MP*; 831–60 *MPR* 830 es] est φ : et *Bentley* 830–1 proles: . . . fluctus? *dist. Heyne* 832 uerum] quare *Probus* 247.29 835 commixto φ corpore *MP* ω, *DSeru. ad A.* i 248: sanguine *R* φ (*cf. u.* 838, *A.* vi 762) tanto *R* φ 842 excedit] cedit *Feeney dubitanter* caelum P^{ac} (-om P^{c}) reliquit φ 859 umbras] auras '*quidam*' *ap. Seru.*

postquam acies uidet Iliacas atque agmina Turni,
alitis in paruae subitam collecta figuram,
quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis
nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras –
hanc uersa in faciem Turni se pestis ob ora 865
fertque refertque sonans clipeumque euerberat alis.
illi membra nouus soluit formidine torpor,
arrectaeque horrore comae et uox faucibus haesit.
At procul ut Dirae stridorem agnouit et alas,
infelix crinis scindit Iuturna solutos 870
unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis:
'quid nunc te tua, Turne, potest germana iuuare?
aut quid iam durae superat mihi? qua tibi lucem
arte morer? talin possum me opponere monstro?
iam iam linquo acies. ne me terrete timentem, 875
obscenae uolucres: alarum uerbera nosco
letalemque sonum, nec fallunt iussa superba
magnanimi Iouis. haec pro uirginitate reponit?
quo uitam dedit aeternam? cur mortis adempta est
condicio? possem tantos finire dolores 880
nunc certe, et misero fratri comes ire per umbras!'
[immortalis ego? aut quidquam mihi dulce meorum
te sine, frater, erit? o quae satis ima dehiscat
terra mihi, Manisque deam demittat ad imos?']
tantum effata caput glauco contexit amictu 885
multa gemens et se fluuio dea condidit alto.
Aeneas instat contra telumque coruscat
ingens arboreum, et saeuo sic pectore fatur:
'quae nunc deinde mora est? aut quid iam, Turne, retractas?
non cursu, saeuis certandum est comminus armis. 890
uerte omnis tete in facies et contrahe quidquid
siue animis siue arte uales; opta ardua pennis

861–92 *MPR* 862 subitam *MR ω, Tib.* : -to *P φ, DSeru. ad A.* iii 246 collecta *R* γ^c *ω, Seru., DSeru. ad A.* iii 246: coniecta *P b?, Tib.* : conuersa *M kz* (*cf. u.* 623) 865 uersam M^c *dy* ob *R b, Arus.* 496.21, *Seru. ad A.* i 233, *Tib.* : in ob M^{ac} : in M^c : ad *P ω* 870 scindit crinis *R cv* 871 *del. Güthling* (*cf. A.* iv 763) 873 durae] miserae γ^c : curae *Thilo* (*cf. G.* iii 286) superest *bf* 874 possim *R v* 876 alarum] dirarum *ps.-Acro ad Hor. carm.* I ii 1 878 reporto *Tib.* 880 possim *M* 882–4 *seclusi; tamquam in uu.* 879–81 *uicem compositos suspectos habuit Ribbeck* 882 iam mort. *fere ω* aut] haud γ^c *φ, Tib. in lemm.* : at *Heinrich* 883 quae] quam *P* ima] iam P^{ac} : alta *φ, prob. Heinsius* (*cf. A.* iv 24, x 675) dehiscet P^{ac} 884 demittit P^{ac} : dimittat *φ, Tib.*

astra sequi clausumque caua te condere terra.'
ille caput quassans: 'non me tua feruida terrent
dicta, ferox; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis.' 895
nec plura effatus saxum circumspicit ingens,
saxum antiquum ingens, campo quod forte iacebat,
limes agro positus litem ut discerneret aruis.
uix illum lecti bis sex ceruice subirent,
qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus; 900
ille manu raptum trepida torquebat in hostem
altior insurgens et cursu concitus heros.
sed neque currentem se nec cognoscit euntem
tollentemue manu saxumue immane mouentem;
genua labant, gelidus concreuit frigore sanguis. 905
tum lapis ipse uiri uacuum per inane uolutus
nec spatium euasit totum neque pertulit ictum.
ac uelut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit
nocte quies, nequiquam auidos extendere cursus
uelle uidemur et in mediis conatibus aegri 910
succidimus; non lingua ualet, non corpore notae
sufficiunt uires nec uox aut uerba sequuntur:
sic Turno, quacumque uiam uirtute petiuit,
successum dea dira negat. tum pectore sensus
uertuntur uarii: Rutulos aspectat et urbem 915
cunctaturque metu letumque instare tremescit,
nec quo se eripiat, nec qua ui tendat in hostem,
nec currus usquam uidet aurigamue sororem.
  Cunctanti telum Aeneas fatale coruscat,
sortitus fortunam oculis, et corpore toto 920
eminus intorquet. murali concita numquam
tormento sic saxa fremunt nec fulmine tanti
dissultant crepitus. uolat atri turbinis instar
exitium dirum hasta ferens orasque recludit

893–924 *MPR* 893 clausumque *MR* ω, *Tib.* : -ue *P* 896 ingens] amens *Wagner* 897 quod M^{c}*PR* ω, *Seru. in lemm.*, *Tib.* : que M^{ac} : qui *Seru. in interpr.* (*ut uid.*), *recc. aliquot* 899 illum *M* φ, *Augustinus ciu. dei* xv 9, *Tib.* : illud *PR* ω : ollum *Kenney dubitanter* 904 tollentemue *PR* φ : -que *M* γ^{ac} ω, *Tib.*, *Isid.* I xxxvi 15 (*cf. G.* iii 421) manu *P* ω, *Tib. in interpr.*, *Isid.* : -us *MR* γ^{ac} *h*, *Tib. in lemm.* : -um *gz* saxumque γ φ, *Isid.* 907 *post* euasit *dist.* M^{c}, *Seru.* neque] nec *R* γ^{c} φ 913 quamcumque P^{ac} φ 916 letumque *P*, *Rufin.* 58.6 : telumque *MR* γ ω (*def. b*), *Auson. cento* 92, *Tib. in lemm.* (*sed* teloque *idem in interpr.*, *ut uid.*) 918 aurigamue *MP* φ: -que *R* γ φ, *Tib.* 922 tanto *P* *z*

loricae et clipei extremos septemplicis orbis; 925
per medium stridens transit femur. incidit ictus
ingens ad terram duplicato poplite Turnus.
consurgunt gemitu Rutuli totusque remugit
mons circum et uocem late nemora alta remittunt.
ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem 930
protendens 'equidem merui nec deprecor' inquit;
'utere sorte tua. miseri te si qua parentis
tangere cura potest, oro (fuit et tibi talis
Anchises genitor), Dauni miserere senectae
et me, seu corpus spoliatum lumine mauis, 935
redde meis. uicisti et uictum tendere palmas
Ausonii uidere, tua est Lauinia coniunx:
ulterius ne tende odiis.' stetit acer in armis
Aeneas uoluens oculos dextramque repressit;
et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo 940
coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri, uictum quem uulnere Turnus
strauerat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
ille, oculis postquam saeui monimenta doloris 945
exuuiasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
terribilis: 'tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc uulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'
hoc dicens ferrum aduerso sub pectore condit 950
feruidus; ast illi soluuntur frigore membra
uitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.

925–38 *MP*; 939–52 *MP* 926 per] et φ 929 late uocem *R v* 930 supplex *PR h* : supplexque *M* γ^{ac} ω (*def. b*), *Tib.* 934 *post* Anchises *et* genitor *dist.* $M^{c}P^{c}$, *Seru.*, genitor *scilicet tamquam uocatiuum interpretati* 950 sub pectore condit] sumpto recondit M^{ac}

1–80 Latinus and Amata fail to dissuade Turnus from meeting Aeneas in single combat

The opening scene begins as a sort of internal monologue of Turnus then develops into a three-way conversation with Latinus and Amata, with Lavinia in a significant silent role. The focus, however, remains on T. throughout, as is shown by the arrangement of speeches (Turnus–Latinus–Turnus–Amata–Turnus). The scene evokes and conflates two primary Iliadic models, the meeting of Hector and Andromache in 6.390–493 and the vain efforts of Priam and Hecuba to dissuade Hector from meeting Achilles in 22.25–92. The Homeric echoes align T. with Hector in the role of the doomed warrior soon to meet his death, thereby undercutting several of his boasts and threats (see 50n., 75–80nn.). The influence of Greek tragedy can be seen in the distribution of speeches and perhaps also in the limitation of speakers to three, which makes Lavinia a non-speaking character (a *kophon prosopon*), see 64–9n.

The action presumably takes place inside Latinus' palace, but the physical setting is left remarkably vague; contrast Homer's circumstantial description of the encounter of Hector and Andromache in *Il.* 6.390–406. The transition (at 10) from T.'s opening thoughts to his first speech is also strikingly fluid. The result is to concentrate attention on the feelings of the characters, especially T., who is made to appear isolated even when in the company of others. On the relative rarity of conversation in the 'rigidly undomestic' *Aeneid* see Feeney (1983) 213–14 (= Harrison (1990) 181–2); Johnson (1976) 179 comments on 'the sense of isolated anxiety, bad solitude, which is a Vergilian hallmark'.

1–4 Turnus . . . animos: the first line establishes a link with the end of the previous book (see 11.896–902, where T. receives news of the Latin debacle), but the emphasis is now on T.'s response to the situation rather than on any action taken. Both the form and content of *Turnus ut . . . uidet* are echoed at 324–5 *Turnus ut Aenean cedentem ex agmine uidit . . . subita spe feruidus ardet.*

1 Turnus . . . Latinos: in his twelve *Partitiones* Priscian used the opening lines of each book of the *Aeneid* as a basis for a morphological and syntactical drill; for text and translation of the section dealing with 12.1, see Ziolkowski–Putnam (2008) 651–60. **Turnus**: the opening word establishes the protagonist of the book, as does 4.1 *at regina*. Several books of the *Aeneid* feature a temporal marker in their opening lines as a way of underlining the continuity of the narrative (3 *postquam*, 5, 10 and 11 *interea*, 8 *ut*, 9 *dum*), but only in books 4 and 12 does the name of the main character precede the temporal indicator (*ut* here, *iamdudum* in 4.1). The opening words of books were carefully noted by epic poets: *postquam* in 3.1 echoes the opening of Ennius' *Annales* 3 (137 Sk.), and was in turn matched by Silius in *Punica* 3.1. T.'s name plays a prominent part both in the narrative and in his own

words: *Turno* in 9 rounds off the opening paragraph, and T.'s two self-namings in this scene are clearly linked (11 *nulla mora in Turno*, 74 *neque enim Turno mora libera mortis*). **infractos** = *fractos*. Both verbs are used in military contexts to describe broken weapons (see 10.731 *infracta . . . tela*, 387 below *infracta . . . harundine telum*) or the fortunes or spirits of the combatants (see 9.499 *infractae ad proelia uires*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.7.11 *fracta uirtus*, Livy 2.59.4 *nihil infractus ferox Appi animus*); for *infractos Latinos* cf. 2.13 *fracti bello fatisque repulsi* (Sinon's description of the Greeks at Troy). **aduerso Marte:** the immediate reference is to the death of Camilla and the ensuing rout of the Latin forces (see 11.868–95), more generally to the series of setbacks for the Latin side following Aeneas' return in book 10.

2 defecisse . . . reposci: V. often frames a line with parallel verb forms; this book alone contains nearly 50 examples. For some possible expressive uses of the pattern see nn. on 55 *flebat . . . tenebat*, 683 *deserit . . . rumpit*, 785 *procurrit . . . reddit*, 949 *immolat . . . sumit*. **defecisse** 'had lost heart'; an echo of the debate in book 11, where T. had asked *cur indecores in limine primo | deficimus?* (423–4). The recollection of the earlier scene continues with the reference to T.'s pledge to meet A. in single combat, *sua . . . promissa* (cf. 11.434–44).

2–3 sua . . . se: emphatic repetition underlined by asyndeton: T. goes quickly from apprehending the situation to seeing it in personal terms.

2 reposci: the verb implies a rightful claim, cf. 8.495 *regem ad supplicium . . . reposcunt*, but with the added notion of 'demand back', as if T.'s promise were a sort of loan, payment of which is now required, cf. 467 below.

3 signari oculis: there appears to be no parallel for *signare* in the sense 'mark out', normally conveyed by *designare*. The use of a simple verb form in place of a compound ('simplex pro composito') is a feature of the high style of which V. is particularly fond; cf. Horsfall on 7.351. *designare oculis* usually denotes hostile or disgraceful attention, cf. Cic. *Cat.* 1.2 *notat et designat oculis ad caedem unum quemque nostrum*, Sen. *Ben.* 3.17.2 *poena est . . . quod omnium designatur oculis aut designari se iudicat*. The motif of looking at/being looked at appears several times with respect to T. in this book: cf. 70 *figit . . . in uirgine uultus*, 645 *Turnum fugientem haec terra uidebit?*, 656–7 *in te ora Latini, | in te oculos referunt*, 670–1 *ardentis oculorum orbis ad moenia torsit | turbidus eque rotis magnam respexit ad urbem*, 936–7 *uictum tendere palmas | Ausonii uidere*. (In earlier books I note only 10.446–7 (T. gazed upon by Pallas) and 11.507 (T. gazing at Camilla).) In 220 below T.'s loss of nerve is reflected in his downcast gaze (*demisso lumine*). The final act of looking in the poem, however, belongs to A.: see n. on 945–6 *oculis . . . hausit*. **ultro:** T. takes the initiative rather than waiting for his allies to prompt him; cf. 9.126–7 *at non audaci Turno fiducia cessit: | ultro animos tollit dictis atque increpat ultro*. **implacabilis:** adj. with adverbial force, closely linked to the verb *ardet*; cf. e.g. 8 *impauidus*, 10 *turbidus*, 81 *rapidus*. *implacabilis* and *implacatus* are used elsewhere in the poem only of Underworld entities (3.420 *implacata Charybdis*, 816 below *Stygii caput implacabile fontis*); there may be a suggestion that T.'s ardour for battle has a more than human intensity. The motif of placation may anticipate the final scene, where T. is offered by A. as a

victim to Pallas (see 948–9n.). **ardet:** a *Leitmotiv* of T.'s depiction in this scene, cf. 55 *ardentem* (n.), 71 *ardet in arma magis*. Traina notes that of the 21 occurrences of *ardeo* in *Aen.*, eight apply to T. (seven in this book). The fiery imagery reflects the dominance of passion in his character; see Schenk (1984) 233–4.

4 attollitque animos: *attollere* is rarely used with a non-physical object (cf. 2.381 of a trodden-on snake *attollentem iras et caerula colla tumentem*, for which Austin compares, e.g., *tollere minas*), but *tollere animos* is not uncommon and is applied to T. in the related passage 9.126–7 (cited above).

4–9 Poenorum . . . Turno: an extended simile in the Homeric manner, given particular prominence by its position at the start of the book. The *Iliad* offers ample precedent for lion similes applied to heroes in battle or gathering strength before combat, see Scott (1974) 58–62, Lonsdale (1990) 39–70. In Homer such similes are more immediately relevant, i.e. introduced as two fighters face each other, whereas here T. works himself up in imagination, as he does again in 81–106. The *Aeneid* contains five lion similes: T. is the focus of three (see 9.792–6, 10.454–6); the other two are applied to Euryalus (9.339–41) and Mezentius (10.723–8). The lion's habitual anger corresponds to T.'s distinctive *uiolentia* (cf. 9n.); the link is made at the metaphorical level in the simile at 7.462–6 comparing T.'s *ira* to a seething cauldron, which draws on Lucretius' description in 3.294–8 of the *uis . . . uiolenta leonum* (cf. Hardie (1986) 230). In book 9 T. is also compared to several other predatory creatures: wolf (9.59–64, 565–8), tiger (9.730) and eagle (9.563–4).

Some details of this simile suggest that it is focalized through T., i.e. that it reflects his view of the situation rather than offering an authorial perspective (which is supplied retrospectively in the 'lead-back' line 9): (*a*) the gravely wounded lion fights back only in self-defence (*tum demum*, implying that the lion holds back until forced to attack by sheer need to survive), corresponding to T.'s feeling that A. is the unlawful claimant to Lavinia and that T. has been goaded into defending his country and his bride; (*b*) the lion's opponents are first characterized as 'hunters' (*uenantum*), then as a single 'robber' or 'brigand' (*latro*), a loaded term that must recall the similar term *praedo* applied to A. by his enemies (Amata 7.362, Mezentius 10.774 and the Latin *matres* 11.484, where *frange . . . telum* is echoed by *frangit telum* 8).

The lion similes at *Il.* 5.136–42 and 20.164–73 are often cited as V.'s models, and the latter passage is undeniably relevant: 'the son of Peleus rose like a lion against [Aeneas], the baleful beast, when men have been straining to kill him, the county all in the hunt, and he at first pays them no attention but goes his way, only when some one of the impetuous young men has hit him with the spear he whirls, jaws open, over his teeth foam breaks out, and in the depth of his chest the powerful heart groans; he lashes his own ribs with his tail and the flanks on both sides as he rouses himself to fury for the fight, eyes glaring, and hurls himself straight onward on the chance of killing some one of the men, or else being killed himself in the first onrush.' V.'s lion, however, has not been simply 'hit' (still less

'grazed', as in *Il.* 5.138 χραύσῃ) but 'grievously wounded in the chest' (5 *saucius ille graui . . . uulnere pectus*); V. may be recalling another Homeric scene, *Il.* 16.752–3, where Patroclus, soon to be killed by Hector, is compared to a lion 'who as he ravages the pastures has been hit in the chest, and his own courage destroys him' (ὅς τε σταθμοὺς κεραΐζων | ἔβλητο πρὸς στῆθος, ἑή τέ μιν ὤλεσεν ἀλκή). The stress on the lion's wounded condition could be part of the previously mentioned focalizing, i.e. it could imply that T. knows his situation is desperate; in any event, it clearly foreshadows T.'s death, which comes about from a wound in the chest, see 950 *ferrum aduerso sub pectore condit.*

For discussions of the simile see Pöschl (1962) 183–7, Worstbrock (1963) 94–5, G. W. Williams (1983) 171–2, Barchiesi (1984) 103–5, Lyne (1989) 162–5, Thomas (1998) 288–9, Klodt (2003) 10 and n. 5.

4 Poenorum . . . in aruis: epic similes often evoke a specific geographical setting (cf. 67n., 715). 'Carthaginian lions' appear in *Ecl.* 5.27, so *Poenorum* does not in itself establish a link with Dido, but the detail is suggestive in light of the more overt echoes of book 4 soon to follow (cf. 37n., 54n.), and the connection is supported by the similarity of *saucius . . . uulnere pectus* and 4.67 *uiuit . . . sub pectore uulnus.* F. Cairns (1989) 109–13 notes that the similes of this book consistently associate T. with foreign settings while linking A. with Italian locations.

5 ille: *ille* makes the scene more specific – the subject of the simile is not any lion but a particular beast – and more vivid. The long postponement of the subject, *leo* – a feature of other Virgilian animal similes, cf. 10.707–8 *ille . . . aper*, 11.809–11 *ille . . . lupus* – adds to the impression of immediacy: the reader first registers details (*Poenorum . . . in aruis*, *saucius*) and only gradually takes in the whole scene. See further Thomas on *G.* 4.457–8, Fordyce on 7.787, Harrison on 10.707–8, Horsfall on 11.809–11, n. on 400–1 below. **uenantum uulnere:** for the subjective gen. identifying the source of the wound cf. 2.436 *uulnere tardus Vlixi.* Specifying the lion's adversaries as hunters might allude to the episode of the stag in book 7, where the Trojans are literally hunters (cf. 493–4 *rabidae uenantis Iuli* | *. . . canes*). Another possible link is to the simile in 749–57 below, in which T. is compared to a stag harried by a *uenator . . . canis* 751 (where the word order momentarily suggests that *uenator* is a substantive). **pectus:** acc. dependent on *saucius*, specifying the part affected, cf. 652 *saucius ora.* The use of a limiting acc. with an adj. is based on the Greek acc. of respect and may have been introduced into Latin by V., cf. Austin on 1.320 *nuda genu*; the classic example in V. is 1.589 *os umerosque deo similis.* But it is also possible (as Richard Thomas suggests to me) to regard *saucius* as the equivalent of a passive participle such as *uulneratus*, in which case *pectus* would be better explained as the 'retained' acc. after a passive verb; cf. 468 below *concussa . . . mentem*, with n. The term 'Greek accusative' is often confusingly applied to a number of related usages; Courtney (2003/4) offers a useful taxonomy. See also nn. on 25 *genus*, 65 *genas*, 224 *formam*, 276 *costas*, 386 *gressus*, 416 *faciem.* According to Quintilian (*Inst.* 9.3.17), *saucius pectus* was by his time a cliché, found even in public records (*acta*).

6 mouet arma: military language ('goes into battle'), which personifies the lion and strengthens the link between simile and narrative context; Servius compared *G.* 3.236 *signa mouet* used of a fighting bull.

6–7 gaudetque . . . excutiens: the use of a causal participle with *gaudere* ('to rejoice in doing something') imitates a Greek construction (e.g. ἥδομαι + part.); cf. 82 *gaudetque tuens*, 702–3 *gaudetque . . . se attollens*, 5.575–6 *gaudentque tuentes | Dardanidae*, 10.500 *gaudetque potitus* (with Harrison's n.), *G.* 2.510 *gaudent perfusi sanguine fratrum.* **comantis . . . toros:** the phrase describes the lion 'shaking out' its mane (for *excutere* in this sense see *OLD* 8, Stat. *Theb.* 2.135–6 *Aurora . . . rorantes excussa comas*), but the precise sense of *comantis . . . toros* is elusive, mainly because *tori* usually refers to muscles rather than hair. V. is evoking Catull. 63.83 (addressed to one of Cybele's lions) *rutilam ferox torosa ceruice quate iubam*, where the lion's 'muscled neck' and its mane are neatly separated, and has produced a more suggestive, visually less clear-cut image in which waving hair and rippling muscle merge into a single motion. (W. renders 'tosses his rippling mane'.) Sil. 5.312–13 *alta | surgentes ceruice toros* recalls V. but applies the description to a bull looked at by a lion (analogous to the way Silius is observing V.'s text).

7 latronis: comms. from Servius onward have explained *latro* as a synonym for *uenator*, despite the absence of any close parallel for such a sense (see *OLD* 2c, *TLL* 7^2.1016.10); the word can have its frequent meaning 'robber', 'despoiler' (see Cic. *Cat.* 1.33 *hostis patriae, latrones Italiae*) if it is understood as expressing T.'s hostile view of Aeneas, cf. 4–9n., Thomas (1998) 289; Lyne (1989) 164–5 goes further and sees *latronis* as implying V.'s endorsement of T.'s view.

8 impauidus: relevant both to the lion and to T.'s self-image. Homeric lions are typically undaunted, but their courage is sometimes called fatal, cf. *Il.* 12.46, 16.753 (quoted in n. on 4–9). **frangit telum:** Traina compares Lucr. 5.1327 (wild boars) *tela infracta suo tingentes sanguine saeui.* **fremit ore cruento** = 9.341, in a lion simile applied to Euryalus. Both passages echo 1.296 *fremet horridus ore cruento*, the description of *Furor impius* (= war lust) that ends Jupiter's prophecy. The significance given to the connections affects larger issues of interpretation: W. comments 'the lion-like Turnus represents the violent forces that must be conquered before Rome's era of ultimate peace can be achieved', while Hardie ad loc., reading the passages in conjunction, persuasively concludes that 'Trojan and Italian alike are prone to *furor*'.

9 haud secus . . . Turno: *haud secus* marks the resumption of narrative after an extended simile (cf. 2.382, 4.447, 8.414); here the lead-back contains several loaded terms (*accenso, gliscit, uiolentia*) which reassert an authorial (in this case critical) viewpoint. **accenso . . . Turno:** probably dative of ref. expressing possession. For the fire imagery in *accenso* cf. 3 *ardet*, 11.376 *talibus exarsit dictis uiolentia Turni.* **gliscit:** *gliscere* is 'a choice and colourful replacement for *crescere* . . . mainly domiciled in verse and history' (Goodyear on Tac. *Ann.* 1.1.2, cf. Kraus on Livy 6.14.1). It probably had an archaic flavour for V. – as it did for Sallust and Livy, see Oakley on Livy 6.14.1 – and its restriction to destructive forces

gives it the sinister overtones exploited by Tacitus, with whom it is a favourite. This is its only appearance in V. and probably recalls Lucretius' lines on Paris as the cause of the Trojan War (1.474–5): *ignis Alexandri Phrygio sub pectore gliscens* | *clara accendisset* [cf. *accenso*] *saeui certamina belli*, see Putnam (1965) 225 n. 4. **uiolentia:** *uiolentus* and *uiolentia* imply impetuosity and lack of control, in nature as well as human beings, cf. 6.355–6 *Notus . . . uiolentus*, *G.* 2.107 *uiolentior . . . Eurus*, 4.383; *turbidus* functions similarly, cf. 10n. In the *Aen.* this quality is exclusively associated with T. in the final books, as he comes under ever greater pressure, cf. 10.151 *uiolenta . . . pectora*, 11.354, 376, 45 below. Compare *audacia*, another distinctive feature of T.'s character (see Hardie on 9.3).

10–53 Although Latinus and T. have been associated in the fighting against the Trojans throughout the latter half of the epic, this is the only time in the poem they are shown speaking to each other. The scene in book 7 where T. leads protests outside L.'s palace and L. predicts T.'s death (596–7) does not contain an actual encounter.

10 tum . . . infit: the first half of the line is quasi-formulaic (cf. 8.126, 10.466, etc.) while the second half characterizes the tone of T.'s remarks with *turbidus*. The doubled verb of address (*adfatur . . . infit*) is Homeric, cf. *Il.* 1.201, Harrison on 10.860 (*adloquitur . . . infit*). *adfatur* recurs in 71, framing the scene. **turbidus** 'raging' or 'storming', literally applied to wind, rain, or rushing water and figuratively to human beings. Only T. is called *turbidus* more than once, cf. 9.57, 10.648, 671 below; cf. also *turbat* 70 below. The word can imply muddled lack of clarity, as in *G.* 3.350 *turbidus et torquens flauentis Hister harenas* and 10.648 *animo spem turbidus hausit inanem*, but at 10.763 Mezentius does not seem confused and in 671 below T. is called *turbidus* after he regains his senses. Elsewhere human beings are described as *turbidus* in the heat of battle; T.'s rage here thus seems all the more excessive. **infit:** an archaism, originally meaning 'begin' and followed by a verb of speaking (as in 11.242 *ita farier infit*); as a synonym for *inquit* it is found already in Ennius (*Ann.* 385 Sk.) and is so used six times in the *Aen.*; see Harrison on 10.101. Lyne (1989) 16 cites it as an example of the 'otherness' of epic language; Livy's two uses (1.23.7, 1.28.4) also create an effect of antiquity.

11 nulla mora in Turno: cf. 2.701 (Anchises) *iam iam nulla mora est*, *Ecl.* 3.52 *in me mora non erit ulla*; the comic parallels cited by Clausen ad loc. suggest a colloquial basis for the phrase. T. is given to self-dramatizing use of his name, see 1n.; for A.'s use of his name see 440n. and on self-naming generally see Norden and Austin on 6.510, Fordyce on 7.401, Harrison on 10.73. T.'s words are in keeping with earlier descriptions of him, cf. 10.308 *nec Turnum segnis retinet mora*, 658–9 *nec Turnus segnior instat* | *exsuperatque moras*; they are literally true, but in an ironic sense, since it will be his supporters (mainly Juturna) who will delay the final confrontation for most of the book. C–N note the mocking echo in A.'s taunt to T. in 889 *quae nunc deinde mora est? aut quid iam, Turne, retractas?* (Seneca, *Ben.* 6.41.2 cited T.'s words approvingly, applying them to a person ready to return a benefit without delay when the need arises.)

11–12 nihil est quod . . . recusent 'there is no reason for the cowardly followers of Aeneas to take back their promises or to refuse what they had pledged'. T. refers to A.'s words at 11.116–18, which say only that single combat would have been the best way to settle the war; it is T. who has pledged himself to such a combat, cf. on 2 *defecisse, reposci.* **nihil est quod . . . retractent:** *nihil* (or *non*) *est quod* + subj. may have a colloquial flavour; it appears often in Senecan prose (e.g. *Epist.* 7.9, 47.16, 56.8), cf. also Ovid, *Tr.* 5.1.16 *non est scripta quod ista legat*, Mart. 1.117.5 *non est quod puerum . . . uexes.* **retractent:** the sense 'cancel, take back' is mainly found in juristic or bureaucratic prose.

12 ignaui Aeneadae: inactivity/lack of vigour is a consistent trait in the negative portrayal of the Trojans, linked to accusations of softness or effeminacy; see above all the speech of T.'s brother-in-law Numanus Remulus in 9.598–620, esp. 615 *desidiae cordi.* **Aeneadae:** sarcastic use of the grand epithet for the Trojans, similarly in 779; for *Aeneadae* = *Romani* cf. 8.648, Lucr. 1.1.

13 congredior: used absolutely to mean 'engage the enemy, join battle'; cf. 233 below. For the present tense expressing immediate intention cf. 9.21 *sequor omina tanta* with Hardie's n. **pater:** the second syllable is lengthened *in arsi* (i.e. in the first syllable of the foot) when it coincides with a main caesura or a sense pause. Lengthening of this kind is frequent in Homer; V. employs it in a more restricted way: e.g. following Callimachus he only lengthens syllables ending in a consonant (see G. W. Williams (1968) 687 n. 1). For discussions see Nettleship's excursus to C–N 3.486–91, Norden, Appendix 10, Austin on 1.308, Fordyce on 7.174. Other examples in this book at 68 *ebur, aut*, 422 *dolor, omnis*, 550 *domitor et*, 668 *amor et*, 772 *stabat, huc*, 883 *erit* [648 text disputed]. **concipe foedus:** i.e. the truce allowing the opposing commanders to settle the issue by single combat. *concipere foedus* of 'striking' a treaty occurs only here and in 158 (Statius uses *concipe f.* in *Ach.* 1.902 of entering into a marriage agreement), but it could be a legitimate technical term, on the analogy of *concipere bellum* (cf. Varro, *Ling.* 5.86); *concipere* alludes to the verbal formula required for such occasions, as in *concipere uerba, uota, iusiurandum*, cf. Livy 1.32.8, 5.25.7, 7.5.5, *OLD* 12.

14–17 aut . . . coniunx: T. frames the outcomes in highly unequal terms, savouring the prospect of his victory for three lines and dispatching the alternative in one sketchily phrased line.

14 Dardanium . . . mittam: high-style language for a grand effect ('the Trojan deserter' for Aeneas, 'send to Tartarus' for kill, the hyperbaton of *hac . . . dextra*, *dextra* for *manu*); cf. 8.563 (Evander speaking) *regem hac Erulum dextra sub Tartara misi. sub Tartara mittere* is V.'s equivalent for the Homeric Ἄϊδι προϊάπτειν (*Il.* 1.3, 11.55, etc.). T.'s threat in the end rebounds upon him, when his spirit flees with a groan *sub umbras* (952). **Dardanium:** the lofty epithet produces a scornful effect, as with *Dardanus* at 4.661–2 *hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto | Dardanus*, and *Dardanium caput* in hostile references to Aeneas by Dido (4.640) and T. (11.399–400).

15 desertorem Asiae: T. treats A.'s survival and departure from Troy as evidence of desertion, possibly alluding to accounts of Troy in which A. saved his life by colluding with the Greeks. At 2.431–4 A. vehemently denies what is probably the same charge. Imputations of cowardice to the enemy are a standard element in pre-battle oratory; La Cerda compares Livy 21.43.15 *an me . . . cum semenstri hoc conferam duce, desertore exercitus sui?*, cf. also Tac. *Agr.* 34.1 *hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi ideoque tam diu superstites.* **(sedeant spectentque Latini):** the detail of the Latins sitting to watch the fight may derive from Paris' directive in *Il.* 3.68 ('make the rest of the Trojans sit down, and all the Achaians'), but T.'s sneering tone makes it a reproach, implying that T. alone has the courage to fight on behalf of his people; cf. his earlier words 11.460 *pacem laudate sedentes.* Juturna in disguise uses a similar taunt in 237 below, *qui nunc lenti consedimus aruis.* (For 'sitting and watching' as disgraceful in a soldier or leader La Cerda cites Livy 7.13.7, Plut. *Them.* 16.2; Traina compares Cic. *Sest.* 33 *consulibus sedentibus atque inspectantibus lata lex est.*) The taunt is illogical, since it is T.'s own decision to fight A. that turns the other Latins into spectators, but it is possible for T. to be at once boastful and aggrieved. It also seems possible that T. is imagining himself as starring in a gladiatorial show for the entertainment of his people; see Klodt (2003) 11–12, who notes the inversion of the idea in T.'s last speech, 936–7 *uictum tendere palmas | Ausonii uidere.* On elements of spectacle in Livy's account of the duel between Torquatus and the Gaul, see Feldherr (1998) 100–3.

16 et solus . . . refellam: T. reverts to lofty language and spondaic rhythm as he draws out the significance of his imagined defeat of A. For the emphatic *solus* compare his words before meeting Pallas, 10.442–3 *solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas | debetur* (a claim that returns to haunt T., see n. on 948–9 *Pallas . . . Pallas*). **crimen commune refellam:** *crimen commune* is usually understood as 'the charge of cowardice to which the . . . Latins had rendered themselves liable' (M.), but such a charge exists only in T.'s mind. The only other use of *refellere* in V. is at 644, where T. refers to Drances' implication of cowardice in 11.373–5; T. may be projecting on to his people a need to vindicate his own honour. *crimen commune* could also mean 'an offence to our entire people' – i.e. A.'s attempt to steal Lavinia – but *refellam* fits better with *crimen* in the sense of 'accusation'. Heyne took *crimen commune* to mean 'the charge of cowardice made against T. by all', but the opposition of *solus* and *commune* works best if T. sees himself as defending the honour of his people.

17 aut . . . coniunx: the logic of T.'s speech demands something like 'or else he will kill me and win Lavinia for himself', but instead he concludes with the vague *aut habeat uictos,* 'or let him rule the conquered [Latins] as his people'. T.'s eagerness to represent his people in victory vanishes when he imagines the other outcome, and his people now replace him as A.'s subjects. **habeat** 'rule over' (*OLD* 6), cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.197 (Jupiter speaking to the other gods) *qui uos habeoque regoque,* Stat. *Theb.* 1.391 *rex ibi . . . populos Adrastus habebat,* Tac. *Ann.* 1.1.1 *urbem Romam a principio reges habuere.* The word is fairly neutral in tone; later references

by T. and Amata to A. as prospective ruler paint a harsher picture, cf. 63 *captiua*, 75 *tyranno*. **cedat Lauinia coniunx** 'let L. pass to him as his wife'; *cedere* in this sense is a legal term (*OLD* 15), cf. 3.297 *patrio cessisse marito*. T.'s words are echoed in his final admission of defeat, 937 *tua est Lauinia coniunx*; see also 809 below. *Lauinia* usually has a long first syllable, as here; with short first syllable at 7.359 (see Horsfall ad loc., and Austin on 1.3).

18–45 Latinus' speech is revealing both for his view of T. and as a reflection of his own character (wishing to act for the best, but repeatedly overwhelmed by events). Unlike Priam's emotional appeal to Hector in *Il.* 22.38–76 (beginning 'Hector, beloved child, do not wait the attack of this man | alone, away from the others'), L.'s speech is a carefully constructed attempt to persuade T. not to face A. without offending his pride as a warrior. L. begins with calmly balanced phrases but eventually reaches an emotional aporia (37 *quo referor totiens? quae mentem insania mutat?*) before concluding with a new set of rational arguments. L.'s remarks in 27–31 about the prohibition against Lavinia's marrying any of her original suitors and his reasons for breaking off her betrothal to A. are important in refocusing the reader's sense of the strength of the competing claims.

18 Olli: archaic form of *illi*, found before V. in Ennius' *Annales* (where it is already an archaism) and Lucretius. V. has *olli* 21 times (seven nom. and 14 dat., all but three line-initial), *ollis* twice; cf. Skutsch (1985) 64–5. The combination *olli respondit* is also Ennian, cf. *Ann.* 31 Sk. *olli respondit rex Albai Longai* (probably Latinus himself, see n. on 161–215 below), 113 *o. r. suauis sonus Egeriai*. See also on 300, 309, 537, 829. **sedato . . . corde** 'with quiet good sense' (Mackail) describes only the opening section of L.'s speech; from 29 onward his tone becomes increasingly agitated. For *sedato corde* cf. 9.740 *olli subridens sedato pectore Turnus*, T. speaking to Pandarus who is *feruidus ira* (736), where *subridens* and *sedato pectore* – unusual for T. – underscore his pleasure in taunting an enemy before killing him. The spondaic rhythm reflects Latinus' measured demeanour.

19–21 Rather than asserting his superior position, L. ostensibly places T. on the same level as himself (*quantum . . . tanto*). Implicit in his words, though, is the idea that T.'s *ferox uirtus* needs to be guided by L.'s greater prudence. The opening of L.'s speech is cited in Macrobius' discussion of V. as a master of oratory (*Sat.* 5.1.16) as an example of the *stilus maturus et grauis* associated with L. Licinius Crassus.

19 o praestans animi iuuenis: the phrase was attributed to Ennius on the dubious authority of the seventeenth-century scholar Caspar Barth (=*fr. dub.* 15 in Skutsch, who considers the fragment spurious); *praestans animi* reappears in Stat. *Theb.* 1.605 with a typically Statian elaboration, *armorum praestans animique Coroebus*. **animi:** probably gen. of respect, cf. 9.246 *animi maturus*, 11.417 *egregius . . . animi* rather than locative, as (perhaps) in 4.203 *amens animi*. The abl. of specification with *praestans* is more common, as in 8.548 *praestantis* (acc.) *uirtute legit*.

19–20 quantum . . . tanto: correlative construction with adverbial acc. in the first part and abl. of comparison (with *impensius*) in the second. L. alludes to the conventional idea that age and experience bring wisdom (cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 528–9 with Mastronarde's n., ps.-Sen. *Octavia.* 445 *praecipere mitem conuenit pueris senem*), but his language is modelled – as noted by Macrobius 6.2.17 – on a passage from Accius' *Antigone* (136–7 R², presumably Ismene speaking to her sister): *quanto magis te isti modi esse intellego, | tanto, Antigona, magis me par est tibi consulere et parcere.* Cf. Wigodsky (1972) 89, also n. on 646–9 below for another possible echo of Accius' play; the Sophoclean original is echoed by T. in 680 below (Antigone's reply to a similar effort at restraint by Ismene). **feroci | uirtute:** 'ferox is not "fierce", but "bold", "high-spirited", "independent"' (M.), and in Roman military language *ferocia* and *uirtus* can coexist, cf. Livy 9.6.13 *Romanam uirtutem ferociamque*, 23.16.1, Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.31–2, Oakley on Livy 6.23.3. At 10.610 Jupiter attributes *animus . . . ferox patiensque pericli* to the Trojans; in 895 below T. calls A. *ferox*, with a more pejorative connotation.

20 exsuperas: used intransitively, 'to excel, stand out' (a sense more readily grasped because of *praestans* in the preceding clause); the verb appears again without an object at 46 (*exsuperat magis*), where its subject is *uiolentia Turni* and the sense is roughly 'gain the upper hand/overcome [resistance]', for which cf. 2.759 *exsuperant flammae*, of the flames that consume Troy. The verb describes T.'s restless energy at 10.657 *nec Turnus segnius instat | exsuperatque moras*. In 7.591–2 Latinus has no power to overcome (*exsuperare*) the *caecum . . . consilium* supported by T. By contrast the two uses of *exsuperare* in connection with A. are relatively colourless (3.698 and 11.905, both with the sense of passing through or by a place). **impensius:** with *consulere*, 'it is right that I advise you all the more carefully'; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 6.314–15 *cultu . . . impensius omnes | uenerantur numina diuae.*

21 consulere . . . expendere: *omnis . . . casus* functions as an expanded equivalent to *consulere*; the pairing suggests calm control, cf. 1.562 *soluite corde metum, Teucri, secludite curas.* **metuentem:** almost the equivalent of an adverb. L. presumably intends to stress his caution, but his choice of *metuere*, which usually denotes a stronger form of fear or anxiety, hints at his lack of resolve.

22–5 sunt . . . indecores: L. leads gradually into the delicate part of his speech; by repeating *sunt* in anaphora he attempts to blur the distinction between the uncontroversial (Daunus has his kingdom, you have many captured cities in your control) and the explosive (there are other potential brides for you).

22 patris Dauni: T.'s father is aged but still alive, cf. 43–5, 932–4. Daunus figures prominently in L.'s speech (cf. 43–5) and in this book, which contains all but two of the appearances of his name in the poem.

22–3 oppida capta | multa manu: presumably towns conquered by T. himself; *manu* of military prowess, cf. 627 *qui tecta manu defendere possint.*

23 aurumque animusque Latino est 'and Latinus is rich [cf. 11.213 *praediuitis*] and well disposed to you'. As C–N note, *animus* is sometimes a euphemism for 'generosity', cf. Cic. *Q. fr.* 1.1.10, Sen. *Epist.* 16.7. The elliptical

phrasing may reflect L.'s embarrassment at suggesting that T. will be rewarded for dropping his suit. C–N refer to *Il.* 9.264, where Agamemnon offers Achilles ten talents of gold as part of his compensation for losing Briseis. L.'s reference to his wealth echoes Priam's in *Il.* 22.50–1 '[gold] is there inside, since | Altes the aged and renowned gave much with his daughter' (ἔστι γὰρ ἔνδον· | πολλὰ γὰρ ὤπασε παιδὶ γέρων ὀνομάκλυτος Ἄλτης).

24–5 innuptae . . . nec genus indecores: the eligibility of these women is conveyed by litotes: they are unmarried and 'not unsuitable by birth' (*genus* acc. of respect or specification, cf. 5.285 *Cressa genus*, 8.114 *qui genus*). L.'s words contain another allusion to *Iliad* 9, where Achilles rejects Agamemnon's offer of one of his daughters (395): 'there are many Achaian girls in the land of Hellas and Phthia' (πολλαὶ Ἀχαιΐδες εἰσὶν ἀν' Ἑλλάδα τε Φθίην τε). But other echoes are also present, e.g. *Od.* 21.251–2 (Eurymachus consoling himself at not winning Penelope) and especially Theoc. 22.154–66, where Lynceus rebukes Castor and Pollux for taking the daughters of Leucippus from their fiancés; cf. esp. 159–60 'there are countless maidens being nurtured by their parents, who lack nothing in appearance [or 'nature'?] or intelligence' (ἔνθα κόραι τοκέεσσιν ὑπὸ σφετέροισι τρέφονται | μυρίαι οὔτε φυῆς ἐπιδευέες οὔτε νόοιο).

24 Latio et Laurentibus aruis: the combination of general and more specific place names resembles *Il.* 9.395 (cf. previous n.). *aruis* (for which cf. 7.662, 9.100) is the reading of one of the three ancient codices that transmit these lines and of Servius' commentary; most manuscripts read *agris*, which is probably an echo corruption based on 11.431. The line-ending *Laurentibus aruis* appears in Sil. 13.60.

25 nec . . . indecores: four of the five appearances of *indecor* in V. involve litotes with *non/nec*, see 7.231, 11.845, 679 below; the exception is 11.423.

25–6 L. leaves the implication of the previous lines unstated and instead asks T.'s permission to speak freely. Some comms. refer *sine . . . dolis* to what L. has just said, but it seems best to take both *sine . . . dolis* and *simul . . . hauri* as pointing forward to his next statement: *haec* and *hoc* suggest a single referent, and *haud mollia fatu* and *aperire* better suit the contents of 28–31 than the advice of 22–5.

25 haud mollia fatu: for the litotes *haud mollia* (= *dura*) cf. *haud mollia iussa* in *G.* 3.41 (of the task set V. by Maecenas) and 9.804 (Jupiter's threat to Juturna). Here it underscores L.'s awareness that T. will not like what he has to say. **fatu:** abl. of the supine, as in the more common *mirabile dictu* (of which *fatu* may be V.'s own adaptation). *fatu* is found only here in V., not attested earlier, imitated by Sen. *Agam.* 416 *acerba fatu poscis*, *Oed.* 293 *tarda fatu est lingua*.

26 sublatis . . . dolis 'free and clear of deception' (Fagles) may only mean 'frankly, openly', but could also imply that L.'s previous statements have been less than direct. **aperire:** high style for 'reveal, disclose'; of prophecy in 6.12 *Delius inspirat uates aperitque futura*. L. may be anticipating the prophetic support he alleges as proof of the following claim (cf. 28). **hoc animo hauri:** the unusual rhythm (with a rare conflict of ictus and accent in the fifth foot) is made even

more remarkable by the unique elision of a long syllable at the arsis of the sixth foot; for elision of a short syllable in that position cf. 10.508 *haec te prima dies bello dedit, haec eadem aufert.* Norden (Appendix 9.4a) thought this line-ending might have Ennian precedent, but the roughness of the phrasing suits L.'s urgent tone. The entire speech contains almost twice the average number of elisions, which is often a sign of agitation; see Introduction, p. 42. Despite his ostensibly calm manner (18 *sedato . . . corde*), L. may feel discomfort about the appeal he is making to T. **hauri:** *haurire* with words or sights implies giving full attention, 'taking in' what is heard or seen; cf. 4.359 *uocem . . . his auribus hausi*, 10.648 *animo spem turbidus hausit*, Sen. *Agam.* 31 *non pauidus hausi dicta* with my n. Another possible link to the final scene, where A. 'drinks in' the figures on the baldric T. had taken from Pallas (945–6 *postquam saeui monimenta doloris | exuuiasque hausit*).

27–8 me . . . canebant: L. reproduces the substance of the oracle given to him by his father, Faunus (7.81–106), which warned him not to marry Lavinia to any Latin suitor and predicted the arrival of 'foreign sons-in-law' (98 *externi uenient generi*). V. mentions no other source for this instruction; Latinus' *omnes diuique hominesque* may thus be a rhetorical exaggeration, but he could be referring to the portents and prophecies involving Lavinia mentioned in 7.71–80 (cf. 79 *canebant*). There could also be an allusion to prophecies not recounted by V., such as the dream described by Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.57.4. On the relation of this speech to L.'s earlier statements about the oracle see Heinze (1915) 176–7 = Eng. trans. (1993) 145.

27 ueterum . . . procorum: i.e. those who preceded A. (including T.); at *Ecl.* 9.4 *ueteres migrate coloni*, *uetus* implies 'established, legitimate' as opposed to an intruder or *aduena* (as A. is called by Tolumnius in 261). **sociare:** the word used by Faunus in 7.96 *ne pete conubiis natam sociare Latinis*; cf. also Ovid, *Met.* 10.635 (Atalanta speaking) *unus eras cum quo sociare cubilia uellem.*

28 idque: refers to the whole of the previous statement. **omnes diuique hominesque:** *diuique hominesque* probably explains *omnes* ('all – gods and men alike'), as in 9.192–3 *Aenean acciri omnes populusque patresque | exposcunt*; contrast 231 below *en, omnes et Troes et Arcades hi sunt* ('look, all the Trojans and all the Arcadians are here'). The combination *diuique hominesque* is not found elsewhere in this form (echoed in Ovid, *Met.* 9.754 *ut dique hominesque laborent*), but cf. 1.229 *hominumque deumque*, 2.745 *hominumque deorumque* (corresponding to ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε). **diuique hominesque:** repeated *-que*, usually connecting words of parallel form or sense, is a feature of Latin epic style going back to Ennius and corresponding to the Homeric τε . . . τε; it appears more than 150 times in the *Aeneid.* See further Skutsch on *Ann.* 170, Fordyce on 7.186, Harrison on 10.91. **canebant:** of prophetic utterance 3.183, 559, 6.345, 7.79, 271 (L.'s account of the oracle), also of other forms of marked speech, such as Fama's rumours in 4.190, A.'s account of his wanderings in 4.14 (where the overlap between A. as narrator and V. as epic poet is great).

29 uictus . . . uictus: for repeated words in 'line-framing' position see Wills (1996) 427–30; if repetition of related words is included (as in 44 *longaeui . . . longe*), such framing repetition 'can usually be found once or twice in any poetic book' (429), but it is surely significant that L. repeats a word that highlights his powerlessness in the face of external pressures. **cognato sanguine:** T.'s mother Venilia (mentioned by V. only at 10.76) was said to be a relation of Amata (her sister, according to Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.64.2 and Servius). Amata cited this connection in support of T.'s claim to Lavinia (cf. 7.366 *consanguineo totiens data dextera Turno*), and Latinus may be implying that her argument carried weight with him.

30 coniugis . . . lacrimis: tears are Amata's characteristic mode of expression (cf. 7.358 *lacrimans*, 56, 72 below); here, as in book 7, she uses them to undermine Latinus' aims. **uincla . . . rupi** 'I threw off all restraint'; *uincla* refers principally to the confining force of Faunus' oracle, more generally to moral and religious obligations.

31 promissam eripui genero, arma impia sumpsi: almost every word in the line expresses L.'s retrospective condemnation of his action. Quinn (1968) 256 suggests that L. overstates his own responsibility for the war in order to make it easier for T. to back down. **promissam eripui genero** 'though she was already promised, I snatched her from my prospective son-in-law'; L. exaggerates for rhetorical effect, speaking as if Lavinia had been betrothed to A. even before T. came on the scene. L.'s reference to A. as his intended *gener* recalls Faunus' oracle, which spoke of the Trojans as *externi . . . generi* (7.98). Amata persists in seeing T. as *gener* (55n.) and threatens suicide rather than accept A. in that role (63). In none of these uses is *gener* purely descriptive: it embodies the speaker's view of what should or should not happen. For T.'s response see n. on 50 *pater*. **genero, arma:** hiatus in this position (following a long vowel at the arsis of the fourth foot) occurs also at 1.16, 5.735, 9.291, 10.141; in each case the hiatus coincides with a pause in sense. On hiatus in V. see Austin on 4.235, Fordyce on 7.178, Trappes-Lomax (2004). In this book cf. 535, 648 (text uncertain). **arma impia:** L. spoke in similar terms at the start of the war, cf. 7.595 *ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas*; the connotation of *impia* is spelled out at 7.583–4 *infandum . . . contra omina bellum, | contra fata deum, peruerso numine.* One category of *arma impia* is civil war (cf. 6.612–13), and some of L.'s language has resonances of Rome's civil wars, cf. 35–7nn.

32 ex illo: combines the temporal 'from that time' and the causal 'because of that decision'; cf. 2.169–70 (following the theft of the Palladium) *ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri | spes Danaum.*

32–3 qui . . . labores 'you see, Turnus, what disasters and wars dog me, what toils you yourself first and foremost are suffering' (W.). An artfully constructed tricolon, in which the first two members relate to L. (*me . . . sequantur*) while the third and most elaborate shifts the focus to T. As often in tricola, the verb common

to the first two phrases (here *sequantur*) is expressed only in the second, giving that phrase greater weight.

33 primus: L. diplomatically adopts T.'s view of himself as the protagonist of resistance to the Trojans.

34 bis magna uicti pugna: i.e. in the battles of the two previous books, ending with the deaths of Mezentius and Camilla respectively. The lapidary *magna uicti pugna* may echo the famous announcement of the Roman defeat by Hannibal at Lake Trasimene, *pugna . . . magna uicti sumus* (Livy 22.7.8, cf. Polybius 3.85.8). The clash of ictus and accent in the first four feet probably has expressive value; coupled with the spondaic rhythm it suggests the exhaustion of the Latin forces.

34–5 uix urbe tuemur | spes Italas: the Latins have been driven back inside the walls of their capital, which alone protect them and keep their hopes alive. *urbe* implies both location and means.

35–6 recalent . . . sanguine: recalls the Sibyl's prophecy to A. in 6.87 *Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno*; that passage suggests that the blood would be at least in part Trojan, but in L.'s current mood of despair he speaks as though only the Latins had lost men. L.'s reference to bloodstained rivers resembles laments for the effects of Rome's civil wars, such as Hor. *Epod.* 7.3–4 *parumne campis atque Neptuno super | fusum est Latini sanguinis . . . ?*, *Carm.* 2.1.33–4 *qui gurges aut quae flumina lugubris | ignara belli?*, with N-H ad loc.; cf. also 8.695 (of Actium) *arua noua Neptunia caede rubescunt.*

35 recalent 'are still [*adhuc*] being made warm', i.e. the bloodshed is so recent that the river's waters have not yet cooled; less probably, 'grow warm over again' with *adhuc* denoting a recurring action, which would connect with *bis uicti* (so Servius); in Stat. *Theb.* 4.671 *ex longo recalet furor*, the sense 'grows warm again' is made clear by *ex longo.* **fluenta:** 'used thus in periphrasis, like the Greek ῥεῖθρα . . . would probably convey an epic cadence; the word, in classical Latin used only in the plural, is Lucretian (5.949), perhaps Ennian' (Mynors on *G.* 4.369).

36 campique ingentes ossibus albent: an emotively powerful detail that is logically incompatible with the previous statement, which stresses the immediacy of the bloodshed. Here the fields are white with the bones of warriors who have been left unburied and whose flesh has rotted away; cf. 5.865, where the Sirens' rocks are *multorum . . . ossibus albos* (also Ovid, *Fast.* 1.558, Sen. *Oed.* 94). The reference to bones recalls the image in *G.* 1.497 of the farmer whose plough turns up the *grandia ossa* of the victims of the civil wars (with *ingentes* here pointing to *grandia* in the *Georgics*); the contrast heightens the feeling of present horror as well as hinting at the quasi-civil nature of the war in Italy. Whitening bones appear in references to the battlefield at Philippi, cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 3.707–8 *Philippi | et quorum sparsis ossibus albet humus*, Stat. *Silu.* 2.7.65 *albos ossibus Italis Philippos*, and in descriptions of other Roman defeats, cf. Tac. *Ann* 1.61.2 *medio campi albentia ossa* (the Teutoberg forest), Amm. Marc. 31.7.16 *nunc usque*

albentes ossibus campi. **campique ingentes:** the phrase and the entire sentence recall Drances' words at 11.366–7 *sat funera fusi | uidimus ingentis et desolauimus agros.*

37 As if carried away by his own rhetoric, L. momentarily forgets T. (or affects to do so) and laments his repeated failure to act. **quo referor totiens?:** *quo* is best understood in a local sense ('where' or 'to what place'), in keeping with the underlying image of someone deflected from a course or position; cf. *quo feror* used literally in 10.670, figuratively in Ovid, *Ars am.* 3.667, *Met.* 9.509, 10.320; some comms. render 'why' or 'to what end'. L. used similar language at 7.594 *frangimur heu fatis . . . ferimurque procella.* The image resembles that of the rower in *G.* 1.201–3 who vainly strives to overcome the resistance of the undertow. **quae mentem insania mutat?:** Dido asks the same question at 4.595; both characters are appalled at what they have done or considered doing under the influence of emotion. A less obvious connection is with 7.461, where Allecto inspires Turnus with *scelerata insania belli*; the implicit answer to L.'s question is therefore T. himself. *mentem* suggests both the capacity for rational thought and a specific intention; for the latter cf. 8.400 *si bellare paras atque haec tibi mens est*, 554 below.

38–45 Returning to rational persuasion, L. presents three arguments for T.'s withdrawal. All are based on appeals to interest: of T., whose life could be spared; of L., who will escape the odium of having let T. perish; and of T.'s father. Since all three assume that T. will die if he faces A., it is not surprising that T. responds with barely restrained fury (cf. 50–3 and n.). The first argument is the most overtly ratiocinative (sophistic even); it is echoed by Ovid's Scylla in *Met.* 8.60–2, where its self-serving character is more evident: *qui si manet exitus urbem* (sc. defeat by Minos), | *cur suus haec illi reseret mea moenia Mauors* | *et non noster amor?*

38 Turno exstincto: the abl. abs. replaces a circumstantial clause ('when T. has been killed'), which would be cumbersome within the conditional *si . . . sum . . . paratus.* **exstincto:** more elevated than, e.g., *occiso* or *interfecto*, cf. Pacuvius 329 R^2 *liberum lacerasti orbasti exstinxti*, Horsfall on 7.662; the verb is a dignified way for Latinus to raise the subject of T.'s death. See also on 599 below. **socios . . . ascire** 'to accept [the Trojans] as allies'; L. had previously blamed himself *qui non acceperit ultro* | *Dardanium Aenean generumque asciuerit urbi* (11.471–2). *ascire* is a rare equivalent of *asciscere*, next attested in Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.3.5). Cf. also 7.264 (L. speaking of A.) *si iungi hospitio properat sociusque uocari.*

39 cur non . . . tollo?: the indicative in a deliberative question has a colloquial tone, cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 409 *cur non eo intro in nostram domum?*, Virg. *Ecl.* 5.1–3 *cur non . . . hic . . . consedimus?* **tollo:** a strong word, suggesting that L. could eliminate further fighting; with similar nouns cf. Cic. *Leg. Man.* 30 *bellum . . . aduentu* (i.e. of Pompey) *sublatum ac sepultum*, Ovid, *Am.* 1.8.96 *non bene, si tollas proelia, durat amor*, Sen. *Phoen.* 458 *proinde bellum tollite aut belli moram.*

41 Italia: the only appearance of the name in this book. References to *Italia* are much more frequent in the first six books than the latter six (34 : 10), with the highest concentrations in book 1 (10) and book 3 (11). **fors dicta refutet!:** the

apotropaic wish is inserted as closely as possible after the ill-omened words; cf. 2.190–1 (Sinon speaking) *tum magnum exitium (quod di prius omen in ipsum | conuertant!) Priami imperio Phrygibusque futurum.*

42 prodiderim: in contrast to the indicative *dicet*, the perfect subjunctive depicts the action as hypothetical ('if I were to betray'); cf. Handford 126–7. **natam . . . petentem:** possibly an inverted echo of 9.600 *en qui nostra sibi bello conubia poscunt* (Numanus Remulus describing the Trojans); from L.'s current perspective it is T. who is the suitor, A. the prospective son-in-law (cf. 31n.). **natam et conubia nostra:** hendiadys = 'marriage with our daughter'. Traina suggests that the doubled phrasing implies marriage and the ensuing connection with the ruling family.

43–5 This argument has no effect on T. here, but it becomes the basis for T.'s appeal to A. in 932–4. An old man urging a young warrior to think of his father must recall Priam's words to Achilles in *Il.* 24.486–506, a scene brought to mind again at the end of the poem.

43 respice 'consider, have regard for', cf. 4.274–5 *Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli | respice*; with a similar object cf. Cic. *Clu.* 58 *respicite, iudices, hominum fortunas, respicite dubiosque uariosque casus.* **res bello uarias** 'the vicissitudes of war', a delicate way of introducing the likelihood that T. will die if he fights A. Priam is far more blunt in warning Hector (*Il.* 22.39–40): 'you might encounter your destiny beaten down by Peleus' son, since he is far stronger than you are' (ἵνα μὴ τάχα πότμον ἐπίσπῃς | Πηλεΐωνι δαμείς, ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστι). The reflection that L. urges on T. is that of A. in 10.159–60 *secum . . . uolutat | euentus belli uarios*, with the euphemistic *res* in place of the more specific *euentus*. For *res* = 'outcome', see *OLD* 18. **bello:** probably a loose locative ablative, on the analogy of expressions such as *uirgulta sonantia lauro* (522) or *Auerna sonantia siluis* (3.442). C–N render 'fortune shifting in or through war' and regard the abl. as a refinement for *res belli uarias.*

44 longaeui: a high-sounding adj. of which V. is fond (14 occurrences in *Aen.*), and which he may have coined on the model of Greek μακρόβιος. See also n. on 420 below.

45 diuidit 'separates' (from you), cf. 3.383 *(Italiam) longa procul longis uia diuidit inuia terris. longe* is an exaggeration 'intended to enhance the forlorn state of Daunus' (C–N), cf. on 50–3; it also recalls Achilles' words about his father, Peleus, in far-off Pthia, *Il.* 19.322–5, 24.541–2 (so Traina). Ending a speech early in the line gives added emphasis to the final word or words, often with dramatic or pathetic effect. Some examples: 2.119 *Argolica*, 4.276 *debetur*, 570 *femina*, 685 *ore legam*, 5.673 *Ascanius*, 6.407 *agnoscas*, 886 *munere*, 8.583 *uulneret*, 9.52 *en!*, 10.495 *hospitia*, 11.827 *iamque uale.* Here the enjambed position of *diuidit* underscores the isolation of Daunus. **haudquaquam:** although *haud* as a choicer substitute for *non* is frequent in the *Aeneid* and *Georgics* (no instance in the *Eclogues*), the intensive *haudquaquam* ('not at all', 'in no way') appears only here and in Proteus' solemn statement to Aristaeus in *G.* 4.455. *haudquaquam* is a favourite with Livy (more

than sixty examples); cf. Oakley on 6.36.3. **uiolentia Turni:** the dominance of *uiolentia* in T. is represented by its syntactical position as the subject of *flectitur*, *exsuperat* and *aegrescit*; his *uiolentia* appears to act as an independent entity. T.'s reaction to the taunting speech of Drances was similarly described, 11.376 *talibus exarsit dictis uiolentia Turni*.

46 flectitur: a type of enjambment favoured by V., with a verb at the beginning of the line followed by a strong sense break; other examples in this book at 503, 730, 739, 776, 911, 936. In some cases the effect is to throw strong emphasis onto the verb. *flectere* is often used to describe the reaction to a speech or other form of persuasion, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 246 Sk. *quianam dictis nostris sententia flexa est?*, Sall. *Iug.* 64.3 *postquam haec atque alia talia dixit neque animus Mari flectitur*; elsewhere in the poem 2.689 (Anchises to Jupiter) *precibus si flecteris ullis*, 6.376 *desine fata deum flecti sperare precando*, 8.384 *te potuit lacrimis Tithonia flectere coniunx*. T.'s immediate rejection of Latinus' arguments contrasts with A.'s (temporary) reaction to T.'s appeal at the end of the book, 940–1 *iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo | coeperat*. **exsuperat:** cf. on 20 above. La Cerda suggests that the underlying image is of boiling water overflowing a vessel and compares 7.466 *nec iam se capit unda*. **aegrescitque medendo** 'grows sick from the attempt at healing'. Language and syntax recall Lucretius, cf. 3.521–2 *ergo animus siue aegrescit . . . seu flectitur a medicina* (~*medendo*), 4.1068 *ulcus enim uiuescit et inueterascit alendo* ('from being fed'), also echoed in *G.* 3.454 *alitur uitium uiuitque tegendo* ('from being concealed'). Clausen (1987) 89–90: 'Turnus suffers, Virgil seems to imply, from a latent disposition to violence, a sickness of the soul.' T.'s reaction is in keeping with philosophical ideas about emotions, especially *ira*; cf. Sen. *Ira* 1.19.1 *habet, inquam, iracundia hoc mali: non uult regi. irascitur ueritati ipsi, si contra uoluntatem suam apparuit*.

In place of *aegrescitque medendo* M reads *ardescitque tuendo* (from 1.713); this is more likely to be an echo corruption than an attempt at correction and illustrates the familiarity of ancient scribes with V.'s text. A striking example occurs at 4.24, where the scribe of R first wrote the nonsensical *optem demittere* instead of *optem prius ima*, almost certainly prompted by a recollection of 5.29 *fessas optem dimittere nauis*.

47 ut . . . potuit: a clear cue to the controlled anger of T.'s reply. **institit ore** 'breaks into speech' (W.). *institit ore* appears only here in V., but cf. 4.533 *sic adeo insistit* of Dido; in both cases the character speaks under great emotional pressure. *instare* is often used of fighters pressing the attack (e.g. 762, 783, 887), and the conjunction with *ore* may suggest the battle-fervour that animates T.'s speech. M and a quotation in Donatus replace *institit* with the colourless *incipit* (perhaps suggested by *incipit ore* in 692 below).

48 A rare line made up of ten words; it suggests T.'s icy delivery, the words bitten off one by one. For the initial three monosyllables, compare 143 below with n. **pro me . . . pro me:** the first = 'on my behalf', the second = 'at my request/in deference to my wishes'; the shift in sense (with a corresponding

shift of metrical ictus, *pro mé . . . pró me*) makes the point that T.'s view of his own interest is not L.'s. In the following line T. uses *pro* a third time to express his own wish, *letum pro laude pacisci*. **optime:** though not openly sarcastic, T.'s address sounds less courtly than Venulus' *rex optime* (11.294) or Drances' *optime regum* (11.353). **pro me:** double monosyllables at the end of the line, which do not produce non-correspondence of ictus and accent, are not uncommon in V.; in this book also at 231 *hi sunt*, 360 *qui me*, 526 *nunc, nunc*. See also on 552 *opum ui*.

49 letum . . . pacisci 'to barter death for glory' (Mandelbaum), an encapsulation of the heroic outlook that sees death as the worthwhile cost of lasting fame. Euryalus similarly claims to possess an *animus . . . qui uita bene credat emi . . . honorem* (9.205–6). T.'s words recall the description of the rowers in the boat race of book 5, *uitamque uolunt pro laude pacisci* (230), but there the hyperbole lends a touch of affectionate irony, while the change from *uitam* to *letum* gives T.'s statement a darker tone. Tertullian (*Apol.* 50.7) used *de laude pacisci* in a pejorative sense, referring to pagans who opted for suicide as a means of winning praise; see Freund (2000) 54–5. **letum . . . pro laude:** for other alliterative combinations with *letum* see 6.277 *Letumque Labosque*, 8.346 *testaturque locum et letum docet*, 11.818–19 *labuntur frigida leto | lumina*. **pacisci:** in V. only here and 5.230 (see previous n.); for the commercial image cf. 9.206 *bene . . . emi* with Hardie's n.

50–3 Having stated his readiness to die, T. rebuts L.'s assumption that he *will* die if he fights A. Lines 52–3 counter L.'s picture of Daunus with the image of Venus as a distant and helpless parent (note *longe* at end of 44 and start of 52).

50 et nos: i.e. as well as A. T.'s words recall those of Hector to Achilles in *Il.* 20.437 ('my weapon too has been sharp before this' ἦ καὶ ἐμὸν βέλος ὀξὺ πάροιθεν); but the Homeric echo subverts T.'s boast, since Hector has just admitted that he is no match for Achilles as a fighter and that he will need divine help to overcome him. Ovid gives Paris a similarly hollow boast in *Her.* 16.354 *et mihi sunt uires, et mea tela nocent* (probably recalling Tib. 2.6.10 *et mihi sunt uires, et mihi facta tuba est*). **pater:** with this term T. implicitly reasserts his claim to Lavinia, as with his use of *mater* to Amata in 74; see n. on *genero* 31. While *pater* is often a respectful form of address to an older man (see Dickey (2002) 348), Latinus and Amata do function to a degree as surrogate parents for T. The language of parent–child relations also strengthens the echoes of *Il.* 22.25–89, where Priam and Hecuba try in vain to keep Hector from fighting Achilles. **ferrum . . . haud debile:** the litotes *haud debile* produces a stronger statement than, e.g., *ualidum*, by scornfully rejecting the imputation of weakness. V. is fond of litotes with *haud*; cf. e.g. 10.737 *pars belli haud temnenda*, 11.106–7 *haud aspernanda . . . uenia*, n. on 227 below *haud nescia*. T. might be sarcastically echoing L.'s *haud mollia* in 25.

51 spargimus: of weapons hurled in all directions, cf. 8.694–5 *telisque uolatile ferrum | spargitur* (in the description of the battle of Actium on A.'s shield); also 7.551, 11.191, 650. **nostro . . . de uulnere:** *nostro* = 'inflicted by us'

(cf. 11.792–3 *meo ... uulnere ... cadat*), emphasized by word order. An unintended reference to T.'s being wounded is hard to avoid (Servius: 'dubie est locutus').

52–3 T. scornfully alludes to the episode related in *Il.* 5.311–453, where Aphrodite intervenes to protect A. from Diomedes. In Homer it is Apollo who hides A. in a cloud when Aphrodite is wounded (344–5) then deceives Diomedes with a phantom A. (449–50), but T. (like Juno in 10.81–2) has a rhetorical motive for making Venus alone responsible for the incident (cf. n. on 52–3 *nube ... feminea*). There may also be a reminiscence of *Il.* 3.380–2, where Aphrodite throws a cloud around Paris to save him from Menelaus. (V.'s readers will recall an intervention unknown to T., i.e. 1.411–14, when Venus wraps A. in a cloud to allow him to enter Carthage unobserved.) Here and elsewhere the Latins are quick to evoke the Trojans' defeat by the Greeks and to predict a similar outcome: cf. 9.599 *bis capti Phryges* and Hardie's n. But this claim is overriden by the many places where it is T. who is aligned with the doomed Trojans and with Hector in particular, see Introduction, pp. 5–6. T.'s prediction here, while strictly speaking correct, is ironically undercut by the fact that A. will indeed benefit from a divine intervention, in the form of the Dira sent by Jupiter to unman T. (843ff., esp. 913–14).

The duel between A. and Diomedes was depicted on Attic black- and red-figure vases, on Etruscan vases and mirrors, and on *Tabulae Iliacae*; see F. Canciani in *LIMC* 1.384–5. For a red-figure vase with a possible connection to the end of the poem, see Appendix.

52 longe ... erit: *longe (ab)esse alicui* 'to be of no help to someone', see *OLD* 6a, Ovid (?), *Her.* 12.53–4 *quam tibi tunc longe regnum dotale Creusae | et socer et magni nata Creontis erat?*

52–3 quae ... tegat ... occulat: rel. clause of purpose: 'his mother will not be there to shield him'. **nube ... feminea:** by omitting Apollo's role in Aeneas' rescue, T. can characterize it as a womanly act.

52 fugacem: A. in Homer does not run from Diomedes; T. may be recalling the phantom A. with which Juno removed him from the fighting, cf. 10.633–88 (esp. 649 *quo fugis, Aenea?*, 656 *Aeneae fugientis imago*). In the final encounter it is T. who saves himself by flight, cf. 733 *ni fuga subsidio subeat*. *fugax*, often applied to timid animals (cf. *G.* 3.539, *Aen.* 9.591), might imply 'given to flight'; see n. on *sternax*, 364 below.

53 et ... umbris 'while hiding herself in deceiving shadows'; the clause expresses a subordinate idea in a syntactically coordinate form, for which W. compares 2.353 *moriamur et in media arma ruamus*. For the motif of the goddess hiding herself while bringing aid, cf. 416 below. Traina sees a reference to *Il.* 5.127 (where Athena removes the mist that prevents Diomedes from recognizing a god), but there is no indication that Aphrodite was responsible for that obstruction (see Kirk ad loc.). Some interpreters (most recently Conte) understand A. to be the subject of *uanis sese occulat umbris*, supplying a subject *ille* for *occulat* on the basis of *illi* in 52, but this seems syntactically difficult. T. is implicitly portraying himself

as another Diomedes, ready to take on Venus as well as A. **uanis:** probably suggesting the 'insubstantial' or 'deceiving' phantom with which Apollo tricked Diomedes (see on 52–3 above), but if the sense 'useless' is also present, T. would be implying that if Venus were to attempt such a rescue she would not succeed.

54 At regina: cf. 4.1, the first of several near-quotations of the Dido episode in Amata's intervention. These echoes are integral to the portrayal of Amata, but since by this point both T. (cf. 4n.) and Latinus (cf. 37n.) have also been linked to Dido, they invest the scene as a whole with charged and ominous associations. Cf. Putnam (1965) 160–2, who sees T. and those close to him as inheriting Dido's *furor*. La Penna (1967) 316–17 thought that V. modelled Amata on Dido because he had a limited repertory of female characters, and the only type of impassioned woman he could depict was one made unhappy by love. But it seems likely that the resemblances are deliberate and are meant to suggest that Amata too is suffering from erotic unhappiness, though of a kind more morbid than Dido's. **regina:** of Amata at 595, 659 below, 7.405, 11.223, 478. The characters so designated more than once are (in descending order of frequency) Dido, Juno, Amata, Camilla and Cleopatra. **noua pugnae . . . sorte** 'the new condition of fighting', i.e. the prospect of single combat.

55 flebat . . . tenebat: the framing verbs may suggest Amata's vehemence and persistence. **ardentem . . . tenebat** 'was trying to restrain him in his burning ardour', cf. 6.467–8 *talibus Aeneas ardentem et torua tuentem* [sc. *Dido*] | *lenibat dictis*; for other speeches addressed to characters described as *ardens*, cf. 9.198, 652. Amata's speech has the opposite of its intended effect: it sets off a chain reaction of emotion that causes T. to burn with even greater passion for the battle: *ardet in arma magis* (71). Amata resembles Dido in her use of inflammatory speech, on which see Feeney (1983) 209 (= Harrison (1990) 175). **ardentem:** *ardere* (*ardor*) is a staple of V.'s emotional vocabulary; it can be an admirable quality, as at 6.130 *(pauci, quos) ardens erexit ad aethera uirtus*, but it more often connotes recklessness or self-destructive passion, cf. 9.760–1 (of T.) *sed furor ardentem caedisque insana cupido* | *egit in aduersos*. It characterizes Amata herself on her first appearance in the poem, 7.345 *femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant*. **moritura:** 'it is often difficult to tell whether the imminence of death is part of the actor's consciousness or an authorial comment' (Hardie on 9.554 *moriturus*); here *moritura* probably reflects Amata's view of herself as 'doomed to die' or 'bent on death' ('tamquam quae mori decreuisset, nisi ille flecteretur' Heyne; cf. also Lyne (1987) 117 n. 27). The fact that *moritura* is a signature term for Dido (cf. 4.308, 415, 519, 604, and cf. 323 *moribundam*) strengthens the impression that Amata is casting herself in the role of tragic queen. Housman notoriously overreacted to the word: 'Virgil's besetting sin is the use of words too forcible for his thoughts, and the *moritura* of Aen. XII 55 makes me blush for him whenever I think of it' (to J. W. Mackail in January 1927, see Burnett (2007) II.6). Johnson (1976) 56 plausibly suggested that 'perhaps, unwittingly, Housman blushed because he remembered Lavinia's blush'; he added that 'it is not recorded, that I know

of, whether Ribbeck blushed also; but he did the next best thing. He emended [to *monitura*]'.

56–63 Unlike Latinus' speech, with its complex shifts of tone, Amata's words are pitched at a uniformly high emotional level. Her attachment to T. goes well beyond what seems appropriate for a prospective mother-in-law; cf. 7.57 *miro amore*, of her eagerness to have T. as *gener*. Her view of the situation is also opposite to L.'s: he had argued that if T. withdrew, everyone could prosper, while she represents T. as the sole support of L.'s kingdom and foresees death for herself as well as for him if he persists. The only point on which Latinus and Amata agree is in seeing T.'s death as certain if he engages A., which adds to the reader's expectation of that outcome.

56–9 te . . . tu . . . tu . . . te . . . te: for examples of *tu* or *uos* in multiple anaphora see Wills (1996) 361–2. The construction is at home in prayers and hymns, and Amata's use of it in addressing T. may suggest the extremity of her dependence on him. Wills 140 sees an allusion to Cat. 64.215–17 (Aegeus to Theseus) '*gnate mihi longa iucundior unice uita, | gnate, ego quem in dubios cogor dimittere casus, | reddite in extrema nuper mihi fine senectae*'.

56 per has ego te lacrimas: the placement of *ego te* is an instance of 'Wackernagel's law', according to which unemphatic pronouns and particles gravitate to the second position in the clause, even if that separates syntactically related words (*per has . . . lacrimas*); the phenomenon is often found in appeals and oaths, cf. Plaut. *Men.* 989 *per ego uobis deos atque homines dico* with Gratwick's n., Wackernagel (1955) 1.1–104. Amata's language resembles Dido's plea in 4.314 *per ego has lacrimas . . . te . . . oro*.

56–7 per si quis . . . animum = *per honorem tuum Amatae* ('your regard for A.', *Amatae* obj. gen.), *si quis honos tangit animum*; cf. 2.142–3 *per si qua est quae restet adhuc . . . intemerata fides*, 10.903 *per si qua est uictis uenia*. Another echo of Dido, cf. 4.317 *si bene quid de te merui*, and a close parallel to Amata's appeal to the Latin women, 7.401–2 *si qua piis animis manet infelicis Amatae | gratia*. Amata's use of her name to evoke pity is another trait she shares with Dido, cf. 4.308 *nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?*

57–9 spes . . . recumbit: best taken as a parenthetical expansion, with *oro* in 60 completing the thought begun with *per has ego te lacrimas*; at 4.314–19 *oro* is similarly deferred, in part by a parenthesis (315). The implied sense is causal ('I appeal to you because you are our only hope', etc.), but the paratactic form is more economical than a subordinate clause and suits Amata's emotional tone.

57–8 senectae . . . miserae: cf. 9.481–2 *tune ille senectae | sera meae requies* (Euryalus' mother), 8.581 *care puer, mea sola et sera uoluptas* (Evander to Pallas). The echoes suggest the intensity of Amata's feelings for T. and also heighten the reader's expectation that he will be taken from her.

57 senectae: Amata's age has not been previously specified, but as the wife of Latinus (called *senior* at 7.46) she can be plausibly added to the poem's numerous aged parents.

58 A line of a comparatively rare type, with dactyls in the first five feet (perhaps suggesting the vehemence of Amata's appeal); for other examples in this book see 192, 263, 295, 304, 334, 341, 348, 363, 394, 478, 541, 650, 748; Introduction, p. 40.

59 te penes 'in your control'. *penes* only here in V. (compared to nearly 60 instances in Livy). The word is often used to describe political control; cf. *Rhet. Her.* 4.34 *imperium Graeciae fuit penes Athenienses*, Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.40 *cum penes te praetorium imperium ac nomen esset*, Nep. *Att.* 8.1 *occiso Caesare cum res publica penes Brutos uideretur esse et Cassium*, Livy 6.37.4 *non posse aequo iure agi ubi imperium penes illos, penes se auxilium tantum sit*, Ovid, *Fast.* 1.531 *penes Augustos patriae tutela manebit.* The postponed placement of *penes* is most often found with relative or interrogative pronouns, as in Ovid, *Am.* 2.2.1 *quem penes est dominam seruandi cura* (other examples in McKeown ad loc.); with personal pronouns (*me* or *te*) it appears in Ovid (*Fast.* 1.119) and Statius (*Theb.* 2.430, 8.308, 11.189), always at the beginning of a line and probably in imitation of our passage. **in te omnis domus inclinata recumbit:** the phrase resembles places where a person is called a 'pillar' or 'mainstay' (for examples see Fantham (1972) 45–6, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.17.4), but Amata's language can be read as implying that from her perspective the house has begun to collapse onto T. For this sense of *inclinare* cf. Cic. *Ad Brut.* 1.18.2 *ferre praesidium labenti et inclinatae paene rei publicae*, and for *recumbere* of an object coming to rest after falling cf. 9.713, of a pier let down into the sea. The reworking in Ovid, *Tr.* 2.83–4 makes the idea of collapse more explicit: *cum coepit quassata domus subsidere, partes | in proclinatas omne recumbit onus.* Sil. 6.593–4 combines elements of V. and Ovid while giving the image a positive sense, *maxima curarum rectorem ponere castris | cui Latium et moles rerum quassata recumbat.*

Dido similarly uses the prospective ruin of her house in appealing to A., cf. 4.318 *miserere domus labentis.*

60 unum oro: also at 6.106, similarly 10.903 *unum hoc . . . oro*, in a less emphatic form 9.284 ('out of many gifts I ask for only one'). **Teucris:** Amata speaks as though T. would be taking on the Trojan army single-handed; the hyperbole avoids the suggestion that T. is inferior as a fighter to A. (so La Cerda).

61–2 qui . . . manent: although Amata says 'whatever fate awaits you', her final words assume that T. will die. **qui te cumque:** the tmesis (separation) of *quicumque* places emphasis on *te* and also heightens the parallelism *te . . . me*, made even closer by the repetition of *manent* in the same place in both lines.

61 isto 'that combat for which *you* are so eager'; *iste* often associates the noun modified with the addressee ('that of yours') and can thereby convey the speaker's negative view of it.

62–3 simul haec inuisa relinquam | lumina: content and mood evoke both Dido (e.g. 4.631 *inuisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem*) and the despairing speech of Euryalus' mother, esp. 9.493–7 (496 *inuisum hoc detrude caput sub Tartara telo*). **haec . . . relinquam | lumina:** the grandiose phrasing recalls

Ennius' famous line on Ancus Martius, *Ann.* 137 Sk. *postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit*, echoed by Lucretius, 3.1025 *lumina sis oculis etiam bonus Ancus reliquit*, 3.542 *lumina qui linquunt*, 5.989 *linquebant ... lumina uitae*; cf. also *lucem ... relinquat* of Dido (4.652). The first-person form of Amata's words resembles statements by characters in Greek tragedy; cf. Soph. *Ant.* 806–10, Ar. *Ach.* 1184–15 (tragic parody).

63 captiua: Amata assumes that A. will play the role of the traditional conqueror – and famously that of the Greeks at Troy – and enslave the women of the royal house. To become the captive of one's own son-in-law would be a particularly cruel inversion of roles. Dido had also foreseen captivity for herself if A. were to leave her: 4.325–6 *quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater | destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?*

64–9 Lavinia's wordless blush is one of the most memorable and tantalizing moments in the poem. The connecting words *accepit uocem ... matris* show that Lavinia is reacting to Amata's speech, but the nature of her feelings is not specified, which suggests that speculation about them, however hard to resist, is likely to be inconclusive. Maidenly modesty (cf. 69 *uirgo*) is one plausible explanation: a well-bred unmarried girl would be expected to blush at the mere mention of marriage, and her embarrassment would be all the greater if her mother referred to a mortal enemy as her future husband in the presence of her betrothed; the *uox* that so distresses her would then be Amata's final words, *nec generum Aenean captiua uidebo*. F. Cairns (2005) 195–203 sees a precedent for L.'s reaction in the Acontius and Cydippe episode of Callimachus' *Aetia*, where Cydippe may have blushed at being tricked into speaking of marrying Acontius. Stat. *Silu.* 1.2.244–5 cited Lavinia as a paradigmatic virginal figure and implied that it was the gaze of T. (cf. 70 below) that discomposed her: *non talis niueos tinxit Lauinia uultus | cum Turno spectante rubet*; Ovid, *Am.* 2.5.36 *sponso uisa puella nouo* suggests that he may have read the scene in this way, cf. 67–9n. It is also likely (as Servius suggested) that L.'s blush reflects her distress at being the cause of the turmoil that is afflicting her family; cf. 11.479–80, where L. appears with the *matres* to pray for T.'s victory: *causa mali tanti, oculos deiecta decoros*; a causal connection between the phrases may be implied. Some interpreters have argued that L.'s blush shows that she is in love with T. (e.g. Lyne (1983) 55–64 (= (2007) 136–45), (1987) 114–22, (1989) 79–81, 129–31). V.'s text offers no explicit basis for that view, and the reference to T.'s love in 70 *illum turbat amor* may distinguish his feelings from L.'s (see n.). Some of the vocabulary describing L.'s reaction has unmistakable erotic connotations (see nn. on 65 *cui*, 66 *subiecit ... cucurrit*, *calefacta*), but if L. is being seen through T.'s eyes – as is perhaps suggested by 70 *figit ... in uirgine uultus* – the erotically charged language could reflect his involved perspective. Additional bibliography in Klodt (2003) 13 n. 13.

Before V. the most conspicuous epic blushes are in Apollonius Rhodius: Medea blushes for love at the sight of Jason (3.297–8, 963), out of 'virgin shame' (3.681–2) at the thought of deceiving her sister Chalciope, and with guilty joy when

the deception succeeds (3.725). Hypsipyle also blushes when meeting Jason, apparently from modesty (1.790–1). (Professor Easterling cites Soph. *Ant.* 526–30, where the Chorus describe Ismene blushing as she enters after the agon between Antigone and Creon, probably an instance of the 'being the centre of attention' blush.) On blushes in Greek and Latin literature see Lateiner (1998).

Ovid produces a characteristically bold revision of this scene in *Fast.* 3.627–38: A. introduces Anna to his wife Lavinia, who reacts to his speech with silence and feigns acquiescence even as she plots against her supposed rival.

64–5 lacrimis . . . flagrantis perfusa genas 'her burning cheeks bathed in tears'. *genas* is a 'retained' accusative after a perfect passive particle with middle (reflexive) force; it occupies the place of the direct object in the active form of the phrase, *lacrimis flagrantis perfudit genas*. The construction is a favourite with V.; other examples in this book at 120 *tempora uincti*, 172 *conuersi lumina*, 224 *formam adsimulata*, 416 *faciem circumdata*, 606 *laniata genas* (again involving Lavinia's cheeks). See further M. ad loc., Austin on 1.228 *lacrimis oculos suffusa nitentis*, Harrison (1991) 290–1, Dewar on Stat. *Theb.* 9.163, Courtney (2003/4) 428–9.

65 cui: for the dat. cf. Cat. 65.24 *huic manat tristi conscius ore rubor*. There a girl blushes because her lover's secret gift of an apple has rolled from her lap into her mother's sight; an echo of Catullus might hint that love also prompts L.'s reaction, but the verbal basis for such a connection is hardly conclusive.

66 subiecit . . . cucurrit: the similarity in wording to 8.390 (Vulcan feeling desire for Venus) *intrauit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit* could imply that *amor* is at work here as well. The implicit image in *subiecit* is of a torch applied to a pyre or building, cf. 2.37, 6.223, 11.186, *G.* 4.385; *subicere* retains its strict sense of 'throw upward from below', since the blush spreads upward to the skin. Servius plausibly interprets *ignem subiecit rubor* ('her blush caused a fire to shoot up') as a hypallage for *ignis* (sc. *animi*) *s. ruborem* ('her fiery spirit caused a blush to shoot up'); cf. also 187 below, Bell (1923) 321. **subiecit rubor:** diaeresis (wordbreak) after the second foot is relatively uncommon; in combination with a strong sense pause it can create a jolting effect, as at 1.115 *in puppim ferit; excutitur . . . magister*. Here any feeling of disruption is minimal, since the following phrase begins with an unstressed monosyllable and coheres closely with what precedes. **calefacta:** in the *Aeneid* only here and 269 of T.'s men, *turbati cunei calefactaque corda tumultu*. The same emotional terms (*turbare* (cf. 70n.), *calefacere* (cf. 35 *recalent*)) connect the erotic and military spheres. Putnam (1965) 159 locates the link between love and warfare in the mind of T., whose love for L. drives him to fight.

67–9 In the first part of this simile V. gives a strikingly new application to an already remarkable Homeric simile, *Il.* 4.141–7 (when Menelaus is wounded and blood pours on to his skin): 'as when some Maionian woman or Karian with purple colours ivory, to make it a cheek piece for horses; . . . so, Menelaos, your shapely thighs were stained with the colour of blood, and your legs also and the ankles beneath them' (ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μιήνῃ | Μῃονὶς ἠὲ Κάειρα παρήϊον ἔμμεναι ἵππων . . . τοῖοί τοι Μενέλαε μιάνθην αἵματι μηροὶ |

εὐφυέες κνῆμαί τε ἰδὲ σφυρὰ κάλ' ὑπένερθε). The wounding of Menelaus averts the duel between him and Paris, an episode soon to be recalled repeatedly in the run-up to the aborted Aeneas–Turnus duel. (There may also be a connection to *Il.* 13.830, where Hector calls the skin of Ajax 'lily-like' and threatens to violate it with his spear.) The second part looks back to Ennius' simile comparing a blush to milk mixed with purple dye, *Ann.* 361 Sk. *et simul erubuit ceu lacte et purpura mixta* (context and blusher uncertain). Lilies and roses are not found in this context before V., but similar contrasts of white and red (sometimes with reference to fruits or flowers) are frequent in descriptions of blooming complexions, cf. *Anacreontea* 16.23, Ovid, *Met.* 3.423, 482–5 (Narcissus' skin when he has beaten his breast). *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 427 juxtaposes rosebuds and lilies in a catalogue of flowers, underscoring the contrast of colours with the formula θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι. For the contrast of red and white see also André (1949) 324–6.

V.'s simile had a rich afterlife, beginning with Ovid, *Am.* 2.5.35–40 (on his mistress's blushes), which alludes separately to its two components: 37 *quale rosae fulgent inter sua lilia mixtae*, 39–40 *aut quod, ne longis flauescere possit ab annis, | Maeonis* [Homer's Μῃονίς] *Assyrium femina tinxit ebur*; it seems likely that 36 *aut sponso uisa puella nouo* refers to Lavinia and signals Ovid's reworking of the passage. Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae* 1.272–5 (Proserpina blushing modestly at the appearance of Venus, Pallas and Diana) combines elements of V. and Ovid: *niueos infecit purpura uultus | per liquidas succensa genas castaeque pudoris | inluxere faces; non sic decus ardet eburnum | Lydia Sidonio quod femina tinxerit ostro.* The Greek novelist Heliodorus interweaves V.'s simile with its main Iliadic model in several passages of his *Aethiopica*: 1.2.3 'even in this wounded condition he bloomed with a manly beauty, and his cheek, growing crimson from the blood flowing down it, gleamed by contrast with a greater whiteness', 10.24.2 'at the mention of the "bride" Meroebos, at once from pleasure and embarrassment, went visibly crimson even with his black skin, the blush running over his face like a flame running over ash' (I owe the references to Ewen Bowie). Another novelist, Achilles Tatius, combines a reference to the Iliadic simile with the red–white colour contrast and a mention of roses: 'she had a white cheek and in the middle the whiteness was reddened and resembled purple into which a Lydian woman dips ivory. Her mouth was rose-flowers . . . ' (*Leucippe and Cleitophon* 1.4.3); F. Cairns (2005) 204–5 suggests that the elements shared by V. and Achilles Tatius derive from the Acontius and Cydippe episode of Callimachus' *Aetia*.

67 Indum: V. (following Homer) regularly particularizes the action of a simile by a geographical setting, cf. 4 *Poenorum . . . in aruis*; *Indum* corresponds to 'Maionian or Karian' in the Iliadic model. **uiolauerit:** the primary sense of *uiolare* here is 'stain, dye', specifically with a violet colour; Plaut. *Aulularia* 510 uses *uiolarius* of a person who dyes garments violet. The implication of colour connects the first part of the simile to the lilies-and-roses contrast that follows (see Jacobson (1998) 314–15). Lyne (1983) 59, anticipated by C–N, interprets the verb in a moral sense ('defile'); that sense is probably absent from the Homeric model (the ancient

scholia gloss μιήνῃ in *Il.* 4.141 neutrally as 'stain', cf. F. Cairns (2005) 206–9), but V.'s choice of *uiolare* may evoke the Homeric context of wounding. (Statius uses a milder synonym, *tinxit*, cf. *Silu.* 1.2.244, quoted on 64–9.) Some critics link *uiolare* with T.'s *uiolentia*, see O'Hara (1996) 233; see n. on 70 *figit*. **sanguineo** 'blood-red', a sense first attested in V. (cf. *Ecl.* 10.27 and *G.* 2.430, of berries, *Aen.* 8.622 of A.'s breastplate) and relatively uncommon; it helps to activate the suggestion of physical violence created by the Homeric intertext.

68 lilia: lilies are at home outside epic (cf. *Ecl.* 2.45, 10.25, *G.* 4.131), but in the *Aeneid* they only appear in similes or in the Underworld, cf. 6.709, 883.

69 dabat: 'seems to include the two notions of producing and spreading' (C–N, comparing 9.292–3 *dedere* | *Dardanidae lacrimas*). M. ad loc. has a good discussion of V.'s uses of *dare* in senses other than 'give'; see also *OLD* 23–8, 383 below with n.

70 illum turbat amor: if *amor* refers to T.'s love for Lavinia, the phrase would seem to imply a contrast between his feelings and hers (see n. on 64–9); taking *amor* to mean 'his awareness of her love for him' seems to me very unlikely. V. is drawing on the erotic commonplace that modest blushes heighten a woman's attractiveness to an interested viewer; cf. Ovid, *Am.* 1.8.35 with McKeown's n. **illum:** the emphatic word shifts attention back to T. An unelided spondaic word filling the first foot of the hexameter is relatively uncommon (roughly 2 per cent) and may receive additional emphasis; cf. 90 *ensem*, 674 *turrim*, 888 and 927 *ingens*, and the successive lines 858–60. Several of these examples also involve epanalepsis, cf. 89–90n. **turbat:** a verb of which V. is especially fond: it appears 43 times in the *Aeneid* (as against 19 times in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*), and 26 of those instances are found in the last four books of the poem, 10 in this book alone. Many of its uses illustrate V.'s interest in emotions that disturb individuals or groups, e.g. armies thrown into confusion by fear or an unexpected reverse (cf. 9.735, 11.869, 269 below), Cacus terrified by Hercules (8.223), the angry Athena on her own aegis (8.435), Latinus distraught at the crisis he cannot control (11.470), Camilla undone by the realization of her imminent death (11.796); see Fordyce on 8.435. A. is described as *turbatus* three times, in response to the loss or sufferings of others (3.314 at the grief of Andromache, 8.29 over the war in Latium, 11.3 following the death of Pallas); another set of instances links T. here, Juturna (160) and Amata (599). The phrasing of this line, with *amor* as subject, throws T.'s emotions into strong relief; cf. 10n. *turbidus*, 45n. *uiolentia*. **figitque in uirgine uultus:** T.'s intense stare recalls his earlier look at another *uirgo*, Camilla (11.507) *oculos horrenda in uirgine fixus*. Given the interplay of erotic and military language in the passage, it is tempting to see a connection to the use of *figere* of weapons piercing the flesh, as in 7-8 *fixum* . . . *telum*, 7.457 (Allecto) *fixit sub pectore taedas*. V.'s only other uses of *figere* to describe the gaze are clearly paired, 1.482 *diua solo fixos oculos auersa tenebat* (Pallas at Troy) and 6.469 *illa s. f. o. a. t.* (Dido in the Underworld). On those passages cf. Muecke (1984). Ovid uses V.'s phrase to describe the infatuated Sun god's gaze, *Met.* 4.196–7 *uirgine figis in una* | *quos mundo debes oculos*. **uultus:** poetic pl.

71 ardet in arma magis: on 9.182 *his amor unus erat pariterque in bella ruebant* Hardie comments that 'erotic and martial passion are difficult to disentangle'. Here V. makes the link between them more overt, as T.'s love for Lavinia stokes his eagerness for battle. **in arma:** *in* expressing purpose, cf. 103–4 below, Harrison on 10.455. **paucis** sc. *uerbis*, cf. 4.116, 6.672, 8.50, 10.16, 11.315. Speeches thus introduced are often marked by control and authority (cf. Harrison on 10.16), and these lines of T. display a gravity not found in his first two speeches. In narrative terms the stress on brevity quickens the tempo as the end of the scene approaches.

72–4 A conflated evocation of two Iliadic scenes, Priam to Hecuba in 24.218–19 'Do not hold me back when I would be going, neither yourself be a bird of bad omen in my palace' (μή μ' ἐθέλοντ' ἰέναι κατερύκανε, μὴ δέ μοι αὐτὴ | ὄρνις ἐνὶ μεγάροισι κακὸς πέλευ), and Hector to Andromache in 6.486–9 'Poor Andromache! Why does your heart sorrow so much for me? No man is going to hurl me to Hades, unless it is fated, but as for fate, I think that no man yet has escaped it... neither brave man nor coward' (δαιμονίη μή μοί τι λίην ἀκαχίζεο θυμῷ | οὐ γάρ τίς μ' ὑπὲρ αἶσαν ἀνὴρ Ἄϊδι προϊάψει | μοῖραν δ' οὔ τινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν, | οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν). There is also a recollection of Ap. Rhod. 1.295–305 (Jason to his mother) 'do not inflict such grief and misery on me' etc. (μή μοι λευγαλέας ἐνιβάλλεο μῆτερ ἀνίας etc.); cf. Nelis (2001) 377–8.

72–3 ne ... ne ... neue: this structure apparently occurs in Latin only here and in 6.832–3 (Anchises' appeal to Julius Caesar and Pompey) *ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella | neu patriae ualidas in uiscera uertite uiris*; cf. Wills (1996) 120. He concludes that 'the cross-reference reminds us that the dispute between Latinus and Turnus... is in a way father-in-law against son-in-law, and that epic and history coincide in favour of the father-in-law', but it may be sufficient to see the repeated *ne* as lending greater urgency to T.'s appeal, as doubled *ne* does in 8.532 and 11.278. **ne ... prosequere:** *ne* with imperative is frequent in comedy but extremely rare in classical prose; it is first attested in high poetry in Catullus (61.193, 62.59, 67.18), where it is probably felt to be archaic, and is often used by V. (nearly 30 examples in *Aen.*); elsewhere in this book cf. 875, 938. See further Austin on 2.48, Fordyce on 7.96.

72 omine tanto: the phrase foreshadows the other use of *omen* in the book (854), where Jupiter sends the Dira to warn Juturna to withdraw. For tears as a bad omen for an impending enterprise cf. Eur. *Or.* 788, Ap. Rhod. 1.292–3 and 303–4, Sil. 3.133 *ominibus parce et lacrimis, fidissima coniunx* (Hannibal to his wife who had urged him not to fight the *Teucri*, i.e. the Romans). **tanto:** *tantus* often takes its colouring from the noun it modifies, so, e.g., Sall. *Iug.* 13.1 *fama tanti facinoris* ('so foul a crime'), Cic. *Verr.* 2.109 *tantam istius audaciam* ('such extreme recklessness'); here 'so dire an omen'.

73 prosequere 'send me on my way'. T. plays ironically on the use of the word to describe a formal send-off with prayers and good auspices (cf. Hardie on 9.310). **in ... euntem:** renders the Homeric ὁππότ' ἐγώ περ ἴω μετὰ

μῶλον Ἄρηος ('those times when I myself go into the grind of the war god', *Il.* 16.245).

74 neque enim Turno mora libera mortis 'for it is not open to Turnus to delay his death'. For T. to speak of his death as imminent seems logically inconsistent with his earlier boasts, especially 50–3; presumably for that reason Servius cited the phrase as one of the twelve (or thirteen) 'insoluble' passages in V. Servius himself is generally followed in taking it to mean 'I cannot delay my death if it is fated to come now' (i.e. not even if I avoid fighting A.); the similarity to Hector's more explicit words in *Il.* 6.488 (see on 72–4 above) supports that interpretation. T. gives the thought a personal form by using his own name, thereby forcing the reader to hear his words as a reference to his impending death. The issue of delaying T.'s death was raised earlier at the divine level (10.622–7), where Jupiter allows Juno to contrive a postponement (*mora praesentis leti*) but forbids her to alter his doom. **neque . . . mora libera:** for the wording cf. Ovid's echo in *Met.* 2.143 *non est mora libera nobis* (of the Sun unable to delay the start of day). **neque enim:** originally a combination of connective *neque* and *enim* in its affirmative sense (= 'nor indeed'); in time the connective force of *neque* disappeared and *enim* assumed its usual explanatory function, giving the sense 'for . . . not', as here and 764 below, cf. Fordyce on 7.581. The idiom has its original force in *G.* 2.104 and *Aen.* 2.100, and the affirmative force of *enim* survives in the combination *sed enim*, cf. 1.19 with Austin's n. Twelve of V.'s 20 uses of *neque enim* straddle the second and third feet of the hexameter (accounting for nearly all instances of elision of the final short syllable of the second foot); seven occupy the corresponding position in the third and fourth feet, and one (6.52) the fourth and fifth feet. Ovid, who is particularly fond of *neque enim* (45 examples in *Met.*), has it 13 times in 2/3 position and 32 times in 3/4; the figures for Statius' *Thebaid* are six in 2/3, 14 in 3/4, and four in 4/5.

75–80 T.'s message recalls the proclamation made by Hector of Paris' challenge to Menelaus, *Il.* 3.86–94; again T. is associated with the Trojan side in the symbolic re-enactment of the Trojan War.

75 Idmon: presumably a Rutulian, not otherwise named in the poem. It is not likely to be coincidental that the Idmon of Apollonius Rhodius 1.443–7 is a prophet (as signalled by his name, 'one who knows') who foresees his own death but nonetheless embarks on the Argonauts' expedition, as T. challenges A. despite the several preceding hints that he will perish if he does; cf. Casali (2000), who sees T. as actually aware of his impending death. **Phrygio . . . tyranno:** like *desertorem Asiae* (15), a double-barrelled insult. A.'s opponents regularly sneer at the allegedly oriental ways of the Trojans, cf. 4.215–17 (Iarbas) and 9.617–20 (Numanus Remulus), with Pease and Hardie ad locc. 'Phrygian' still connoted effete decadence to Romans of V.'s time, which is one reason why the Trojans must shed their native language and dress in their future union with the Latins (cf. 823–5, 834–6). *Tyranno* is also barbed, implying that if A. wins he will impose a harsh rule on the Latins; cf. 63 *captiua*.

76 haud placitura: T. imagines that A. will not be pleased at the summons to single combat; the opposite is in fact the case, cf. 109 *gaudens*. The litotes contributes to the sarcastic tone.

76–7 cum primum . . . rubebit: remarkably high language, the sort of epic periphrasis for time that is usually in the narrator's voice; cf. 3.521 *iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis* (in A.'s account of his journeys), 7.25–6, Ovid, *Met.* 3.150 *croceis inuecta rotis Aurora*. Here the phrasing is enhanced by complex sound-play of *c* and *p*.

77 puniceis . . . rotis: V.'s modification of Homer's ῥοδοδάκτυλος or ῥοδόπεπλος. *puniceus* seems not to be used elsewhere in this connection; Putnam (1965) 162 sees a link to 750, where T. is compared to a stag frightened by a row of *puniceae pennae*.

78 non . . . agat: *non* is used instead of *ne* both because a single word in the clause is being negated ('let him not lead the *Trojans*', i.e. let him come alone) and because the entire clause stands in opposition to the following clause ('let him not lead the Trojans, [but rather] let us end the war with our own blood').

79–80 nostro . . . sanguine, illo . . . campo: in each clause the adjective receives emphasis from its position and separation from the noun. By *nostro* T. means 'his and mine', but the frequent use of *noster* = *meus* (as in 51 above) makes his words another unconscious anticipation of his death.

79 dirimamus: predominantly a prose word (especially frequent in Livy); *dirimere* with words denoting strife or contention has a legal flavour, cf. 5.467 *proelia uoce diremit*, Ovid, *Met.* 1.21 *hanc deus et melior litem* [sc. chaos] *natura diremit*, *Fast.* 6.98 *res est arbitrio non dirimenda meo*.

80 illo . . . campo: a weighty line, heavily spondaic with framing adjective and noun, brings a feeling of closure to the speech and the scene. Lines framed by an adjective and its noun are frequent in V., though less so than in the hexameters of Catullus and Cicero's *Aratea*; in this book cf. 212, 238, 286, 337, 347, 386, 451, 484, 487, 602, 808, 927, and for related patterns cf. 98, 127, 305, 469, 779, 789. Full discussion in Pearce (1966); on enclosing word order used for closural effect 153–4. **coniunx Lauinia:** a recurring motif in this book; cf. 17 and 937 (nn.). **campo:** *campus* = 'plain/field of battle', corresponding to Homeric πεδίον, is especially frequent in this book: cf. 116, 136, 353, 444, 450, 771, 897, also 9.42, 56, 10.540, 763, 11.605.

81–112 Turnus and Aeneas arm

In *Iliad* 3 Paris and Menelaus arm immediately before their duel; Paris' arming is described in detail (328–38), while Menelaus is merely said to have donned his armour in the same way (339). V. has transferred the arming scenes to the eve of the duel; going directly from T.'s challenge to his arming underscores T.'s eagerness to fight, but it may also suggest something excessive in the energy T. devotes to what is only a rehearsal. (Heinze (1915/1993) 193/229–30: 'on the

eve of the duel... he is so consumed by raging lust for battle that he cannot wait to brandish his weapon against the opponent he hates so much; in the morning, just before the fight, his passion has ebbed away'.) Note also 11.491 *spe iam praecipit hostem*: as he is here, T. there is bolder in anticipation than in the event itself. T.'s arming is given more space than A.'s. That distribution might seem simply to invert Homer's emphasis on the Trojan Paris, but at another level it implies the reversal of Homeric roles that runs through the book (see n. on 99 *semiuiri*); the other detailed description of T.'s armour, at 11.487–91, also implicitly links him with Paris (see Horsfall ad loc.). The description of T.'s arming incorporates elements of two conspicuous arming scenes in the *Iliad*, those of Patroclus (16.130–54) and Achilles (19.365–92). In both Homeric scenes the warrior first dons his armour and then has his horses yoked to his chariot; in T.'s case the order is reversed, perhaps anticipating the prominent role that T.'s chariot will play in the action of the book. The juxtaposed armings could not be more sharply contrasted: T.'s scene is full of bustling activity and fierce emotion, while A. exhibits an almost eerie calm and seeks to comfort his companions rather than to stir them up. Quinn (1968) 263 on A. in this scene speaks of 'a mind almost priggish in its confident detachment'. Certainly this is A. at his noblest, and arguably his least interesting.

81–2 Two predominantly dactylic lines reflect T.'s eagerness; cf. especially *rapidusque in tecta recessit*.

81 Haec ubi dicta dedit: a formulaic phrase found eight times in the *Aeneid*, possibly Ennian though not attested in the surviving fragments; see Moskalew (1982) 65 n. 82, Horsfall on 7.471. Cf. 441 below. **tecta:** together with *mediis ... aedibus* in 92–3, *tecta* suggests an armoury or stables of some size, but the details are not to be pressed.

82 gaudetque: looks back to *gaudet* of the lion in 6 above (with *comantis* echoed by *comantia* 86) and is pointedly countered by *gaudens* of A. in 109: T. rejoices at the sight of his horses' agitation (*tuens ... frementis*), A. in the prospect of an ordered settlement (*oblato ... componi foedere bellum*). **tuens ante ora frementis:** *tuens* emphasizing T.'s intense gaze, cf. 9.794 *asper, acerba tuens* (in a simile comparing T. to a cornered lion). *frementis* of T.'s horses parallels *fremens* of the Chimaera on his helmet in 7.787 and *fremit* in 8 above, of the lion to which T. is compared. *fremere* of horses need only denote excited neighing (cf. *G.* 1.12), but T.'s horses seem to share his eagerness for the fight; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.23 *frementem | mittere equum medios per ignes*.

83 Pilumno: an old Italian agricultural deity, variously called T.'s *parens* (9.3–4), *auus* (10.76), and *quartus pater*, i.e. great-great-grandfather; see Harrison on 10.76. T.'s descent from Pilumnus, his divine mother Venilia (10.76), deified sister Juturna, and sword crafted by Vulcan (90–1 below) make him a worthy adversary for A. **ipsa** 'Orithyia herself', highlighting the status of the giver; cf. 90 below, 10.242–3. **decus:** acc. in apposition to *quos*. *decus* denotes something

in which one takes pride, a 'prized possession'; it is so used in 10.858 of Mezentius' beloved horse Rhaebus. C–N compare ἄγαλμα, as in *Il.* 4.144. **Orithyia:** O. was the wife of Boreas, the north wind and the legendary sire of a breed of preternaturally swift horses belonging to the Trojan royal house (*Il.* 20.221–9). She would therefore be a natural provider of such creatures, but the link between her and Pilumnus seems to be V.'s invention, like the connection between Latinus and the horses of the Sun in 7.282–3.

This is one of two lines in this book with a spondaic fifth foot, the other being 863 *culminibus desertis*. The majority of V.'s spondaic line-endings involve quadrisyllabic Greek proper names, such as Orithyia; this type of line ending was cultivated by Catullus and other *poetae noui* in imitation of Hellenistic Greek practice, and this passage has a similar flavour; cf. *G.* 4.463 with Thomas's note. Details in Norden, Appendix 9c, R. D. Williams (1960) on 5.320.

84 The line is in sense an exact equivalent of *Il.* 10.437 λευκότεροι χιόνος, θείειν δ' ἀνέμοισιν ὁμοῖοι, describing the horses of Rhesus, a Thracian ally of the Trojans who is killed in a night raid by Diomedes and Odysseus. The link to Rhesus aligns T. with another doomed opponent of the Greeks at Troy. **candore niues anteirent:** 'whiter than snow' is proverbial, see Otto (1890) s.v. *nix*. In Ovid, *Met.* 8.373–4 Castor and Pollux ride *niue candidioribus . . . equis*, and Sil. 13.115–23 describes a hind (based on the stag in *Aen.* 7.483–92) *quae candore niuem, candore anteiret olores* (116). **anteirent:** subjunctive in a causal rel. cl. explaining *decus*: '(they were a source of pride) in that they were whiter than snow and swifter than the winds'. *anteirent* is scanned as trisyllabic with synizesis (running together) of *ei*. **auras:** ps.-Acro on Hor. *Sat.* 1.7.8 attests a variant *amnes*, but *auras* is guaranteed by the Homeric parallel; *cursibus auras* occurs at line-end in *G.* 3.193, describing a horse that can challenge the winds to a race.

85–6 manibus . . . cauis 'with cupped hands'.

85 circumstant properi 'they come quickly and gather around'. **properi:** *properus* of persons is rare (except in Tacitus), and the codex Romanus has the adverbial form *propere* (for which see 573 below *ferte faces propere*), but the adjectival form is supported by the imitation in Sil. 12.170 *circumstant rapidi iuuenes*; cf. also Ovid, *Met.* 7.647 *uenit Telamon properus*. **lacessunt** 'pummel' (here as a part of proper grooming); of a rider lashing his horse Stat. *Theb.* 6.523 *terga lacessit habenis*.

86 pectora plausa cauis et colla comantia pectunt: for the percussive alliteration Traina compares 6.644 *pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt*; the pictorial effect is even greater in the present passage and depicts the grooms' vigorous activity. **pectora plausa . . . pectunt:** a condensed way of saying *pectora plaudunt et pectunt*; see on 98 below *lacerare reuulsam*. **comantia:** another echo of the lion simile, cf. 6 above. **pectunt:** cf. 7.489 (Silvia caring for her stag) *pectebat . . . ferum*, imitated by Sil. 13.122–3 *aurato matres adsuetae pectine mitem* [sc. *ceruam*] | *comere* (see on 84 above).

87 auro squalentem: either 'covered with scales of gold' (M.) or, perhaps more likely, 'stiffened with gold thread'; cf. Harrison on 10.314 *per tunicam squalentem auro*, who compares 10.818 *tunicam molli mater quam neuerat auro.* **alboque orichalco:** *orichalcum* ('mountain brass'), 'regarded by the Greeks as a mysterious metal of great value suitable for the armour of gods or the walls of Atlantis (*Hymn. Hom.* 6.9, Hes. *Scut.* 122, Plato, *Critias* 114E, 116B)' (Williams on Stat. *Theb.* 10.660). **albo:** either 'pale' in comparison with gold, or 'bright, gleaming' (so La Cerda, comparing Hes. *Sc.* 122).

88 circumdat . . . umeris 'places on his shoulders' (*OLD* s.v. *circumdo* 3), cf. 2.509–10 (Priam) *arma diu senior desueta trementibus aeuo* | *circumdat nequiquam umeris.* **habendo:** dat. of purpose, 'for wielding'; *TLL* cites no other example of the gerund with *apto. habilis* of swords similarly emphasizes ease of handling, cf. 9.305, Livy 7.10.5 with Oakley's n.

89–90 ensemque . . . ensem quem: for discussion of this type of epanalepsis ('expansion') see Wills (1996) 145–59. Our passage is the model for Stat. *Theb.* 11.635–6 *regina extulerat . . . ensem,* | *ensem sceptriferi spolium lacrimabile Lai*, probably also for Lucan 9.662–3 *sustulit harpen,* | *harpen alterius monstri iam caede rubentem*; cf. Wills 170–1.

89 ensemque clipeumque: the *-e* of the first *-que* is scanned long in imitation of Homeric practice with τε . . . τε; for examples in Latin poetry see Wills (1996) 376 n. 7. The lengthened *-que* usually occupies the second arsis of the line, as here. Four of the nine examples in *Aen.* are in this book; cf. 181, 363, 443. **rubrae cornua cristae:** the *cornua* are sockets into which the plumed crests of the helmet are fitted; the phrase is therefore a *pars pro toto* way of referring to T.'s 'crested helmet' (M.). Here the helmet receives no special emphasis, but in 7.785–8 V. dwells on the fire-breathing Chimaera that adorns it (see Horsfall ad loc.). **rubrae . . . cristae:** the colour specified as at 9.50.

90 ignipotens: first attested in V. (also at 8.414, as a substantive), and perhaps coined by him on the analogy of other compounds of *-potens* such as *armipotens* (Lucr. 1.33, *Aen.* 9.717) and *bellipotens* (Enn. *Ann.* 198 Sk., *Aen.* 11.8).

91 Stygia . . . unda: steel is tempered by being dipped in water (cf. 8.450–1, *G.* 4.172), and using the Styx for this purpose makes T.'s sword unbreakable; Heyne compares the legend of Thetis dipping Achilles in the Styx, attested only in sources later than V. (Stat. *Ach.* 1.134, Hyg. *Fab.* 107), but surely known earlier.

92–100 The climax of T.'s arming is his extraordinary address to his spear, in which he treats the weapon as a quasi-divinity and appeals to it in the language of prayer. T. is not blatantly impious in his words, as is Mezentius, who invokes his hand and his spear as his god (10.773–4 *dextra mihi deus et telum . . . nunc adsint*), but the earlier passage serves as an ominous precedent for the present one. (Cf. Harrison ad loc. on other blasphemers, such as Parthenopaeus in Aeschylus and Idas in Apollonius, and add Capaneus in Stat. *Theb.* 9.548–50, who invokes his right arm in similar terms.) La Cerda cites Plut. *Pel.* 29.4, on the fourth-century tyrant Alexander of Pherae, who consecrated the

spear with which he had killed his uncle Polyphron and sacrificed to it as if to a god.

92–3 quae . . . astabat: V. anticipates T.'s personification of the spear by introducing it as the subject of an active verb. **mediis . . . aedibus:** suggests a place of honour, perhaps a shrine.

92 exim 'a lofty transition' (Horsfall on 7.341), with Ennian and Lucretian associations; also at 6.890, 8.306. **ingenti:** V.'s fondness for *ingens* (nearly 200 occurrences in *Aen.*, about 30 in *G.*, none in *Ecl.*) has often been criticized (Mackail '*ingens* . . . often gives the effect of being a mere stopgap'; Henry on 5.118 'V's maid of all work'); here its function as a marker of epic scale is especially clear. **adnixa columnae:** the detail resembles the description in *Od.* 1.127–9 of a spear-rack in the palace of Odysseus.

93 ualidam ui: although the words do not cohere syntactically, alliteration binds them closely together. Compare Ennius' *uiri uaria ualidis uiribus luctant*, *Ann.* 298 Sk.

94 Actoris Aurunci: in the fighting with the Trojans the Aurunci are allies of T. (7.727); T. may have defeated them in an earlier conflict and thereby acquired the spear of the otherwise unknown Actor. It may be noteworthy that T. treats a weapon of fairly obscure pedigree with such reverence. In Achilles' arming scene he lifts the spear of his father, which no other Achaean was able to handle (*Il.* 19.387–91), not even Patroclus (*Il.* 16.140–4). Juvenal (2.100) sarcastically applies *Actoris Aurunci spolium* to a mirror held by the 'pansy Otho' (99 *pathici gestamen Othonis*, echoing *Aen.* 3.286 *magni g. Abantis*). **Actoris . . . spolium:** the gen. with *spolium* often specifies the source of the spoils; cf. 1.289 *spoliis Orientis onustum*, Livy 1.10.5 *spolia ducis hostium caesi*.

94–5 quassatque trementem | uociferans: the lead-in to T.'s speech creates an impression of ferocious energy. *Trementem* contributes to the personalizing of the *hasta*, and *uociferans* (five times in *Aen.*, three times of T.) denotes an excited, emotional outcry.

95–6 nunc . . . nunc: strong anaphora, here to produce a solemn effect; in 9.12 (Iris to T.) *nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus* the emphasis is on speed and urgency. **numquam . . . meos:** worshippers often appeal to a god by recalling the god's past favours or their own faithful devotion, as T. does with Faunus at 778 below; cf. Catull. 34.24–5 *antique ut solita es, bona | sospites ope gentem*, Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.16 *ut . . . soles, custos mihi maximus adsis*, Appel (1909) 154. T.'s assertion that the spear has never been invoked in vain gives his prayer a confident tone.

95 frustrata uocatus: strong assonance in *frustr*<u>*a*</u>*ta uoc*<u>*a*</u>*tus*. **uocatus:** the noun is rare, but *uocare* of calling on gods or their assistance is common, cf. e.g. 3.526, 7.471, 780 below.

96 nunc tempus adest: some critics have altered *adest* to *ades*, a frequent form of appeal in prayers (cf. Ovid's Hippomenes in *Met.* 10.673 *nunc . . . ades, dea muneris auctor*), but neither Heinsius' *nunc (tempus) ades* nor Peerlkamp's *nunc tempus, ades* is persuasive.

96–7 te . . . te: forms of *tu* in anaphora are a common feature of prayers and hymns, where they often enumerate the powers or achievements of the god being addressed; cf. Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.9, *Aen.* 8.293–300. The fact that T.'s spear is an object that he himself controls somewhat undercuts his use of the motif.

96 te maximus Actor: supply *antea gerebat* or the like.

97 da sternere corpus 'allow me to lay his body low'. *da* is often found in appeals to gods and other figures of authority; for the construction with a complementary infinitive, as here, cf. 6.66–7 *da . . . Latio considere Teucros*, 10.62, 11.789. For *sternere* see on 944 below.

98 loricamque . . . lacerare reuulsam: *lacerare* is more often used of mangling the bodies of opponents than their armour. *lacerare reuulsam* is equivalent to *reuellere et lacerare*; in such cases Latin often prefers to convey the prior action by means of a past participle, thereby throwing the more significant action into greater prominence. See nn. on 369, 509–11, 537, 870.

99–100 T. scornfully portrays A. as an effete easterner, in terms that recall hostile descriptions of the Trojans by Iarbas (4.215–17) and Numanus Remulus (9.614–20). See also on 825 below.

99 semiuiri: T. implicitly slurs A. as a *Paris alter* (cf. 4.215 *cum semiuiro comitatu*, 7.321, Horsfall on 7.362), thereby casting himself as Menelaus, but the larger web of connections woven by V. reverses the Iliadic correspondences. **foedare in puluere crinis:** of Patroclus' helmet in *Il.* 16.795–6, with Janko's n., Fenik (1968) 163, of Troilus in 1.477–8 *ceruixque comaeque trahuntur | per terram et uersa puluis inscribitur hasta*, of Paris in Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.19–20 *adulteros | crines puluere collines.* La Cerda cites Eur. *HF* 233–4, where Amphitryon says that if he still had his strength he would bloody Lycus' fair hair. Later in the book it is Latinus' hair that is fouled in mourning (611 *turpans*). The *Ilias Latina* 322–3 echoes V.'s line in a speech of Helen recalling Paris' humiliation by Menelaus, *cum te traheret uiolentus Atrides | Iliacoque tuos foedaret puluere crines.*

100 uibratos calido ferro: curling the hair with a hot iron is a recurring item in contemporary Roman descriptions of effeminate men, here projected into the heroic past. Excessive attention to the hair on the part of a man was itself a cause for suspicion; cf. Gibson on Ovid *Ars. am.* 3.434, 443. T.'s jibe may be meant to suggest that the curling iron is the only kind of *ferrum* that A. knows how to employ (playing on such expressions as *uibrare hastam*); if so, the manner of his death proves him wrong, as A. *ferrum aduerso sub pectore condit* (950). **murraque madentis:** cf. 4.216 *crinemque madentem.* The detail is often applied pejoratively to men from the East, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 3.555 (Pentheus describing Bacchus) *madidus murra crinis*, 5.53 (an Indian) *madidos murra curuum crinale capillos* [sc. *ornabat*], ps.-Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 376 (Hercules serving Omphale) *hirtam Sabaea marcidus myrrha comam.* The conspicuous alliteration of *m* may be meant to convey T.'s sneering tone.

101–2 These lines round off the description of T.'s arming and serve as the point of departure for the bull simile in 103–6.

101 his agitur furiis: *his* almost like *talibus*, 'of this sort'. For *furiis* cf. 11.486 *cingitur ipse furens certatim in proelia Turnus*. Lyne (1989) 29 thinks there is ambiguity between *furiis* and *Furiis*, since at 7.445–62 T. was assaulted by Allecto, but the distance between the passages seems too great for the connection to register. The use of *furiae* may evoke the frequent linking of anger and madness, cf. Sen. *Ira* 1.1.3 *non esse sanos quos ira possedit . . . ut furentium certa indicia sunt . . . ita irascentium eadem signa sunt*. Several details in this description of T. resemble Seneca's description of the angry person, the *iratus*. At the end of the book it is A. who is *furiis accensus* (946). **ardentis:** see n. on 3 above.

102 scintillae: a bold extension of the fire imagery latent in *ardentis* and explicit in *ignis*; Page accused V. of 'letting metaphor run riot', but cf. Plaut. *Men*. 829–30 (Menaechmus Sosicles pretending to be mad) *ut oculi scintillant uide!* The eyes of angered Homeric heroes flash fire, cf. *Il*. 1.104 (Agamemnon), 12.466 (Hector), 19.16–17 (Achilles), also Ap. Rhod. 1.1296–7 (Telamon); V. expands the image to include T.'s whole face (*toto . . . ab ore*). The alliteration of *c* in *oculis micat acribus ignis* is reminiscent of Lucr. 3.289 *ex oculis micat acrius ardor*, cf. also Sen. *Ira* 1.1.4 *flagrant ac micant oculi*. Fire imagery is often connected to T.'s anger, cf. Hardie on 9.66.

In *Il*. 19.365–6, as Achilles prepares to arm, his eyes flash like fire and he gnashes his teeth; the latter detail was criticized as inappropriate (γελοῖον) by Homeric scholiasts, and perhaps in response to such criticism V. omits it here and deploys it in more obviously suitable contexts (*dentibus infrendens* 3.644 of Polyphemus, 8.230 of Hercules battling Cacus, 10.718 of a boar to which Mezentius is compared). V. may also have thought that the description of T.'s rage would be more effective as the conclusion to his arming, rather than preceding it as in Homer. See Schlunk (1974) 82–4, Schmit-Neuerburg (1999) 328–33.

103–6 As in 4–9 above, T. is compared to an enraged animal; unlike the lion, however, which fights back only after having been gravely wounded, the bull has no visible opponent and appears to relish the prospect of combat for its own sake. The simile is a reworking of *G*. 3.232–4 (describing a bull that has been defeated in a fight over a heifer) *et temptat sese atque irasci in cornua discit | arboris obnixus trunco, uentosque lacessit | ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena*. The fight for which T. is preparing, like that of the bull in the *Georgics*, is triggered by rivalry for a female. For discussion see Briggs (1980) 47–50. There are numerous points of contact between simile and narrative: *obnixus* (105) ~ *adnixa* (92), *lacessit* (105) ~ *lacessunt* (85), *cornua* (104) ~ *cornua* (89), perhaps *mugitus* (103) ~ *uociferans* (95). The bull of the *Georgics* has lost and is building up its strength for a rematch; the close imitation here could add to the expectation that T. will be defeated by A. (so Townend (1987) 85–6), but since the defeated bull appears to be successful in the return engagement (cf. *G*. 3.235–6), the import of the *Georgics* allusion is not unequivocal.

103 prima in proelia: *in* = 'in preparation for/for the purpose of', cf. on 71 above. *prima proelia* is primarily 'the beginning of the fight' (as at 7.603, 735

below), but a secondary sense, 'the bull's first fight', is also possible, lending a touch of pathos to the animal's display of ferocity.

104 terrificos: a Lucretian adjective (2.632, 5.1315), choicer than *terribilis*. **ciet:** *ciere* of sounds denotes non-verbal utterances (*OLD* 5); of animal cries, cf. Lucr. 5.1060, *G.* 3.517 *extremos . . . ciet gemitus*. **irasci in cornua** 'to throw rage into its horns' (Page). Comms. compare Eur. *Bacch.* 743 ὑβρισταὶ κἀς κέρας θυμούμενοι, on which Dodds cites Ovid, *Met.* 8.882 (Achelous in the shape of a bull) *uires in cornua sumo*. See also 729 below *consurgit in ensem*, with n.

105 arboris obnixus trunco: the implied picture is of the bull sharpening its horns by rubbing them against the trunk, as in Ovid's description of the Calydonian Boar, *Met.* 8.369 *dentibus ille ferox in querno stipite tritis*. **uentosque** 'the air', cf. 5.377 (the boxer Dares) *uerberat ictibus auras*. The bull expends its energy in attacking thin air; V.'s probable sources for this detail (cited by Thomas on *G.* 3.232–4) remark on the futility of the action, cf. Callim. *frag. inc. auct.* 743 Pf., Catull. 64.111 *nequiquam uanis iactantem cornua uentis*. For a bull readying itself for the fight as an image of *ira*, cf. Sen. *Ira* 1.1.6 *taurorum cornua iactantur in uacuum et harena pulsu pedum spargitur*.

106 sparsa . . . harena: another preliminary for the animal now old enough to fight (as specified in *Ecl.* 3.87 *iam cornu petat et pedibus qui spargat harenam* = 9.629), but in this setting the detail also suggests a contest in the amphitheatre, cf. Ovid, *Ars am.* 1.164 *sparsa . . . sollicito tristis harena foro*, *Tr.* 4.9.29–30 *Circus adhuc cessat; spargit tamen acer* [*iam toruus* some MSS] *harenam* | *taurus et infesto iam pede pulsat humum*. **ad pugnam** 'in preparation for the fight'; the similarity to *in proelia* in 103 frames the simile, as does the alliteration *prima in proelia* ~ *pugnam proludit*.

107 Nec minus interea: a Virgilian transition formula, cf. 1.633, 6.212, 7.572, *G.* 2.429, 3.311; it 'gives the impression that what follows is at least as important as what has gone before' (Mynors on *G.* 2.429). As Austin on 1.633 notes, the precise nuance of *nec minus* depends on the context; here it suggests that A. is no less fierce and eager for the fight than T. See on 746 below, *haud minus* 481 below. At several points in the book V. stresses the equality of T. and A. as fighters, e.g. in the simile of the bulls at 715–24. **maternis . . . in armis:** A. is shown as already armed, partly to heighten the contrast with T. and partly because we have been introduced in book 8 to the armour given to A. by Venus (*maternis*). A fuller description of A. arming is reserved for 430–2 below, immediately before he returns to the fight with his wound healed.

108 The verbs *acuit*, *se suscitat* present A. as in control of his fighting spirits, whereas T. is driven on by his emotions (*his agitur furiis*). *Martem acuit* is particularly cool, as if A. were sharpening a blade; cf. 8.385-6 *aspice . . . quae moenia clausis* | *ferrum acuant portis in me*. The other appearances of the expression refer to A.'s opponents, 9.464 *uariis . . . acuunt rumoribus iras*, 590 below *magnis . . . acuunt stridoribus iras*, also 850 below of the Dirae who *acuunt . . . metum mortalibus aegris*. Traina compares *Il.* 2.440 ἐγείρομεν . . . Ἄρηα. **se suscitat ira:** according to

a widely held ancient view, anger was necessary for an effective warrior, cf. Sen. *Ira* 1.7.1 *extollit animos et incitat, nec quicquam sine illa magnificum in bello fortitudo gerit, nisi hinc flamma subdita est et hic stimulus peragitauit*, 3.3.1 *calcar ait* [sc. Aristotle] *esse uirtutis*, Cic. *Tusc.* 4.43 [*iracundiam*] *cotem fortitudinis esse dicunt* [sc. the Peripatetics], Livy 33.37.8 *quantam uim ad stimulandos animos ira haberet apparuit*. On just anger as a motive for war, cf. Livy 23.25.6 *Galliam, quamquam stimulabat iusta ira, omitti eo anno placuit*, 30.36.10 *quamquam iusta ira omnes ad delendam stimulabat Carthaginem*. Servius interpreted A.'s deliberate effort to rouse himself to anger as a sign of the great self-restraint ('ingens moderatio') that V. attributes to him; but see following n. **suscitat:** of rousing spirits for battle, cf. 2.618 *ipse* [Jupiter] *deos in Dardana s. arma*, 9.462–3 *Turnus in arma uiros* . . . | *s.*, 10.263 *spes addita s. iras* (of the Trojans), 11.727–8 *genitor Tarchonem in proelia saeua* | *s.* The verb recurs when A. gives free rein to his anger, 498–9 *terribilis saeuam nullo discrimine caedem* | *s., irarumque omnis effundit habenas*.

109 'Rejoicing that the war was being resolved by the truce that had been proposed.' The heavily spondaic rhythm, absence of elision, and patterned word order all contribute to a feeling of ordered calm. **oblato:** offered to A. by T. (78–80 above). **foedere:** the 20 appearances of the word in this book encapsulate the essence of the plot: T. and A. agree to fight (13, 110); Juno incites Juturna to break the truce (151, 158); A. and Latinus swear to its terms (191, 200, 202, 212); the Rutulians violate the truce (242, 286, 290); A. demands its reinstatement (314, 316, 496, 573, 582); T. returns to carry out his original agreement (633, 658, 695); Juno accepts the future union of Latins and Trojans (820).

110 After rousing his fighting spirits, A. seeks to hearten his son and his allies. Concern for the morale of those he leads has characterized A. from the beginning of the epic (cf. e.g. 1.197–209) and is an essential element of his *pietas*. **tum . . . maestique metum:** alliteration of gloomy *m*s.

111 fata docens: probably a reprise of A.'s words to his men in 1.197–207, where he said that the fates promised them a home in Latium (205–6 *tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas* | *ostendunt*); it is less likely that *fata* refers to the knowledge of future events imparted by Anchises in the Underworld (cf. 6.759 *te tua fata docebo*), since elsewhere A. shows no subsequent knowledge of his father's instruction.

111–12 regique . . . uiros: alliteration of *r* in *regi* . . . *responsa* . . . | *certa referre uiros*.

112 certa 'definite, unambiguous', but also implying that the answer is positive. **pacis dicere leges:** the immediate reference is to the terms of the truce, but the phrase also has a wider implication, suggesting A.'s desire to establish peace between Trojans and Latins, cf. 189–91 below. Another sort of foreshadowing may also be at work, since dictating terms of peace was the prerogative of the victor, cf. Livy 34.57.7 *cum bello uictis dicerentur leges*, Ovid, *Met.* 8.101–2 *leges captis iustissimus auctor* | *hostibus imposuit*.

113–133 The field is prepared; both sides gather to watch the duel

V. describes the preparations for the duel of A. and T. in great detail: 113–33 set the stage and show the spectators assembling, and 161–215 relate in full the oaths sworn by A. and Latinus. This elaborate build-up to an event that will not take place makes good sense in terms of narrative strategy: the effect of an interrupted ceremony is the greater if a solemn or festive mood has been firmly established (as such masters of musical drama as Verdi and Wagner knew well, cf. the triumphal scene of *Aida* and the wedding scene in *Lohengrin*). But this episode – especially the oaths of A. and Latinus – is also important in looking forward to the union of Trojans and Latins that lies outside V.'s narrative proper. Accordingly, much more emphasis in V. than in Homer is placed on the political consequences of the duel. The heavily Roman colouring of the scene underscores the fact that the Roman people is actually being brought into existence by this chain of events. (See in particular nn. on 118, 118–19, 120, 121.) La Cerda compares Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.18 on the preparations for the combat of the Horatii and Curiatii.

113–15 The high-poetic description of daybreak varies the terms of T.'s message in 76–7 above. Servius Auctus thought that since tumult is to follow, V. described the day as dawning with agitation (*cum feruore*). C–N dismiss the comment as 'quaint', but it is an interesting attempt by an ancient commentator to see conventional narrative devices adapted to a particular context. On the variety of V.'s dawn descriptions see Traina ad loc.

113 summos . . . montis 'the mountain tops'.

114–15 cum primum . . . efflant: a generalizing temporal cl. that further defines the time just mentioned, 'the hour in which | the horses of the Sun first rise up from | the deep surge, breathing rays from lifted nostrils' (Mandelbaum). It may be slightly surprising that after *uix* . . . *spargebat*, *cum primum* does not introduce a *cum inversum* clause (on which see n. on 379 below), and also that the description of daybreak leads directly into the narrative without a *tum* or similar linking word.

114 dies: here perhaps to be identified with Aurora (cf. 77 above), to account for the subsequent appearance of the sun. **cum . . . tollunt:** the slow rhythm suggests the effort of the Sun's horses; cf. 8.452 *illi inter sese multo ui bracchia tollunt.*

115 lucem . . . efflant 'breathing forth the light' (Fagles), an image with associations in Pindar (*Ol.* 7.71 πῦρ πνεόντων . . . ἵππων) and, for the bolder *lucem efflare*, Ennius (*Ann.* 606 Sk. *funduntque elatis naribus lucem*, cited by Servius, who also notes V.'s rearrangement of words to avoid elision of *-s* in the fifth foot). Henry compared Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* 2.4.3, 'the horses that guide the golden eye of heaven, | and blow the morning from their nosterils'. In Ovid, as in Pindar, the horses of the Sun snort fire: *Met.* 2.85 (*ignes*) *quos in pectore habent, quos ore et naribus efflant.*

116–20 Several details of the ritual surrounding the planned duel correspond to Roman practice in making a treaty; this is another way in which the ceremony adumbrates the future of the joint peoples.

116–17 campum . . . dimensi: cf. *Il.* 3.314–15 'Hektor . . . and brilliant Odysseus | measured out the distance first' (Ἕκτωρ . . . καὶ δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς | χῶρον μὲν πρῶτον διεμέτρεον).

116 magnae sub moenibus urbis: the duel is to take place in full view of the city, like the meeting of Hector and Achilles in *Iliad* 22. The location of the planned duel of Paris and Menelaus in *Iliad* 3 is between the existing battle lines, presumably at some distance from the city walls. **urbis:** on V.'s studied vagueness about the name of Latinus' city see Horsfall on 7.162, nn. on 137, 194 below.

118 in medioque: *-que* links *focos* to *campum* as obj. of *parabant*; there may be a slight shift in the meaning of the verb (zeugma in the strict sense), from getting the field ready to placing braziers and altars on it. **dis communibus:** the gods worshipped by both Trojans and Latins; cf. 8.275 of Hercules, *communem . . . uocate deum*, Prop. 1.11.16 *communis nec meminisse deos* (the gods by whom the lovers have sworn). In fact the gods invoked by name in Aeneas' and Latinus' oaths – Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Apollo, Diana, Janus – would have been a familiar group in the Rome of V.'s time (Venus being the most conspicuous absentee).

118–19 aras | gramineas: altars made of or covered with turf are suited to an impromptu outdoor sacrifice, but V. is also evoking traditional Roman practice; Servius comments 'Romani enim moris fuerat caespitem arae superimponere et ita sacrificare', and see further Hor. *Carm.* 1.19.13–14 *hic uiuum mihi caespitem, hic | uerbenas, pueri, ponite* with Nisbet–Hubbard's note, Ovid, *Tr.* 5.5.9 *ara . . . gramineo uiridis de caespite fiat.*

119 fontem: a mannered expression for 'spring water', as at 2.686, *G.* 4.376.

120 uelati limo: an ancient textual crux. All MSS read *lino* ('robed in linen garments'), but Servius reports that two earlier commentators, Hyginus (a freedman of Augustus) and Caper (second century CE), rejected *lino* as a corruption of *limo*, referring to a garment covering the lower body ('ab umbilico usque ad pedes') that was worn by the *popae*, attendants at Roman sacrifices. Hyginus and Caper also asserted that *lino* was ritually incorrect, since the Fetials and other officials charged with making treaties did not wear linen clothing. Editors and commentators have generally accepted *limo*, but Zetzel (1981) 32 argued that *limo* would make readers think of the word's common meaning, 'mud'; he also dismissed the ritually based objection to *lino* as reflecting a mistaken belief that V. took pains to be accurate in such details. *Contra* Zetzel, cf. Timpanaro (1986) 58–63. Since the previous lines place us firmly in a ritual setting, it is not difficult for the sacrificial sense of *limus* to register. Jocelyn (1988) 202 noted a new attestation of *limo cinctus* describing attendants of public officials in the Flavian Municipal Law; cf. González (1986) 153 *eisque aedilibus seruos communes . . . qui is appareant limo cinctos habere liceto*. Jocelyn plausibly suggested that V.'s *uelati limo* is a poetic equivalent of *limo cinctus*; *cinctus* may be hinted at by *uincti* at the end of the line. Numerous visual depictions of Roman sacrifices show attendants dressed in a distinctive garment

covering the lower body, e.g. the frieze on the Temple of Apollo Sosianus, from the late 20s BCE; illustration in Zanker (1988) 70, fig. 55. The garments on these figures go only to the knee, as is typical for *popae* in Augustan art, but Ryberg (1955) 84, 90 noted that the *limus* is generally shown as longer in later centuries; Servius' description 'ab umbilico usque ad pedes' may therefore reflect the practice of his own day. A separate and less important question is whether *limo* is an early MS reading or a conjecture; Aulus Gellius' account of another of Hyginus' textual notes (1.21.1-2) quotes Hyginus as claiming to have found the reading *amaror* at *G.* 2.247 in a manuscript that had belonged to V.'s own household (*in libro, qui fuit ex domo atque familia Vergilii*), and Hyginus may have made a similar claim regarding *limo*. On that point Zetzel's scepticism is probably justified. As far as V.'s text is concerned, it does not greatly matter whether or not Hyginus appealed to a MS as the source of *limo* and, if so, whether or not such a MS existed: the change of *limo* to *lino* is so easy that *limo* even as a conjecture would merit a place in the text. The change must have taken place very soon; as Traina notes, the echo of our passage in Sil. 3.24 *uelantur corpora lino* presupposes *lino*. **uerbena:** a generic term for plants or herbs used to decorate an altar, cf. Donatus on Ter. *Andria* 726 *uerbenae sunt omnes frondesque festae ad aras coronandas*. Livy mentions *uerbena*(*e*) in connection with the role of the Fetials in making treaties, 1.24.6, 30.43.9. **tempora:** for the retained acc. cf. 64–5 n.; in similar phrases, e.g. Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.110 *fronde comas uincti*, for the active equivalent *Carm.* 4.1.32 *uincire nouis tempora floribus*.

121–33 This scene of bustling movement features a profusion of active verbs: *procedit, fundunt, ruit, uolitant, recessit, effusae, obsedere*. The mood is somewhere between warfare and holiday, though closer to the former. The use of military terminology to describe noncombatants (for which see nn. on 122 *se fundunt*, 126 *uolitant*, 133 *obsedere*) suggests the cessation of hostilities, but may also hint at the fragility of the truce.

121 legio: elsewhere virtually a synonym for *milites*, used of both Trojan and Latin forces; cf. 7.681, 8.605, 9.174, 368, 10.120 (where Harrison refers to Livy's use of the term), 563 below. Here, however, the close proximity to other Roman terms may give the word a more distinctly Roman colouring. **Ausonidum:** *Ausonides*, a patronymic by-form of *Ausonius* (= 'Italian'), is perhaps V.'s coinage. The gen. pl. is the only form used by V.; cf. 10.564, 11.297. **pilataque:** a learned note in Servius Auctus canvasses several possible meanings, from *pilis armata* to 'firmly fixed' (based on a passage of Ennius with a different focus). The most likely sense is 'densely packed', which coheres well with *plenis* . . . *portis* and for which there are good parallels in the adverb *pilatim* (cited from the Annalist historians Sempronius Asellio and Scaurus) and a statement in Varro distinguishing an *agmen quadratum* (containing *iumenta* as well as soldiers) from an *agmen pilatum* (no *iumenta*, able to manoeuvre in tight spots). The followers of Aventinus in 7.664 carry *pila*, but it would be odd for V. here to attribute so distinctive a weapon to the Latins generally.

121–2 plenis . . . portis: the mass of soldiers fills the gates as it passes through them; see also following n. Statius elaborates the picture in *Theb.* 10.9–10 *portae . . . ineuntibus arma | angustae populis.*

122 se fundunt: reminiscent of historians' descriptions of attacking soldiers pouring out of city gates, cf. Livy 1.14.8 *plenis repente portis effusi hostes,* 26.5.5 *illi ad eruptionem parati portis omnibus se effunderent,* 38.6.3 *omnibus portis ad opem ferendam effunduntur,* 43.22.2 *effusos omnibus portis Aetolos.* **portis:** the abl. of place from which with *se fundere* or *effundere* is probably best understood as separative; in addition to the passages cited in the previous n., cf. *G.* 1.512 *cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae,* 3.104 *effusi carcere currus,* Stat. *Theb.* 2.494 *altis funduntur in ordine portis,* 5.186 *domibus fusi.*

123 uariis . . . armis: i.e. the differing styles of weapons carried by the Trojan and Etruscan contingents of Aeneas' troops. The depiction of Actium on Aeneas' shield portrays Antony's motley army in similar language, 8.685 *ope barbarica uariisque Antonius armis.*

124–5 haud secus . . . uocet: possibly signalling V.'s use of phrases appropriate to battle narrative (n. on 121–33). The detail prepares for the outbreak of actual fighting later in the episode (Page). **aspera . . . pugna:** Traina compares Homeric δριμεῖα μάχη (e.g. *Il.* 15.696).

126 The line resembles 5.132–3 where the Trojan leaders gather for the boat race, as here wearing dress uniform rather than battle gear: *ipsique in puppibus auro | ductores longe effulgent ostroque decori.* That passage is probably the source of the variant *decori* for *superbi* in PR (supported by Traina); it is also possible, though less likely, that *superbi* derives from 1.639 *arte laboratae uestes ostroque superbo.* **uolitant:** a verb favoured by V., sometimes used literally of flying or lightly moving things (birds 8.655, *G.* 3.147, shades and visions 6.293, 7.89, 10.641, Fama 7.104, 9.473), but also of warriors in rapid motion, as at 11.546 and 328 below (of T.) *multa uirum uolitans dat fortia corpora leto.* We are meant to see the commanders moving briskly among the ranks, standing out from the crowd in their brightly coloured dress.

127–8 The chieftains mentioned have all appeared more than once in previous books; Messapus in particular is familiar from his signature epithets, *equum domitor, Neptunia proles* (found together also at 7.691 and 9.523). The three reappear at 549–50 below. On the dearth of 'major minor characters' (Horsfall) in *Aen.* 7–12, cf. Willcock (1983) 95–7; Ash (2002) 259–61 connects it with the historiographical tendency to focus on a central figure rather than presenting a variety of actors. The proliferation of major characters in the final books (Evander, Pallas, Mezentius, Camilla) also plays a part.

127 genus Assaraci Mnestheus: M. is one of A.'s most prominent subordinates, a distinguished competitor in the boat race of book 5 and a leading figure in the fighting of this book (cf. 443, 459, 549, 561). Along with Achates and Ascanius, he carries the wounded A. from the field at 384 below. This is the only mention of his descent from Assaracus, the grandfather of Anchises

(cf. *Il.* 20.231–40). **genus:** a high-poetic term for 'descendant', cf. e.g. 6.792 *Augustus Caesar, diui genus*, 7.213 *rex, genus egregium Fauni.* **fortis Asilas:** the conjunction with Mnestheus makes it likely that this Asilas is the Etruscan ally first mentioned at 10.175, where he is described as a seer (*hominum diuumque interpres*), and active also at 11.620 and 550 below; the same name is used of a Rutulian in 9.571.

128 Messapus: for the background of this character cf. Harrison on 10.352–4, Horsfall on 7.691–705. **Neptunia proles:** adjective and noun are both in the grand manner.

129–30 After the colourful parade of armies and generals, a businesslike retreat to the sidelines.

130 Cf. *Il.* 3.135, where Iris describes the Greeks and Trojans awaiting the duel between Paris and Menelaus: 'they lean on their shields, the tall spears stuck in the ground beside them' (ἀσπίσι κεκλιμένοι, παρὰ δ' ἔγχεα μακρὰ πέπηγεν). **defigunt . . . hastas:** so also of the heroes at ease in the Underworld, 6.652 *stant terra defixae hastae.* **tellure:** ancient sources divide between *tellure* (MP) and *telluri* (R, Servius on 563 below, Tib. Cl. Donatus), and both dat. and abl. are attested for V., cf. 6.652 (preceding n.), *G.* 2.290 *terrae defigitur arbos.* **scuta:** *scutum* is the prosaic word for 'shield', used 13 times by V. against 50 occurrences of the poetic *clipeus*; cf. Lyne (1989) 101–2, and for the analogous case of *gladius* vs. *ensis* see n. on 278 below. **reclinant:** Sen. *Phoen.* 499 *reclinis hastae parma defixae incubat* (also describing weapons laid aside for a truce) reworks V.'s line into a more intricate form.

131–3 V. elaborates Homer's brief reference to the spectators, *Il.* 3.342–3 'and amazement seized the beholders, | Trojans, breakers of horses, and strong-greaved Achaians' (θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσορόωντας | Τρῶάς θ' ἱπποδάμους καὶ ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιούς). The reference to women has Ennian precedent, cf. *Ann.* 418 Sk. *matronae moeros complent spectare fauentes.* Elsewhere in *Aen.* cf. 8.592–3 *stant pauidae in muris matres oculisque sequuntur | pulueream nubem*, 11.877–8 *e speculis percussae pectora matres | femineum clamorem ad caeli sidera tollunt*, later Stat. *Theb.* 7.240–1 *trepido tamen agmine matres | conscendunt muros*, 11.416 *prominet excelsis uulgus miserabile tectis.* Livy also heightens dramatic tension at critical moments by focusing on the onlookers, cf. 7.11.6 *pugnatum . . . est . . . in conspectu parentum coniugumque ac liberorum*, 23.47.3 *Campani non uallum modo castrorum sed moenia etiam urbis prospectantes repleuerunt*, 24.21.8 *pars procurrit in uias, pars in uestibulis stat, pars ex tectis fenestrisque prospectant.*

131 studio: abl. of manner, almost the equivalent of an adverb, 'eagerly'. **effusae:** counterpart to *se fundunt* in 122 above; cf. 7.812 *effusa iuuentus* (of the youth admiring Camilla).

133 obsedere: in a rare touch of Virgilian humour, the women and old men 'besiege' the best vantage points for viewing the contest; for the verb in its usual context cf. 2.332 *obsedere alii telis angusta uiarum*, 449–50 *alii strictis mucronibus imas | obsedere fores.* The perfect of instantaneous result (see on 283 below) adds to the ironic tone.

134–160 Juno encourages Juturna to subvert the truce

This short scene represents the last of Juno's attempts to delay the fulfilment of A.'s destiny. Its placement in the final book of the poem links it to two earlier episodes in structurally significant positions, Juno's appeal to Aeolus, which began the action of book 1 (50–80), and her dispatching of Allecto, which initiated the events of the latter six books (7.323–40).

Juno's repeated use of agents to carry out her schemes adds to an impression of her deviousness, but also, by insulating her from direct contact with the human characters, places her on a higher level than all other gods except Jupiter. (The only time that Juno intervenes personally in the action, at the 'marriage' of Aeneas and Dido, 4.125–7, her involvement is limited to giving the signal (*dant signum* 4.167); her distance from the human action is thereby preserved.) At 791 below, when the action shifts to the heavens and the dialogue of Juno and Jupiter, the sense of moving to a more exalted level is strengthened by the wrangle on the battlefield between Juturna and Venus that immediately precedes.

Juno's interaction with Juturna is more complex than her dealings with her other surrogates, in part because Juturna is a character with an independent connection to the plot who acts on her own initiative rather than merely carrying out Juno's orders. One result is to highlight Juno's duplicity in manipulating her: she claims to have favoured her above Jupiter's other Latin conquests and even implies that she had a part in securing divine status for her (145). In V.'s model for the scene, Ap. Rhod. 4.790–7, Hera similarly tells Thetis that she has always loved her more than all the other sea nymphs because she alone resisted Zeus's attempts at seduction; Hera's flattery, like Juno's, is self-serving – she wants to enlist Thetis' aid in protecting Jason on his voyage – but her statement is at least credible on its own terms, as Juno's is not. Juno's feigned sympathy for Juturna quickly disappears when the latter's distress at the thought of T.'s death threatens to hinder her plan (see 156 with n.).

Although Juturna plays a subordinate role in the scene, her love for T. and desire to shield him from harm are strongly established, creating a basis for her actions later in the book.

Quinn (1968) 259 comments on the 'hint of flippancy' in the episode, 'the stress laid on facts we might expect to have been soft-pedalled'; he suggests that V. resorts to irony 'to avoid excessive commitment to . . . a . . . poetic fantasy' (a comment that could apply to other scenes of divine interaction as well). More specifically, Juno's language often has an ironic or otherwise pointed dimension; cf. nn. on 144 *magnanimi*, 145 *praetulerim*, 157 *eripe morti*, 158 *conceptum . . . excute foedus*. Juno's toying with words forms an analogue for her scheming at the level of plot.

134 At: marking a shift of focus at the start of a new episode, cf. 10.362, 11.597 (with *interea*), 697 below. **ex summo:** the ancient witnesses here divide between *ex* and *e*, but *ex* has clear majority support in *A.* 4.410 *arce ex summa* (*et* M^{ac}); cf. also *ex sanguine* 11.720 (*a* in several ninth-century MSS),

949 below. **qui nunc Albanus habetur:** for the future perspective cf. 9.387–8 *locos qui post Albae de nomine dicti | Albani.* **habetur** = *uocatur.*

The Alban Mount (Monte Cavo) is the dominant peak of the Colli Albani, a complex of quiescent volcanos located about 20 km (12 m) southeast of Rome. In this episode it functions as a divine viewing post, like Mount Ida in the *Iliad* (cf. e.g. *Il.* 8.47–52). V. probably chose it for this function because of its place in Roman and Latin religious ritual. It was the location of the very ancient cult of Juppiter Latiaris, at which the surrounding communities celebrated the Feriae Latinae (cf. Livy 1.31.3 and 5.17.2, with Ogilvie ad locc.); in the third and second centuries BCE it was also on occasion the site for triumphs of victors who had been denied a triumph in Rome itself (cf. Livy 26.21.6, 33.23.3, 42.21.7, Plut. *Marc.* 22). Those associations would fit well with the implicit prediction of the Mount's future *honos et gloria.* In Sil. 6.598–9 Jupiter observes from the Alban Mount as Hannibal prepares to launch an attack on Rome.

135 neque nomen . . . aut gloria: for the conjunction of *nomen* with *honos* and *gloria* cf. 7.3–4 *nunc seruat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen | . . . si qua est ea gloria, signat.* Here *nomen* stands alone and *aut* links *honos* and *gloria*, implying the cause-and-effect relationship between them (the name confers *honos* and *gloria*) that is more clearly spelled out in the earlier passage. Cf. also 6.776, on places that now have names but previously lacked them.

136 prospiciens: of watching from an elevated position cf. Livy 21.49.8 *qui ex speculis prospicerent aduentantem hostium classem missis*, Ovid, *Met.* 3.603–4 *ipse quid aura mihi tumulo promittat ab alto | prospicio.* **tumulo:** the term is not inconsistent wiith a lofty vantage point, cf. 11.853 *tumulo speculatur ab alto.* **aspectabat:** similarly used at 10.4 of a god observing from a distance. Servius Auctus comments on the verb's archaic flavour: 'amat usurpare antiquitatem. nam potuit 'spectabat' dicere'; cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 326.

137 Cf. 6.891, repetition for a quasi-formulaic effect. V. is elusive about the name of Latinus' city; see on 116 above, 194 below.

138 Juturna is introduced as if for the first time (her name occurs later, at 146), but she has already made a significant appearance at 10.439 (where she is called *soror alma*); there she urges Turnus to go to the aid of Lausus and thereby precipitates the fateful duel between Turnus and Pallas. Harrison ad loc. entertains the idea that the passage in book 10 was a late addition, since it seems to jar with J.'s formal introduction here. Compare the introduction of Nisus and Euryalus in 9.176–81 following their appearance in the foot-race of book 5, with Hardie ad loc. On the various etymologies of Juturna's name, cf. C–N on 139, G. S. West in *EV* s.v. 'Giuturna', Harrison on 10.439. The derivation from *iuuare* (Varro?) fits her role in the book and is probably alluded to in 872 below *quid nunc te tua . . . potest germana iuuare?* **extemplo:** common in Plautus but from Ennius (*Ann.* 377 Sk.) onward found mainly in high poetry; for details cf. Oakley on Livy 6.1.9. It occurs once in the *Georgics* (1.64), 14 times in *Aen.* and appears to combine elevation and urgency.

139–40 Murgatroyd (2003) 311–13, suggests that Ovid's account of Juturna in *Fasti* 2.583–616 offers an 'irreverent prequel' to her appearance here. Ovid certainly does not follow the obvious route of supplying the background to 140–1 in V.; his Juturna escapes Jupiter's pursuit through the warning of the nymph Lara, and Lara's punishment by Jupiter becomes the focus of the story. For another Ovidian reworking of this episode see n. on 141 below.

139 diua deam 'goddess to goddess', cf. *Od.* 5.97 θεὰ θεόν; the juxtaposition expresses the closeness (and isolation from Jupiter) that Juno is aiming for.

140 praesidet: a technical term for divine control, similarly of Mars in Thrace (3.35), Apollo at Cumae (6.9–10), and Jupiter at Anxur (7.799–800). **rex aetheris:** this combination seems to be without exact parallel, cf. 10.621 *rex aetherii . . . Olympi*; a variation in ps.-Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1147–8 (Hercules speaking) *regnum omne, genitor, aetheris dubium tibi* | *mors nostra faciet*. Close in sense is Ovid, *Tr.* 4.3.65 *rex mundi* (where *mundus* = *caelum*). *aetherius* figures in many post-Virgilian periphrases for Jupiter, cf. Ovid, *Ibis* 474 *aetherii uindicis*, *Ilias Lat.* 536 *aetherio . . . regi*, Stat. *Silu.* 3.1.108 *pater aetherius*.

141 erepta pro uirginitate 'in return for having robbed her of her virginity'. Gods who have sex with mortals sometimes offer compensation after the fact, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.850–2, 12.198–200. The motif appears in a different form in 391–7 below, where Apollo, a more respectful lover, offers Iapyx a choice of gifts as an inducement to sexual relations. Jupiter's reward of immortality is bitterly recalled by Juturna in 878 below, *haec pro uirginitate reponit?*

Ovid mischievously echoes this passage in his story of Janus and the nymph Crane in *Fast.* 6.101–30: after raping Crane, Janus grants her dominion over door-hinges, *ius pro concubitu nostro tibi cardinis esto;* | *hoc pretium positae uirginitatis habe* (129–30). Jupiter's mistresses more often achieve divinity through catasterism, the source of complaints by Juno in Ovid (*Met.* 2.521, of Callisto, *esse hominem uetui; facta est dea!*) and Seneca (*Herc. fur.* 5 *paelices caelum tenent*); see n. on 145 below.

141 sacrauit: *hunc illi honorem sacrauit* is almost a hypallage for *hoc illam honore sacrauit*; the verb more often specifies the person or thing being sanctified (cf. Livy 8.6.5 *te patrem deum hominum hac sede sacrauimus*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.26.11 *hunc* [sc. *Lamiam*] *Lesbio sacrare plectro*), and the usage here may be a Virgilian innovation (see *OLD* 6).

142–4 gratissima . . . ingratum: the opposition suggests that Juno truly favours Juturna, while her affair with Jupiter will not yield her any *gratia*, a view that foreshadows Juturna's complaint in 878 below. *Gratissima* = Homeric κεχαρισμένη; the variant *carissima* in PR strikes too intimate a note (it appears only in Venus' address to Vulcan as *carissime coniunx*, 8.377).

142 decus fluuiorum: *decus* here denotes an outstanding member of a group, a source of pride to others (*OLD* 3), cf. 11.508 *decus Italiae uirgo*, Catull. 64.78 *decus innuptarum*, Cic. *Flac.* 75 *decus patriae*. Traina compares κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν in *Od.* 12.184, rendered by Cicero in *Fin.* 5.49 as *decus Argolicum*.

143–5 Juno's tone is so different from her usual attitude toward Jupiter's mistresses that it begs for an explanation. Paratore suggests that J. is feigning benevolence, which might account for the traces of irony in her words (nn. on 144, 145 below). Murgatroyd (see on 139–40 above) proposes that Ovid retrospectively accounts for Juno's approval of Juturna by describing the nymph's successful escape from Jupiter's advances.

143 scis ut te: the opening series of monosyllables may be meant to suggest directness and lack of subterfuge. For *scire ut* 'to know how' C–N compare Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.42–4 *scimus ut impios | Titanas . . . fulmine sustulerit caduco*, see *OLD* s.v. *ut* 1b–c. Traina instead regards the construction as a Grecism modelled on οἶδα ὡς. **cunctis unam:** emphatic juxtaposition, implying a large number of other, less favoured women. **Latinae:** 'by an elegant Latin idiom the substantive *Latinae* has been put in the relative clause introduced by *quaecumque*, leaving the adjective *cunctis* without a noun' (M.). Juno's geographical precision – she is well aware that Jupiter has also had many affairs with non-Latin women – anticipates Leporello's 'catalogue aria' in *Don Giovanni*: 'in Italia, seicento e quaranta; in Almagna, duecento e trentuna'.

144 magnanimi: the juxtaposition with *ingratum* makes a sarcastic tone likely. The echo in 878 is undoubtedly bitter. As Servius noted, the line lacks the normal caesurae, and the elision of *ingratum ascendere* increases its oddness. 'The labouring movement of the line . . . suggests the lofty eminence to which these girls presumed to climb . . . with no happy results' (M.). **ascendere cubile:** a loftier variant of *scandere cubile*, 'climb into bed', cf. Prop. 4.4.90 Tatius to Tarpeia '*nube*' *ait* '*et regni scande cubile mei*' (which might echo this passage), Stat. *Theb.* 1.233 *scandere thalamos*. *ascendere* sometimes appears in later writers, cf. Ovid, *Fast.* 2.345 (*torum*), Val. Fl. 6.45 (*thalamos* [*accedere* Renkema]). Ancient beds or couches were raised and might be reached by a small set of steps (cf. Varro, *LLing.* 5.168, Luc. 2.356–7), but V. may also be evoking the image of the women ascending on high to mate with Jupiter.

145 praetulerim: can be used of a lover who is preferred to a rival; La Cerda cites ps.-Quint. *Declamationes* 319 *quod uxor mea . . . alium praetulerit*, similarly Ovid, *Met.* 10.532 *caelo praefertur Adonis*. It is here wittily applied to a mistress preferred to other mistresses. Servius noted the irony: 'dicit se hanc omnibus praetulisse, quasi etiam alias in honore habuerit'. **caelique . . . locarim:** the emphatic word is *libens*: in other cases Juno vainly opposes the mistress's being taken up into the sky (see following n.), while her language here makes it seem as though she was responsible for Juturna's deification. **caeli . . . in parte:** perhaps alluding to myths in which Jupiter's paramours are literally placed in the sky by being turned into constellations, as in the case of Callisto (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.505–7, 514–17).

146 ne me incuses: the implication is probably 'so that you won't blame *me* as the cause of your grief' (so C–N); for *dolor* = 'cause for sorrow', see *OLD* 2c. Juno is at pains to point out that she has protected T. for as long as she was able to do so.

147–8 As elsewhere, Juno is careful to act within the limits prescribed by destiny, here represented by Fortuna and the Parcae. But – also characteristically – she is willing to blur the lines of what is permissible in order to induce Juturna to intervene, cf. 153, 157.

147 qua uisa est . . . sinebant: *qua* = 'to the extent that' (*OLD* 5).

148 cedere res Latio: *cedere* here = *bene cedere*, 'to turn out well', with *Latio* dat. of ref. specifying the party affected by the action, see *OLD* s.v. *cedo* 7b.

149 The line recalls two descriptions of Trojans unequally matched against Achilles, Troilus in 1.475 *infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli*, and Aeneas in 5.808–9 *Pelidae . . . forti | congressum Aenean nec dis nec uiribus aequis*. The 'unequal fates' against which T. is matched are embodied by A., who becomes a new Achilles at the conclusion of the book. **imparibus:** perhaps a hint of gladiatorial language, appropriate for a duel; cf. Livy 7.10.6 (Torquatus and the Gaul) *nequaquam uisu ac specie aestimantibus pares*, with Oakley's n.

150 After the opening spondee the line accelerates, mirroring the onrush of doom; the effect is enhanced by the insistently repeated *i* in *uis inimica propinquat* (varied from *lux inimica propinquat* in 9.355). **Parcarum . . . dies:** cf. the Homeric expressions for the 'day of doom', μόρσιμον ἦμαρ (*Il.* 15.613) and αἴσιμον ἦμαρ (*Il.* 21.100). **uis inimica propinquat:** the language suggests the approach of an enemy force; cf. 2.733 *fuge, nate; propinquant*, 11.597 *at manus interea muris Troiana propinquat*.

151 Gods in epic regularly desert their favourites when their death is imminent, but Juno's words convey a more personal emotion ('I cannot bear to witness this') that recalls their Homeric source (*Il.* 3.306–7), where the speaker is Priam foreseeing the death of his son Paris if he faces Menelaus; Priam's speech immediately follows the oathtaking ceremony of which Virgil's counterpart is about to begin. At 10.473 Jupiter turns his gaze away from the battlefield when Pallas and Turnus fight; cf. Zeus's grief at the impending deaths of Sarpedon (*Il.* 16.433ff.) and Hector (*Il.* 22.168).

152 praesentius 'more efficacious', but with the implied idea of something done by one actually present (M. compares Psalm 46.1 'a very present help in trouble'); echoed in 245 below. Since both Juno and Juturna are divine, *praesentius* could evoke the concept of a *deus praesens*, a god who shows favour by his or her presence; cf. 9.404 *tu, dea, tu praesens nostro succurre labori*, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.2. The comparative adverb distinguishes Juturna from Juno, who is absenting herself from the fight.

153 perge; decet: an echo of Venus' words to Juno in 4.114, *perge: sequar*. **forsan . . . sequentur:** Juno's qualified optimism resembles that feigned by A. when addressing his disconsolate men in 1.203, *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuuabit*. In Juno's case (though not Juturna's or T.'s), better things are indeed in store; cf. Fratantuono (2007) 372. **forsan:** more elevated than *forsitan*, and largely confined to poetry; V.'s three uses are all in *Aen.* (cf. 1.203 (previous n.), 4.19), while only one of his four uses of *forsitan* is in the epic (2.509, *G.* 2.288,

4.118, *Ecl.* 6.58). 'The use of *forsan* with the indicative (by analogy with *fortasse*) begins with Virgil' (Austin on 1.203).

154–5 Juturna weeps but does not speak; Juno remains the dominant figure in the scene.

154 uix ea: common omission of the verb of speaking, cf. (e.g.) 195 below *sic prior Aeneas*. *uix ea* is short for *uix ea fatus eram/erat*, found eight times; the abbreviated formula underscores the rapidity of Juturna's response. See on 650 below. **profudit:** the ancient witnesses divide between *profundit* and *profudit*; Mynors notes (in app.) that V. shows a preference for the present in *uix*... *cum* constructions, but none of the examples involves a mixture of present and perfect (*profundit*... *percussit*); for perfect verbs in this construction cf. 6.190–2 *uix ea fatus erat, geminae cum forte columbae*... *uenere uolantes* | *et uiridi sedere loco*.

155 The line is nearly identical to 4.589 *terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum*, describing Dido as she sees A.'s ships sail away from Carthage. *honestus* is here 'comely'; its use of physical appearance appears to be colloquial/old fashioned, cf. Harrison on 10.133, citing examples in Terence and Lucilius, also Servius on *Aen.* 1.289 'ueteres... "honestum" pro "specioso" ponebant', *TLL* 6.3.2912.42–75.

156 Juno's brusque reaction shows that Juturna's grief has no meaning for her; she regards her merely as a tool to thwart A. once again. **Saturnia Iuno:** a standard epithet (cf. 178 below), but perhaps linked to the way J. is acting at this point; note Jupiter's remark in 830–1 below, *es germana Iouis Saturnique altera proles,* | *irarum tantos uoluis sub pectore fluctus*.

157 accelera: all five of V.'s uses of the verb are at the opening of the line; a swift rhythm matches the sense. **eripe morti:** cf. 10.624 *instantibus eripe fatis*, where Jupiter permits Juno to save T. Jupiter stipulates that he is granting a delay (*mora*, 622), not a reprieve (*uenia*, 626); Juno draws no such distinctions, but the qualifying phrase *si quis modus* suggests that she knows she is raising false hopes. The failure of Juturna's efforts is made plain by the verb's reappearance in 917–18 *nec quo se eripiat*... *uidet* and 947–8 *tune*... *eripiare mihi?* The motif 'snatching away from death' might ironically evoke its opposite, since funerary inscriptions often speak of death snatching away its victims, cf. *CLE* 59.8 *mors eripuit sueis parentibus*, 1155.3–4 *te, filia, matri* | *eripuit miserae mortis iniqua dies*; cf. Cugusi (2002) 338–9.

158–9 Strong sound effects bring Juno's speech to an end: harsh alliteration of *c* and *q* in 158, and assonance of *auctor*... *audendi*.

158 aut: introducing the course of action that Juno really intends to occur. **tu:** the personal pronoun is often expressed only in the second of two parallel clauses, cf. 6.367, Hor. *Carm.* 1.9.15–16 *nec dulces amores* | *sperne puer, neque tu choreas*. **bella cie:** cf. 1.541, 9.766. **conceptumque excute foedus:** the thought recalls Juno's command to Allecto in 7.339 *dissice compositam pacem* (with *concute pectus* in 338), but the metaphor in *excute* has been variously interpreted: 'the notion may be of something in the hands which is suddenly struck out of them' (C–N); 'the solemn covenant is to be torn to shreds and flung away' (Page).

Both renderings take *conceptum* in its common sense of 'draw up, enter upon' (as in 13 above, *concipe foedus*), but it is also possible that *excute* refers to 'aborting' the treaty that has been 'conceived'; *excutere* in this sense is attested in the medical writer Scribonius Largus (*praef.* 2.29) and in Ovid (*Her.* 11.42, *Fast.* 1.624), and for the metaphor in *conceptum* C–N compare Cic. *Mur.* 39 *hoc quod conceptum res publica periculum parturit, consilio discutiam et comprimam*. Page adduced Quint. *Inst.* 10.3.20 *concepta mentis intentio mora et interdum iracundia excutitur*, for which Petersen ad loc. compares Arist. *Clouds* 137, 'causing an idea to miscarry' (φροντίδ' ἐξήμβλωκας). Juno's advocacy of metaphorical abortion is a perversion of her role as Juno Lucina.

On *excutere* (also used by Juno in 7.299) cf. Lyne (1987) 58–9: 'too vigorous and colloquial to be poetical before Vergil'; his observations (59–60) on Juno's 'bluntly prosaic' *praegnas* (7.320) strengthen the case for taking *excute* here in the sense 'abort'. Horsfall thinks that *concute pectus* in 7.338, in combination with *fecundum* and *sere*, describes shaking the seeds of war out of the folds of the Fury's *sinus*.

159 auctor ego audendi: *ego* is emphatic: Juturna is to act, but Juno accepts responsibility for initiating her bold action. The combination *auctor* + gen. of gerundive appears often in prose, with a range of meanings from 'urging' to 'authorizing' to 'initiating'; *OLD* 3, 5, 12.

160 After Juno leaves, the narrator accords Juturna the sympathetic attention that her ally had withheld. **turbatam:** see on 599 below. **mentis:** obj. gen. with *uulnere*, 'the wound to her mind'.

161–215 Preparations continue; oaths are sworn by Aeneas and Latinus

The formal oathtaking before the duel has its Homeric counterpart in *Il.* 3.245–301, preceding the planned duel of Menelaus and Paris. In Homer the presiding figure is Agamemnon, who delivers the invocation, specifies the terms of the agreement, and slaughters the animal victims; both armies then utter a curse on anyone who violates the oath. Priam, though present, does not speak during the ceremony. V. gives A. and Latinus an equal role in the speeches that define the terms of the duel, reflecting the equal status for Trojans and Latins that A. promises if he should prevail. Since T. has no place in that new dispensation, after his entrance with Latinus at 164–5 he is shunted to the sidelines for the remainder of the ceremony.

The invocation of multiple divinities by A. and Latinus is modelled on Agamemnon's speech in *Il.* 3.276–91, which names Zeus, Helios, Earth, rivers and the Erinyes in that order; cf. also *Il.* 19.258–65, where Agamemnon swears by Zeus, Earth, Helios and the Erinyes that he has not touched Briseis. V. distributes the divinities between his two speakers to create a balanced, but not rigidly symmetrical, structure: A.'s address to Sol and Terra (176–7) corresponds to Latinus'

appeal to the tripartite cosmos (*terram, mare, sidera* 197), the dyad of Jupiter and Juno (178–9) is paralleled by the twins Apollo and Diana (198 *Latonae genus duplex*), Mars (179–80) has his counterpart in Janus (198), the divine streams and rivers (181) are set against the gods of the Underworld (199), and the powers of sky and sea (181–2) are matched in part by Latinus' invocation of Jupiter (200). The two groups together include the gods with the strongest traditional links to Rome; some of them (e.g. Apollo and Janus) also had particular relevance to events of V.'s own time (see nn. on 198). This analysis follows Fontenrose (1968) against Zeitlin (1965), who attempted to see a contrast between the divinities invoked by A. and a more sinister set of powers appealed to by Latinus. On the cosmic elements in both lists see Hardie (1986) 322.

The order of divinities invoked in the two speeches also contains a subtle display of diplomatic courtesy: A. begins with Sol, ancestor of Latinus (as we are reminded in 164), and Latinus reciprocates by concluding his invocations with A.'s grandfather, Jupiter (200, referred to as *genitor*). See Galinsky (1969) 458.

V. achieves economy by distributing the components of the oathtaking between the principals: A. states the terms of the agreement, which Latinus endorses in general terms (197 *haec eadem . . . iuro*), while Latinus formally takes the oath (201) and swears to its inviolability (202–11, corresponding to Agamemnon's curse on violators in *Il.* 3.298–301). That distribution works in A.'s favour, since his speech sets out a vision for the future that we are meant to believe will largely come to pass (although with modifications introduced by Jupiter), while Latinus' assurances of the oath's permanence are almost immediately overturned. A.'s understated rhetoric also makes a more positive impression than Latinus' overblown hyperbole (see n. on 195–211).

The sacrificial elements of the scene have a strongly Roman colouring, as is appropriate for a ceremony that anticipates the amalgamation of Trojans and Latins into a single nation. V. incorporates some details of the fetial ritual for making a treaty but makes no attempt to reproduce the ritual closely, perhaps wishing to avoid pedantry or blatant anachronism. See Hahn (1999).

V.'s scene almost certainly contains reminiscences (now not traceable) to the episode in Ennius' *Annales* 1 in which A. exchanges oaths with the king of Alba Longa, who in Ennius is probably Latinus. See *Ann.* 31–2, with Skutsch's nn.

161–74 Several features of this passage suggest that it had not attained its final form. (1) The relation of *reges* in 161 to what follows has been variously understood. The most plausible view takes it distributively, i.e. as introducing the separate clauses describing Latinus and T., for which Page cites Livy 24.20.3 *consules Marcellus retro . . . Nolam redit, Fabius in Samnites . . . processit*; cf. also Livy 6.2.8 *tribuni militum his A. Manlius, illis . . . L. Aemilius praepositus*, with Oakley's n. Here, however, *interea reges* forms an abrupt opening, and *reges* does not immediately suggest Latinus and T. (see next note). (For a straightforward use of the distributive construction see on 277–8 below.) Other comms. follow Servius and take *reges*

with *procedunt* in 169, placing everything from *ingenti* to *Romae* in parentheses. That seems highly unlikely: C–N's alleged Virgilian parallels are unpersuasive (11.690–5, 277–9 below), nor is *Od.* 12.73–101 (two crags – long description of Scylla – the other crag), cited as a parallel by Macrob. *Sat.* 6.6, sufficiently close to be helpful. That interpretation also requires both Latinus and T. to come forth from the camp (*castris* 169), which is improbable for Latinus. (2) The referent of *ingenti mole* is unclear. It can hardly describe the aged and unimposing Latinus, and if it is abl. of description with *curru*, the separation of the two is problematic (as can be seen by comparing the alleged parallels, *ingenti mole Chimaeram* 5.223 and *i. m. sepulcrum* 6.232). Other explanations, e.g. *moles* = *pompa*, *ambitus* (Servius); = *comitatus*, 'retinue' (La Cerda), look like mere guesswork. (3) It is not clear to whom *illi* (172) refers. Comms. maintain a prudent silence; among translators Fitzgerald's 'these men' faithfully reproduces V.'s vagueness; Mandelbaum supplies 'both warriors' (i.e. A. and T.; Day Lewis similarly has 'the heroes'), but this sense is hard to elicit from the context. The likeliest reference is to A. and Latinus, who are about to speak; when T. is reintroduced at 219–21, he seems to be taking a much less prominent role in the ceremony.

161 reges: in epic terminology *reges* can denote the chieftains or the leading fighters, as it does programmatically several times in book 7 (37, 42, 642); cf. also the *reges et proelia* of *Ecl.* 6.3 as an encapsulation of epic themes. Latinus and T. are each frequently called *rex*, and are once so named together, at 8.17 *Turno regi aut regi . . . Latino*, but they are not elsewhere referred to collectively as *reges*.

162 quadriiugo . . . curru: in the corresponding Homeric scene Priam arrives and departs in a chariot (*Il.* 3.259–62, 310–11), number of horses not specified; a *quadriga* is an apt vehicle for a descendant of the Sun god, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.153–5. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.34 gives one to Romulus, and in *G.* 3.18 V. imagines himself as an Olympic victor driving a hundred four-horse chariots.

162–3 cui . . . cingunt: the radiate crown is traditionally associated with the Sun god and later with deified emperors. Some earlier comms. saw a connection with Augustus, citing Suet. *Aug.* 94.6 (Augustus' father sees him still an infant in godlike form wearing the radiate crown), but that episode is almost certainly a retrojection of Augustus' deified appearance after his death, as, probably, is the story in Vell. Pat. 2.59.6 of a solar crown circling Octavian's head when he entered Rome after Julius Caesar's assassination. The radiate crown was used in the imagery of Hellenistic monarchs, e.g. the Ptolemies, and by Julius Caesar (cf. Weinstock (1971) 382-3), but V. would probably not have wanted to play up those associations. C–N apparently think the reference here is to a radiance rather than to an actual object, since following Heyne they cite Ap. Rhod. 4.727–9, describing the gleam from Circe's eyes.

164 Solis aui: this genealogy tallies with that in Hes. *Theog.* 1011–13, but in 7.47–9 Latinus is descended from Saturn through Picus and Faunus; see Horsfall ad loc.; Moorton (1988) suggests that *aui* here means 'ancestor' (specifically great-grandfather). **specimen** 'the sign of his descent from the Sun'; in *Thy.* 223

Seneca describes a sacred ram that determined succession in the Pelopid royal house as *specimen antiquum imperi*, one of several instances in that play of Virgilian language used to give a Roman colour to the murderous story of Atreus and Thyestes. **bigis:** T.'s subordinate position *vis-à-vis* Latinus is suggested by his less imposing two-horse chariot.

165 The line is identical to 1.313, where it describes A. before his encounter with Venus in disguise; the repetition (which involves V.'s only two uses of *crispare*) is one of the most striking stages in the process by which T. comes to occupy the position of the defeated Trojans as A. assumes the role of the victorious Achilles. **bina . . . hastilia:** like Homeric warriors, cf. *Il.* 12.298 (Sarpedon) δύο δοῦρε τινάσσων, 21.145 (Asteropaeus) ἔχων δύο δοῦρε. **crispans:** 'not "brandishing", which would be absurd, but something like "balancing": Aeneas holds the spears as he walks, and they are springy in his grasp' (Austin on 1.313, who cites the delightful remark of R. S. Conway: 'anyone who has carried two golf-clubs in one hand will know at once what Virgil means'). In the present passage the sense 'brandishing' would not be absurd, but it would strike an inappropriately aggressive note.

166 pater: here the epithet alludes to A.'s role as a Roman proto-founder; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 100 Sk. <*Teque*> *Quirine pater ueneror.* It is used literally in 440 below, and at 697 *pater Aeneas* links him to *pater Appenninus* in 703. See further Horsfall on 11.184. **origo** = 'founder', of an individual cf. Tac. *Germ.* 2.2 *filium Mannum, originem gentis conditoremque*, *Ann.* 4.9.2 *origo Iuliae gentis Aeneas* (possibly an allusion to this passage).

167 sidereo 'star-bright', cf. *Il.* 16.134 (Achilles' breastplate). A.'s shield depicts Augustus with the *sidus Iulium* above his head (8.680–1). **caelestibus** 'fashioned by a god', an extension of the sense 'divine/belonging to the gods' (*OLD* 2c); cf. Ovid (?) *Her.* 16.279–80 (Paris) *repeto fore ut a caeleste sagitta | figar* (i.e. an arrow once owned by Hercules). **flagrans:** the primary reference is to the 'blazing' light reflected from A.'s shield and armour, but since *flagro* is often used of 'burning' emotions (cf. e.g. Cic. *Sest.* 140 *flagrantem inuidia* (on which see Fantham (1972) 130), Livy 5.37.4 *flagrantes ira*), there may be a secondary reference to A.'s ardour for the fight. Even more violent fiery imagery is used of A.'s armour in 10.270–1; cf. also 7.785–6 (T.'s helmet with the figure of the Chimaera).

168 magnae . . . Romae: a likely echo of 1.7 *altae moenia Romae.* **spes altera:** in 2.281 A. addresses the ghost of Hector as *spes o fidissima Teucrum*; here, however, the literal sense cannot be 'in whom Rome places its hope', since Rome does not yet exist. Either V. is using *Roma* proleptically, eliding the distinction between the Trojans and their Roman descendants, or *magnae spes Romae* should be taken as 'the promise of Rome's greatness', i.e. Ascanius embodies the hopes for Rome's future. Elsewhere *spes* in connection with Iulus/Ascanius refers to his hopes for future rule, cf. 4.274, 6.364, 10.524. Silius echoes V.'s phrase in having Hannibal refer to his infant son as *spes o Carthaginis altae* (3.69). **altera:**

suggesting Ascanius' subordinate position *vis-à-vis* A., parallel to the place of T. in relation to Latinus in 161–5.

169 procedunt castris: this phrase strictly speaking applies only to A. and Ascanius (since T. would have emerged from the *tecta* mentioned in 81), which is another argument against treating 161–8 as parenthetical; see 161–74n. **pura . . . sacerdos:** the word order places A. and Ascanius in close proximity to the officiating priest, perhaps implying their greater favour with the gods. One might compare the placement of Augustus on the Ara Pacis, at the head of the procession and immediately followed by priests and other sacred officials. **puraque in ueste:** *in* = 'wearing' (~ 'a woman all in white'), see *OLD* s.v. *in* 36, Cato, *Orat.* fr. 221 *fures publici in auro atque in purpura.* **puraque** 'unspotted', both literally and figuratively, cf. Paul. Fest. p. 248 M *pura uestimenta sacerdotes ad sacrificium habebant, id est non obsita, non fulgurita, non funesta, non maculam habentia.*

170 The pig is a traditional offering in a Roman treaty ceremony (cf. 8.641, Livy 1.24.8); Servius says the sheep is a Greek custom ('Graeco more'), cf. *Il.* 3.246. In a Roman treaty ritual the Fetial would strike the pig on the head; V. has substituted a normal sacrificial ritual. **saetigeri:** *saetiger* also at 7.17, 11.198, previously attested only in Lucr. 6.974. Adjectives in *-ger* and *-fer* are at home in high poetry, cf. Harrison on 10.169–70, Arens (1950) 241–62, Tränkle (1960) 58–9. The grand adjective compensates for the lowly *sus*, which V. places in a metrically inconspicuous position; contrast Ovid, *Met.* 8.271–2 *causa petendi* | *sus erat.* **intonsamque:** V. may have been the first writer to use *intonsus* of non-human objects: mountains not denuded of trees (*Ecl.* 5.63), trees not stripped of their foliage (9.681, based on the use of *coma* = foliage, see Hardie ad loc.). Animals for sacrifice must not have been previously employed for profane use, so the sheep must be unshorn. **bidentem:** *bidens* can refer to any animal having two permanent teeth, a favourite type of sacrificial victim; in most cases a sheep in its second year is meant, cf. Pease on 4.57, who refers to Henry (1873–92) II.595 for 'the dentition of sheep, much discussed by closet veterinarians'.

171 admouitque . . . aris: proper ritual language; C–N compare Livy 10.38.9 *admouebatur altaribus magis ut uictima quam ut sacri particeps*, 35.19.3 *me* [sc. *Hannibalem*], *cum sacrificaret, altaribus admotum*, Suet. *Calig.* 32.3 *admota altaribus uictima.* **pecus:** a generic term encompassing pigs and sheep. **flagrantibus:** cf. *flagrans* in 167 above. Mackail (1930) lxxx cites the repetition as an instance of V.'s 'obsession with a word, which makes him repeat it, sometimes with a difference in meaning, almost immediately'. **aris:** V. favours plural forms of *ara* by a ratio of about three to one, see Austin on 2.663, my n. on Sen. *Agam.* 166.

172 illi: the referent is unclear, another possible indication of the unfinished state of the passage; see 161–74 n. **ad . . . solem:** Servius Auctus observes that *surgentem . . . solem* is not meant literally, since dawn has long passed, but denotes

the East; facing east when offering prayers is part of what he calls the 'disciplina caerimoniarum', cf. 8.68–9 *spectans orientia solis | lumina.*

173 fruges . . . salsas: a more elevated substitute for *mola salsa*, the coarse barley meal mixed with salt that was sprinkled on the victim's head before sacrifice. **tempora . . . notant:** usually explained as cutting off a lock of hair which is then burned, cf. 6.245–6 *summas carpens media inter cornua saetas | ignibus imponit sacris*; in *Il.* 3.271–4 Agamemnon cuts hairs from the heads of the lambs to be slaughtered. V.'s language, however, instead suggests making a mark of some sort on the animals' foreheads. Hahn (1999) argues that the phrase refers to using a knife to spread the *mola salsa* over the animal's head and along its back, but that is even further removed from the literal meaning of the words. Whatever the precise action being referred to, its function is to mark the animals as reserved for ritual use.

174 paterisque altaria libant: *libare* usually governs an acc. of the thing poured out, as at 3.354 *libabant pocula Bacchi*, 7.133 *pateras libate Ioui*; with the altar *uel sim.* specified, cf. 1.736 *in mensam laticum libauit honorem*, 8.279 *in mensam laeti libant*; for the construction here the only parallel appears to be Apul. *Met.* 8.12.4 *at ego sepulchrum mei Tlepolemi tuo luminum cruore libabo.*

175–94 Servius Auctus notes that in both Homer and V. the first to speak (Agamemnon, A.) is the party that does not violate the truce; the comment may be a glimmering on his part of the pervasive inversion of Homeric action in V. WF 60 suggests that A. speaks first because 'Virgil wanted to contrast the Roman dignity and tranquillity of Aeneas' speech with the greater fervour of that of Latinus, which seems comparatively wanting in self-possession'.

175 pius Aeneas: A.'s distinctive introductory formula (19 appearances, all but three in this position in the line) here specifically connotes *pietas erga deos.* Cf. 311 below. **stricto . . . ense:** A.'s sword is clearly balanced by Latinus' sceptre (206), symbolizing their respective roles in the action, but beyond that the significance of the drawn sword is unclear. In *Il.* 19.252–3 Agamemnon draws a knife before swearing that he has not laid hands on Briseis, then uses the weapon to prepare and slaughter a sacrificial boar; here the victims' throats are cut by unspecified persons (214 *iugulant*).

176 Sol: the Sun is often invoked as the god who sees and notices everything, and thus as the ideal witness, cf. [Aesch.] *PV* 91, Eur. *Med.* 1251–2 and Ennius' adaptation *tuque adeo summe Sol qui res omnis inspicis* (234 J.), also Dido's invocation in 4.607 *Sol qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras.* **haec . . . terra:** after Sol comes earth, not invoked merely as a division of the cosmos (as it is in Latinus' summarizing phrase *terram, mare, sidera* 197) but specifically as the land for possession of which the war has been fought.

177 Almost a personal aside, though phrased in language suited to the dignity of the context. La Cerda saw an echo of Achilles' reference to Briseis 'for whom I laboured much' (ᾧ ἔπι πολλὰ μόγησα), *Il.* 1.162; the allusion implies a contrast between Achilles' kind of heroism and A.'s. **potui** 'I had the strength'; with

perferre, cf. 4.419–20 *hunc ego si tantum potui sperare dolorem,* | *et perferre, soror, potero.* For the force of *perferre* ('endure to the end') cf. Sen. *Thy.* 307 *leue est miserias ferre, perferre est graue.*

178 pater omnipotens: Ennian and Lucretian, 'poetic, not ritual' (Horsfall on 7.770).

179 iam melior, iam, diua, precor: another injection of personal feeling in the midst of the solemn formulae. For the repetition see Wills (1996) 107, who notes that A.'s separated *iam* . . . *iam* imitates the hymnic separation of vocatives (e.g. *tu, dea, tu*) and resembles V.'s own appeal to Erato in 7.41 *tu uatem, tu, diua, mone.* **melior** 'kinder, better disposed', cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.21 *hanc deus et melior litem natura diremit*, Sen. *Phaedra* 821–2 *te melior deus* | *tutum praetereat.* **inclute:** a term applied to various deities in hymnic address, cf. Sen. *Agam.* 369 (Pallas), with my n.; of Mars, Stat. *Theb.* 9.505.

180 pater: of Mars, cf. Cato, *Agr.* 141, Livy 8.9.6 with Oakley's n.; *pater* and *mater* are regular epithets of Roman deities, expressing the quasi-parental reverence toward them that Varro described as the attitude of the pious (Varro *ap.* August. *De ciu. D.* 6.9 *a religioso* . . . *uereri ut parentes, non ut hostes timeri*). **torques:** the word often carries a sense of turning things in various directions, cf. Cic. *Orat.* 52 *oratio* . . . *ita flexibilis ut sequatur quocumque torqueas, Cael.* 13 *suam naturam* . . . *huc et illuc torquere ac flectere*; in conjunction with *bella* it hints at the use of *torquere* of spears and other missiles (cf. 11.284, 578, etc.). Cf. 4.269 of Jupiter *caelum et terras qui numine torquet.*

181 fontisque fluuiosque: in *Il.* 3.278 Agamemnon invokes 'earth and rivers', καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα. Cf. also 7.137–8 *Nymphasque et adhuc ignota precatur* | *flumina*, Livy 29.27.2 (a prayer of Scipio) *qui* . . . *meam sectam imperium auspiciumque terra mari amnibusque sequuntur*; C–N refer to Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.20 for invocations of rivers by augurs. On the scansion of *fontisque* see n. on 89 above.

181–2 quaeque . . . ponto: A. is referring collectively to the divine powers of the sky and the sea. **quaeque aetheris alti** | **religio** 'whatever in the sky claims our awe and worship' (WF 61). *religio* and *numina* are also coupled in Lucr. 6.1276–7 *nec iam religio diuum nec numina magni* | *pendebantur* (in the plague).

183–5 cesserit . . . discedere . . . cedet: the sequence of related verb forms underscores the cause-and-effect relationship of the actions described: victory for T. leads to a Trojan withdrawal.

183 cesserit . . . si fors: *fors* is here adverbial, perhaps a ps.-archaic innovation by V. (cf. Austin on 2.139); *cesserit* is fut. pf. ind.

184 conuenit 'it is agreed', with the phrase *Euandri* . . . *ad urbem* as its subject; see *OLD* 7b. The other examples cited for the construction with acc. and inf. relate to agreement among sources about past action, Livy 9.16.1 *conuenit iam inde per consules reliqua bella perfecta*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.8.2 *delatum ei a milite imperium conueniebat.* *TLL* 4.835.46–7 registers our passage under *conuenit* in the sense 'it is fitting, proper' ('aptum esse, decere', etc.), but that meaning seems too weak for the promise A. is making.

185 cedet . . . agris: the natural course of action for an unsuccessful invading force; in *Il.* 3.283 Agamemnon promises that the Greeks will sail home if Paris defeats Menelaus. La Cerda compares Eur. *Phoen.* 1233–4, and in Ovid's account of the challenge to the Muses by the nine daughters of Pieros, the challengers agree to withdraw if defeated, *Met.* 5.313–14 *Emathiis . . . cedemus campis.* **Iulus:** the obvious inference is that Iulus will lead the retreat because A. will have died in the duel. There may also be a foreshadowing of the leadership that Iulus will assume after A.'s death. When describing the alternative outcome, A. does not specify the fate of T., leaving open the possibility that he could be spared. The name *Iulus* occurs 35 times in the poem; this is the only time it does not appear at the end of a line, and it comes, appropriately, in a context in which Iulus is spoken of as literally displaced (*cedet Iulus agris*); see Cowan (2009) 8. **rebelles** 'making war again', specifically renewing hostilities after agreeing to terms of peace (not well handled in *OLD*). The adjective is first recorded here and in 6.858; it is later used by poets and high-style historians (though not by Livy, who has only the verb *rebellare*).

186 Aeneadae = 'the Trojans' as in 12 above, 779 below; *Aeneadae* is also used to mean 'the Romans', cf. 8.648, Lucr. 1.1 *Aeneadum genetrix*, but in the present context *Aeneadae* alludes to the possibility of A.'s defeat, and of there never being a Rome.

187 As often, the second of two alternatives is presented as the more likely or preferable; here the weighting is achieved by the parenthesis in 188. **sin . . . Martem:** perhaps as a gesture of respect to Latinus, A. refers to the possibility of his victory in oblique terms: 'if victory shall grant to us (*nobis*) that the fight (*Martem*) be ours (*nostrum*)', i.e. that the outcome of the fight will be in our favour. Bell (1923) 321 calls this a 'perfect hypallage', equivalent to *si Mars nobis dabit uictoriam.* For *adnuo* = 'grant, allow' with acc. and inf., cf. 11.19–20 *ubi . . . uellere signa | adnuerint superi*, *OLD* 4. **nostrum:** the reflexive denoting 'in one's favour', cf. 3.296 *haud numine nostro*, *OLD* s.v. *noster* 9. **Martem** 'the conduct/outcome of the fighting', similar to *Marte aduerso* (as in 1 above), *prospero*, etc.; see *OLD* 6.

188 ut potius reor 'as I rather think (will be the case)'; except for the participle *ratus*, forms of *reor* have an archaic feel, cf. Fordyce on 7.437.

189–94 A.'s description of himself as a clement victor, solicitous of the dignity of his former opponents and unambitious for his own rule, strongly resembles the image cultivated by Augustus in the first years of his Principate. Cf. Perret (1970) 277–95.

189–90 non . . . nec . . . nec: the double negative highlights passionate or solemn negation, cf. 9.428–9 *nihil iste nec ausus | nec potuit*, *Ecl.* 4.55–6 *non me carminibus uincet nec Thracius Orpheus | nec Linus*, 5.25–6 with Clausen's n.

189 nec Teucris Italos parere iubebo: A.'s promise is recalled and reinterpreted by Juno's stipulation that the Latins 'not become Trojans or be called

Teucrians', 824 *neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque uocari.* **Teucris Italos** pointed juxtaposition, cf. 11.592 *Tros Italusque*, 629 *Tusci Rutulos.*

190 regna: A. means that he does not seek to rule himself, ceding *imperium* to Latinus (193), but it is hard not to see in *regna* the negative overtones of 'domination' that it had acquired by V.'s time. *adfectatio regni* is a *Leitmotiv* in the early books of Livy (perhaps reflecting contemporary anxiety about the direction of Augustus' Principate), cf. 1.35.3, 2.7.6 *regnum eum adfectare fama ferebat.* Julius Caesar suffered (in the end fatally) from the suspicion that he aspired to *regnum.* Cf. also *G.* 1.37 *regnandi cupido*, with Thomas's n. **paribus . . . ambae:** the stress on equal status for Trojans and Latins shows that A. anticipates a state in which the two peoples remain distinct; the agreement reached between Jupiter and Juno supersedes that vision, cf. 834–7 below. There are probably echoes of 1.572–4, where Dido offers the Trojans an equal share in her kingdom (cf. 572 *pariter considere regnis*) and of 4.102–3 and 110–12, where Juno and Venus pretend to consider the possibility of a single Trojan-Carthaginian state (cf. 102–3 *paribus . . . auspiciis*, 112 *foedera iungi*).

190–1 se . . . in foedera mittant: this looks like a formulaic expression but does not seem to be; it is perhaps a variant of such expressions as *in fidem (se) permittere*, cf. Livy 36.27.8, 42.44.2 or *in fidem uenire* or *redire*, cf. Livy 8.27.2, 25.1.2. C–N compare 4.339 (*nec*) *haec in foedera ueni.*

191 inuictae gentes: A. declines to regard the Latins as a defeated people, even if their champion will have been defeated. The language may look forward to the description of Romans as a *populus inuictus*, for which cf. Cic. *Cat.* 2.19 with Dyck's n., Livy 7.10.4 with Oakley's n.

192 sacra deosque dabo: the specific reference is to the Penates brought by A. from Troy (cf. 1.6 *inferret . . . deos Latio*, Ovid, *Met.* 15.861 *Aeneae comites*), but if *dabo* is understood as in such expressions as *dare leges, iura* (*OLD* s.v. *do* 13c), A. is saying that he will prescribe the manner in which the gods are to be worshipped – another prediction overruled by Jupiter, who declares that Latin customs and religious practices will prevail (836–7). There may be an unconscious reference to A.'s future status as a god of the state, as *Indiges* (cf. 794 below); in that sense A. will indeed 'supply gods and their worship'. Fratantuono (2007) 390 takes *dabo* in the sense 'allow, concede' (i.e. A. is promising to let the Latins keep their native religious practices), but the examples of that meaning cited in *OLD* 16 do not offer clear support. **sacra deosque:** for the combination cf. Livy 5.52.4 *publica sacra et Romanos deos etiam in pace deseri placet.*

192–3 socer . . . socer: the emphatic repetition (in an uncommon midline position, cf. Wills (1996) 427) underscores the prominence of Latinus in the new political establishment: he is to have control of the army and retain his customary *imperium*. A.'s willingness to respect his future father-in-law's sovereignty contrasts with the rivalry between the *socer* and *gener* Caesar and Pompey (cf. 6.830–1), of whom Lucan wrote *nec quemquam iam ferre potest Caesarue priorem | Pompeiusue parem* (1.125–6).

193 sollemne 'established by authority or immemorial custom' (WF 62); this is preferable to C–N's narrower 'that which is his lawful due as father-in-law'. A.'s concern to maintain the traditional structure of authority is another similarity with the professed policy of Augustus; cf. *RG* 6.1 *nullum magistratum contra morem maiorum delatum recepi*.

194 urbique . . . nomen: i.e. the city will be called Lavinium. If that was the traditional name of Latinus' city, V.'s decision to use it for A.'s foundation could explain his vagueness about the name of Latinus' city (so Horsfall on 7.162). A. tactfully leaves unstated the fact that Lavinia will become his bride, in contrast to T.'s concluding references to *coniunx Lauinia* in 17 and 80 above; cf. also 937.

195–211 The economy of the scene requires A.'s speech to be matched by one from Latinus, and the two speeches are alike in their solemnity and are roughly equal in length (19/15 lines). The core of Latinus' speech, however, is oddly unspecific, consisting only of the assertions *nulla dies pacem hanc Italis nec foedera rumpet* and *nec me uis ulla uolentem | auertet* (202–4), supported by extravagant hyperbole (204–5) and an extended adynaton (206–11). Latinus' grandiloquence may be meant to contrast unfavourably with A.'s understated speech, especially since his confident claim is soon proven baseless.

195 Aeneas . . . Latinus: La Cerda asserts that V. observes a symmetry (*concinnitas*) in paired proper names: if one is unadorned, both will be, and, conversely, if one is modified or expressed by a patronymic, the other will be as well; for the latter pattern he compares 723 below *Tros Aeneas et Daunius heros* (one could add 272 *Arcadio coniunx Tyrrhena Gylippo*), 9.234–5 *Hyrtacides . . . Aeneadae*. He gives many more examples in his n. on 247–9 *Iouis ales* ~ *turbamque sonantem | agminis aligeri*, and to an imagined sceptic he replies 'Apage hoc lector, obruam te nube testimoniorum.' While exceptions can be cited, e.g. 289–90 below, the observation holds true in a large number of cases.

196 suspiciens caelum: cf. *Il.* 19.257 (Agamemnon). **tendit . . . dextram:** the outstretched hands are a standard gesture of prayer; cf. Oakley on Livy 6.20.10 and 10.36.11. For the combination of eyes raised to heaven and hands outstretched, cf. 2.687–8 (Anchises) *oculos ad sidera laetus | extulit et caelo palmas cum uoce tetendit* (a scene illustrated in the codex Vaticanus).

197 haec eadem . . . iuro: a problematic line. Following Fontenrose (1968), I take *haec eadem* as acc. with *iuro*, 'I swear these same things' [i.e. the same terms as A.], with *terram, mare, sidera* as a second object. For the double acc. of the thing sworn and the entity sworn by, cf. ps.-Tib. 3.19.15 *hoc tibi sancta tuae Iunonis numina iuro*, also Sil. 1.118, *hanc mentem iuro nostri per numina Martis*, where the content of the oath (*hanc mentem*) and the deity invoked are combined; for acc. with *iuro* see Austin on 6.324, *TLL* 7^2.675.52ff. It is a difficulty, though, that Latinus cannot strictly speaking swear to the same terms as A., since much of A.'s oath relates to actions he will himself take. Most comms. understand *haec eadem* as 'the same divinities' (i.e. as those invoked by A.), with *terram, mare, sidera* in apposition, but

that seems even less likely: (a) earth, land and sea do not correspond to the divine powers appealed to by A., and (b) the normal usage of *haec eadem* is to refer in general terms to the content of a previous statement, as (with a slight variation in phrasing) in 11.132 *dixerat haec unoque omnes eadem ore fremebant*. It would be very odd for *haec eadem* to be followed in apposition by a set of nouns of diverse gender and number. Whatever the sense, *haec eadem* in a prominent position highlights the unanimity of A. and Latinus; contrast the use of *uarius* and *uariare* to describe the dissident Rutulians (217, 223, 228). **terram, mare, sidera:** L. reformulates A.'s invocation of Sol and Terra in the form of a traditional division of the cosmos, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.5 *ante mare et terras et quod tegit omnia caelum*, Jocelyn on Enn. *Trag.* 235.

198 Latonae . . . genus duplex: Apollo and Diana are often thought to represent sun and moon, but that specific equivalence is unnecessary. Apollo was particularly prominent in Augustan Rome: he was credited with assisting Octavian in his decisive naval victory at Actium, and the grand Temple of Apollo Palatinus was dedicated in 28 BCE. Two years after V.'s death, in 17 BCE, Apollo and Diana were given conspicuous honours in the *Ludi Saeculares* and were the addressees of Horace's *Carmen saeculare*. **Ianum . . . bifrontem:** according to Servius, the image of two-faced Janus was created to symbolize the union of Romans and Sabines under Romulus and Titus Tatius; he would thus be an appropriate deity to witness the union of Trojans and Latins. Janus also makes an apt counterpart to Mars in A.'s speech, given the role of his temple as the marker of war and peace (cf. the reference to opening the gates of war in 7.601–15). By the probable time of this passage's composition, the gates of Janus' temple had been closed twice by Augustus, in 29 and 25 BCE; cf. *RG* 13. (The third closing referred to by Augustus cannot be dated securely, but probably took place after V.'s death.)

199 L.'s appeal to the infernal deities corresponds to Agamemnon's invocation of the Erinyes in *Il.* 3.278–9, 19.259. Cf. also Livy 1.32.9 (in a formula declaring war) *dique omnes caelestes, uosque terrestres uosque inferni, audite*, Ovid, *Tr.* 2.53 *per mare, per terras, per tertia numina iuro*. **uimque . . . infernam:** cf. 7.432 *caelestum uis magna*. The hypallage avoids the cumbersome form *infernorum* (Traina). **deum:** gen. pl. **sacraria:** probably = 'abode'; C–N cite Stat. *Theb.* 3.246–7 (Jupiter speaking) *arcem hanc aeternam mentisque sacraria nostrae | testor*.

200 audiat: cf. 8.574 *patrias audite preces*, several examples in Livy (who uses *audire* in prayers only in reference to fetial formulae); cf. Hickson (1993) 115–17. **genitor** i.e. Jupiter. **foedera fulmine sancit:** Jupiter enforces covenants by punishing oathbreakers with his thunderbolt. For the abl. specifying the penalty for a broken treaty cf. Livy 23.8.11 *sanguine Hannibalis sanciam Romanum foedus*, Cic. *Red. pop.* 5 *foedera . . . sanguine meo sancirentur*. (Alternatively, *sancit* could be taken in the sense 'punish' if *foedera* can mean 'broken covenants', but that reading seems strained.) In the larger scheme of the book, Latinus' reference to Jupiter's vengeance on those who break oaths bodes ill for T. **foedera**

fulmine: statements involving forms of *foedus* lend themselves to emphatic alliteration; cf. 212 below *firmabant foedera*, 316–17 below *ego foedera faxo | firma manu* with n.

201 tango aras: a gesture adding further solemnity to an oath or appeal, cf. 4.219 (Iarbas), Livy 21.1.4 (Hannibal) *altaribus admotum tactis sacris iure iurando adactum se cum primum posset hostem fore populo Romano.* In Prop. 3.20.25, attempts to emend the transmitted *pactas in . . . aras* include *tactis . . . aris* (Burman) and *tacta . . . ara* (Housman); cf. Heyworth (2007) 395. **medios ignis:** i.e. the sacrificial fires on the altars that are placed between them. It is possible, though not, I think, likely, that *medius* also applies to *numina* ('the divinities we share / we have both invoked').

202 At a literal level L.'s prediction that 'no day will break the treaty of peace' is pathetically false, since the treaty is broken almost as soon as his words have been uttered. But V. may be using L.'s speech, like that of A., to look beyond the present episode to a peaceful future for Italy such as that predicted by Jupiter in book 1. **nulla dies:** used to give added force to a prediction or promise, cf. 9.281–2 (Euryalus) *me nulla dies tam fortibus ausis | dissimilem arguerit* (echoed by the narrator's words in 9.447 *nulla dies umquam memori uos eximet aeuo*). **dies:** 'V. uses the feminine gender of this noun in the nominative for metrical convenience (as here . . .) and for fixed days . . . ; otherwise, the masculine' (Harrison on 10.256–7); cf. Norden on 6.429, Austin on 4.169, and Fraenkel (1964) II.64–5. **pacem . . . foedera:** almost a hendiadys for 'treaty of peace'.

Italis: presumably dat. of ref., 'as far as the *Itali* are concerned', i.e. they will never be the ones to break the treaty. This seems better suited to Latinus' position than the more generic 'for the *Itali*'. Whatever the meaning, in the immediate context *Italis* must refer to A.'s opponents, as in 34–5 above *uix urbe tuemur | spes Italas*, 628 below *ingruit Aeneas Italis et proelia miscet*; but if the lines also have a wider reference, *Italis* could denote 'the inhabitants of Italy'. *Italus* is so used elsewhere in the poem in markedly Augustan contexts, e.g. several times in the description of A.'s shield, 8.626 *res Italas Romanorumque triumphos*, 678 *hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar*, 714–15 *Caesar, triplici inuectus Romana triumpho | moenia, dis Italis uotum . . . sacrabat*, passages that resemble Octavian's claim to have had the support of *tota Italia* in the war against Antony (*RG* 25.2).

203–5 Ribbeck (1866) 86–7 argued that these lines interrupt the train of Latinus' thought, and that the connection between 202 and 206–11 would be clearer without them. (Peerlkamp had previously suspected the hyperbole in 204–5 *non si . . . soluat.*) The argument has some force; if genuine, the lines rather brutally underscore the gap between Latinus' confident assertion and his ignominious retreat once fighting breaks out (285–6).

203 quo res cumque cadent = *quocumque res cadent*, with tmesis; 'however [lit. 'in whatever direction'] events will fall out'; the same phrase at 2.709.

203–4 nec . . . auertet 'nor will any violence cause me willingly to turn aside' (i.e. from my resolve to uphold the treaty). The addition of *uolentem* makes

Latinus' words literally true, since his adherence to the pact is overwhelmed by external events (cf. 285–6 below), but it also introduces a near-contradiction in the notion of someone acting willingly under compulsion. (M.'s proposal, taking *me uolentem* as = *meam uoluntatem*, 'my purpose', is not convincing.)

204–5 non ... soluat: an image of cosmic dissolution reminiscent of the Stoic doctrine of periodic cataclysm (also a continuation of the cosmic imagery earlier in the episode, especially 197). The ability to face cosmic collapse unperturbed is a mark of steadfastness; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.7–8 *si fractus illabatur orbis,* | *impauidum ferient ruinae.* Latinus' assertion of such tenacity is hard to credit; does he overstate his case rhetorically because he is aware at some level of his inability to control events? Lucr. 3.842, of which V. was probably thinking, invokes cosmic dissolution to affirm that after death we shall feel nothing, *non si terra mari miscebitur et mare caelo.* **si tellurem effundat in undas:** hypallage for *si undas effundat in tellurem*, mirroring the confusion of realms that L. is imagining.

205 diluuio: the term for universal flood, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.434, Sen. *Q.Nat.* 3.27.1. **miscens:** often applied to the confusion of entities that should remain distinct, cf. Lucr. 3.842 cited above, Livy 4.3.6 *quid tandem est, cur caelum et terras misceant,* Otto (1890) s.v. *caelum* 1. *misceri* can also mean more generally 'be stirred up, thrown into confusion', but here an actual mixing of elements is involved.

206–11 L. uses another rhetorical device to buttress his claim, the *adynaton* or impossibility-topos ('sooner will some impossible event take place than will what I am affirming be shown to be false'). Here the impossibility in question draws numerous details from Achilles' words to Agamemnon in *Il.* 1.234–9 (see n. on 207–9), though the Homeric passage is not itself an instance of *adynaton.* Kirk's comment ad loc. is apposite: 'the development of detail ... resembles that of similes, and for some of the same reasons, for example emphasis and emotional force – but also to make the oath more impressive and exotic, and therefore more effective'.

L.'s two assertions are implicitly linked, since the strongest form of the *adynaton*, and one of the most common, is cosmic; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 5.79–82 *prius ... caelum sidet inferius mari* | *tellure porrecta super,* | *quam non amore sic meo flagres uti* | *bitumen atris ignibus* with Watson's n.

206 (dextra ... gerebat): this type of parenthesis is more often found in Ovid, where it gently mocks the narrator's fondness for unnecessary explanations; cf. e.g. *Met.* 7.659–60 *cum primum, qui te feliciter attulit, Eurus* | *(Eurus enim attulerat) fuerit mutatus in Austros.* Here, however, the effect is meant to be highly dramatic, drawing the reader's/listener's eye to the sceptre as L. holds it up; similarly, though in a lighter vein, the parenthesis in 6.406–7 (the Sibyl to Charon) *at ramum hunc (aperit ramum qui ueste latebat)* | *agnoscas* enacts the flourish with which the Sibyl produces the Golden Bough; see Austin ad loc. Wills (1996) 338–9 perhaps over-ingeniously suggests that the reason why Latinus' sceptre is bronzed (210–11) while Achilles' is not is because 'Virgil's parenthetical syntax ties it to another metal branch, the golden bough'; he more convincingly notes that Ovid's rephrasing

of our passage in *Ars am.* 2.131 *ille leui uirga (uirgam nam forte tenebat)* 'cleverly grafts a branch to the sceptre which could supposedly never bear them again'.

207–9 The thought and many details closely correspond to *Il.* 1.234–7 'this sceptre, which never again will bear leaf nor branch, now that it has left behind the cut stump in the mountains, nor shall it ever blossom again, since the bronze blade stripped bark and leafage' (τόδε σκῆπτρον, τὸ μὲν οὔ ποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους | φύσει, ἐπεὶ δὴ πρῶτα τομὴν ἐν ὄρεσσι λέλοιπεν, | οὐδ' ἀναθηλήσει· περὶ γάρ ῥά ἑ χαλκὸς ἔλεψε | φύλλά τε καὶ φλοιόν).The most noteworthy difference is the strong personification in 209 *matre caret, posuitque comas et bracchia*. V.'s lines, personification included, are imitated in Val. Fl. 3.708–10 [*hasta*] *quae neque iam frondes uirides nec proferet umbras, | ut semel est euulsa iugis et matre perempta | . . . duras obit horrida pugnas.*

208 cum: here = *postquam*, 'now that' (M.); therefore used with the indicative. **imo de stirpe:** V. uses the masculine for *stirps* in its literal sense, the feminine for metaphorical senses (Traina), e.g. 7.293 *heu stirpem inuisam* (the Trojans).

209 matre: a mannered way of referring to the tree from which it was cut; C–N cite *G.* 2.23–4 *hic plantas tenero abscindens de corpore matris | deposuit sulcis*, cf. also 11.71 *non iam mater alit tellus.* **posuitque comas:** more humanizing language; cf. *G.* 2.368 *tum stringe comas, tum bracchia tonde.* La Cerda compares Prop. 2.19.12 *uitem docta ponere falce comas.*

210 olim arbos, nunc: compare Catullus' *phaselus* (another highly personified wooden object), 4.10–12 *ubi iste post phaselus antea fuit | comata silua; nam Cytorio in iugo | loquente saepe sibilum edidit coma.* **arbos:** literally a branch, as in *G.* 2.81; *arbos* is the only form of the nominative used by V.

211 inclusit: for *includere* of setting or inlaying (*OLD* 1c), cf. 10.136 (*ebur*) *inclusum buxo*, with Harrison's n.; here it is used with an acc. of that into which the inlay is set. In Homer bronze serves an opposite purpose, laying bare the wood by stripping off the leaves. **patribusque . . . Latinis:** Achilles' description likewise ends with the sceptre's current use, *Il.* 1.237–9; Achilles refers generally to the 'sons of the Achaeans' carrying it when they administer justice, but V.'s *patribus* suggests an Ur-Senate. **dedit gestare** 'gave to them for the purpose of bearing', cf. 5.248 *argenti . . . dat ferre talentum* with R. D. Williams (1960) ad loc.

212 inter se: often used of actions performed mutually; here referring to the speeches each delivers to the other; cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.388–9 *repetunt . . . uerba datae sortis secum inter seque uolutant.*

212–15 Prominent alliteration: *firmabant foedera* (also 11.330, 200 above with n.) . . . *uiscera uiuis . . . cumulantque . . . lancibus.*

214 in flammam iugulant pecudes: the same phrase occurs at 11.199. The animals are positioned so that their blood will pour down onto the flames. The subject of *iugulant* is not specified; A. and Latinus seem more likely than generic sacrificial attendants.

214–15 uiscera . . . eripiunt: inspection of the still-living entrails is usually associated with augury, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 15.136–7 *ereptas uiuenti pectore fibras* | *inspiciunt mentesque deum scrutantur in illis*, Sen. *Thy.* 755–7 *erepta uiuis exta pectoribus tremunt . . . at ille fibras tractat ac fata inspicit.*

215 cumulantque . . . aras 'they heap the altars high with loaded platters' (Mandelbaum); for the sense of *cumulare* (*OLD* 3), cf. Tib. 2.5.6 *dum cumulant aras.* The same phrase appears at 8.284; the ritualized nature of the actions is conveyed through exact repetition of wording. Roman treaty rituals did not prescribe a banquet; V. follows normal sacrificial practice (see n. on 170 above).

216–310 Juturna disguised as Camers incites the Rutulians to break the truce

The violation of the truce is modelled on the corresponding episode in *Iliad* 4. Spurred on by Zeus, Athena goes among the Trojans disguised as Laodocus the son of Antenor, and encourages Pandarus to kill Menelaus before he meets Paris in single combat, promising him glory if he succeeds (73–103). Pandarus' arrow wounds Menelaus, but his wound is quickly treated by the physician Machaon (104–219). Agamemnon then rallies the Greek leaders and full-scale warfare eventually resumes (220–445).

In Homer it is part of Hera's plan (implemented by Zeus and Athena) that the Trojans should bear the responsibility for breaking the sworn truce (*Il.* 4.64–7, 70–2); the inversion of roles in V. is part of the larger process in which the Trojan War is re-enacted with the Trojans as the ultimate victors.

The sequence and timing of events in V. also differ significantly from the Homeric model. V. defers the wounding of A. until after the fighting has resumed, probably in order to deny any opponent the distinction of having struck him (see 320–3 below, with n.). V. also eliminates the long interval that in Homer separates the wounding of Menelaus from the resumption of fighting; in V.'s account the renewal of hostilities follows instantly upon Tolumnius' killing of one of A.'s Italian allies (277–82). The swiftness with which the truce crumbles underscores the eagerness of both sides to return to war (cf. 282 *sic omnis amor unus habet decernere ferro*).

Juturna's initial intervention (222–8) is described in terms that strongly recall the episode in book 5 in which Juno's agent Iris disguised herself as Beroe and urged the Trojan women to set fire to the ships. Juturna thrusts herself into the midst of the battle lines (227 *in medias dat sese acies*) as Iris did into the midst of the women (5.618–19 *ergo inter medias sese . . . conicit*); each is fully aware of what she is doing (227 *haud nescia rerum* ~ 5.618 *haud ignara nocendi*), and each has taken on the appearance of a well-born and respected member of her intended audience (224–6 *formam adsimulata Camerti* | (*cui genus a proauis ingens clarumque paternae* | *nomen erat uirtutis, et ipse acerrimus armis* ~ 5.620–1 *fit Beroe, Tmarii coniunx longaeua*

Dorycli, | *cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent*). (On these and other links between the episodes, see Nicoll (2001) 191–6.) As in the earlier incident, Juturna's action precipitates a chain of events that nearly leads to disaster for the Trojans and that is only averted by divine intervention (by Jupiter in 5.693–9 and by Venus in 411–19 below).

216–17 uideri . . . misceri: hist. infs. are normally used in pairs or multiples, sometimes to create an impression of rapidly developing action. In conjunction with *iamdudum* they represent imperfects, and are thus rendered with pluperfect force: 'to the Rutulians the fight had long seemed unequal' etc. For the passive hist. infs. cf. Sall. *Iug.* 51.1 *nihil consilio neque imperio agi, fors omnia regere*, Tac. *Agr.* 38.1 *aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari.*

216 impar: probably recalling Juno's statement to Juturna in 149 above, *iuuenem imparibus uideo concurrere fatis.* **uideri:** probably 'seemed' rather than 'was seen', for contrast with *cernunt.*

217 uario . . . motu: *motus* refers to feelings, particularly of an irrational or turbulent sort; cf. 11.225 *hos inter motus, medio in flagrante tumultu*, *G.* 1.420–2 *pectora motus* | *nunc alios, alios . . . concipiunt. uario* looks forward to *rumores . . . uarios* in 228. **misceri** = 'to be stirred up, thrown into confusion' (cf. n. on 205 above); the disturbance that Latinus denied would shake him even on the cosmic level has begun to take shape close at hand.

218 [non uiribus aequis]: a long-recognized textual problem. The MS reading is *non uiribus aequis*, which has been variously explained, as involving an ellipse (of, e.g., *eos congressuros esse*), or with *eos* extrapolated from *ea pugna*, or as an abl. of description used in place of an adj. None of those interpretations is convincing; Schrader's conjecture *aequos* for *aequis*, on the other hand, at least produces credible syntax. *Et/nec uiribus aequis* is a quasi-formula in V. (cf. 5.809, 10.357, 431; note also *non passibus aequis* in 2.724, a famous phrase), a fact that might help account for the alteration of *aequos* to *aequis*. The problem, however, may not be so easily solved: even in its emended form, the line is remarkably abrupt, and *cernunt non uiribus aequos* seems to presuppose a meeting of A. and T. that has not yet been described; instead T. seems only to enter the scene in the following lines. Brunck (followed by Conte) deleted *non uiribus aequis* as a spurious line-completion; alternatively, this transition too may survive in an unrevised form (see 161–74n.). If *non uiribus aequis* is an interpolation, it was probably suggested by *uiribus aequi* in 230; if the words are genuine, the echo is functional, see n.

219–21 This view of T. is focalized at least partly through the eyes of the Rutulians, since it supports their perception of an unequal match. La Cerda compares Livy's account of the combat between Manlius and a Gaul, 7.10.6 (from the viewers' perspective) *nequaquam uisu ac specie aestimantibus pares.* In 865–8 below, T. is implicitly cast as a Gaul in a fight with a Roman; see n.

As a Homeric model La Cerda cites *Il.* 7.215–16, where fear seizes all the Trojans at the sight of Ajax, and Hector's heart pounds in his chest; at 22.136

fear seizes Hector at the approach of Achilles and he flees. '[T.'s] character is throughout vehement and excitable . . . and it is not unnatural that his courage, like Hector's in Homer, should be damped in presence of a great crisis' (C–N). Heinze (1915/1993) 212/167 takes a dimmer view: 'it is not with calm resolve, but in a mood of savage violence . . . that he prepares for the fight, and it is a finely observed touch that immediately [?] after this burst of feverish excitement his courage ebbs away when he faces the decisive conflict'.

219 adiuuat 'forwards' the already existing unease, cf. 5.345 (where the sense is 'backs him up'); or possibly 'increases', for which *TLL* 1.724.21–32 has clear examples (though all with stated object), e.g. Plaut *Amph.* 798 *tu quoque huius adiuuas insaniam?*, Luc. 6.434 *furorem adiuuat ipse locus.* The literal subj. is T., but what actually fuels the Rutulians' misgivings is expressed by other syntactical elements, *incessu tacito, suppliciter uenerans, demisso lumine*; one could render 'the fact that T. approaches with silent step' etc. Latin often prefers a personal to an abstract subject; cf. Livy 24.30.6 *terroris speciem . . . praebuerunt uerberati ac securi percussi transfugae*, cf. also 895 below *di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis*, where *Iuppiter hostis* stands for 'the hostility of Jupiter'. **incessu:** the lofty noun in V. only here and 1.405 (Venus); Austin on 1.46 says that *incedere* 'is coloured by its context'; here *tacito* would be the key word. **tacito:** Schrader conjectured *tardo* (cf. e.g. Sen. *Epist.* 114.3 *non uides, si animus elanguit, trahi membra et pigre moueri pedes?*), but there is no need to emend *tacito*, and *tardo* would introduce too strong an indication of fear. For the transferred epithet cf. 4.363–4 *totumque pererrat | luminibus tacitis*, Livy 7.10.8 (Manlius) *pectus animorum iraeque tacitae plenum.*

220 suppliciter: foreshadowing T.'s supplication of A., 930 below *ille humilis supplex*; the only other occurrence of the adverb in the poem, at 1.481, refers to the Trojans vainly supplicating Pallas Athena as shown on the walls of Juno's temple in Carthage. **demisso lumine** 'with downcast gaze', the opposite of T.'s depiction in 102 above *oculis micat acribus ignis.* For singular *lumine* of the eyes (stylistically a higher form of expression than, e.g., *demissis oculis*), cf. Catull. 64.86 *hunc . . . cupido conspexit lumine uirgo*, *Aen.* 2.753–4 *uestigia . . . lumine lustro* with Austin's n.

Casting the eyes or face downwards can express sorrow/dismay (609 below *demittunt mentes*, 3.320 Andromache, Ovid, *Met.* 15.612 *demisere oculos omnes gemitumque dedere*), guilt/shame (Ovid, *Met.* 10.367 *demisit uultum sceleris sibi conscia uirgo*), or modesty (1.561 *uultum demissa*, of Dido). A close situational parallel is Ovid, *Met.* 7.133 *demisere . . . uultumque animumque*, of Jason's followers losing heart at the sight of the fire-breathing bulls he must face.

221 pubentesque . . . iuuenali in corpore: the formidable warrior suddenly seems very young and vulnerable. Servius on 212 compares T. to the Iliadic Paris, whom he calls *adolescens.* **pubentesque:** instead of *pubentesque* Tib. Cl. Donatus read *tabentesque*, 'wasting away'; though accepted by several comms., *tabentes* seems too extreme to describe fear or apprehension. More specifically, *tabescere* of a person can apply metaphorically to emotional distress, cf. Ter.

Ad. 603 *dolore ac miseria tabescit*, Lucr. 3.911 *aeternu tabescere luctu*, but when used with a part of the body a more literal wasting would be implied. (In Catull. 68.55 *assiduo tabescere lumina fletu*, the presence of *assiduo* makes the hyperbole in *tabescere* acceptable.) The change of *pubentes* to *tabentes* could have been caused by simple misreading (P > T is an easy confusion in capital script, with change of following V > A a plausible secondary effect), but it may also have been influenced by a wish for a counterpart to the following *pallor*. **pallor:** implying fear of the coming duel; compare the depiction of Cleopatra on the shield of A., *inter caedes pallentem morte futura* (8.709). Surprisingly, the noun *pallor* appears in V. only here and in 4.499, of Dido, *pallor simul occupat ora* (at the prospect of imminent death).

222 Although Juturna is shown as reacting to the thoughts of T.'s supporters, the emphasis in 219–21 on the young man's vulnerability provides an added motive for her intervention.

223 sermonem: implies that the thoughts of 216–17 were expressed in words (as in the corresponding place in *Il.* 4.82–4). **uulgi . . . corda:** a restatement of *uario misceri pectora motu* in 217 (*corda* ~ *pectora*, *uariare* ~ *uario*, *labantia* ~ *misceri*, *motu*). **labantia:** literally 'tottering, staggering' (as in 905 below *genua labant*), but a common metaphor for 'wavering', cf. 4.22–3 *inflexit sensus animumque labantem* | *impulit*, Cic. *Phil.* 6.10 *cum ei labare M. Antonius uideretur*, *OLD* 6. The interplay of *a* and *i* in *uulgi uariare labantia corda* might reflect the wavering being described.

224 cf. *Il.* 4.86, where Athena goes among the Trojans in the likeness of Laodocus, son of Antenor. **in medias acies:** soon resumed by *in medias dat sese acies* in 227, following the brief digression on Camers; the repetition at such close quarters might be another sign of an unrevised text. **formam:** acc. after the middle participle *adsimulata* ('having made her appearance like [that of] Camers'); but, as Traina notes, the phrase also echoes *Il.* 17.323 δέμας Περίφραντι ἐοικώς ('like Periphras in appearance'), where δέμας is acc. of respect. **Camerti:** dat. with *adsimulata*; W. compares Lucr. 6.189-90 *montibus adsimulata* | *nubila*, Tac. *Ann.* 11.11.3 *fabulosa et externis miraculis adsimilata*.

225–6 The tricolon moves in time from Camers' distant ancestors (*proauis*) to his father (*paternae . . . uirtutis*) to his own prowess (*ipse*); at the corresponding place (*Il.* 4.87) Homer simply calls Laodocus 'a powerful spearman' (κρατερῷ αἰχμητῇ). V.'s generic but laudatory description lends weight to the words of ps. Camers; compare the parallel description of Beroe in 5.621 *cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent*. A Camers is pursued (and presumably killed) by A. in 10.562–4. The name probably evokes the Umbrian town Camerinum; cf. Holland (1935) 212.

225 genus . . . ingens: the combination involves at least word play and possibly an implied etymological link, cf. O'Hara (1996) 234.

226 et ipse = *et qui ipse*.

227 dat sese: recalled in T.'s words at 633 below *te . . . haec in bella dedisti*. The sense is closer to 'inject oneself' than to 'devote oneself', as in *OLD* 22, or 'entrust oneself' as in 11.585 *dat sese fluuio*; compare *se conicere*, as in 5.618–19

(next n.). **haud nescia rerum:** *rerum* is probably unspecific, 'the situation' (i.e. 'knowing full well what she is doing'); C–N take it as 'not ignorant how to deal with matters – knowing her task well'. Litotes with *haud* and words denoting ignorance is a favourite with V. (*haud nescius* also 9.552, *haud ignarus* six times, *haud inscius* 8.627, 10.907). There is a close parallel in 5.618–19 (Iris) *ergo inter medias sese haud ignara nocendi | conicit*. Ribbeck (1866) 87, following Wagner, found *haud nescia rerum* otiose after 222–3 and thought it was a spurious supplement to a line left incomplete by V.

228 serit: the metaphor from sowing seed is old and widespread in both Greek and Latin, but a specific echo of 7.339 (Juno to Allecto) *sere crimina belli* is very likely, given the similarity of context. Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.1.33) alleged that V. had borrowed the phrase from 'Furius' (identified as Furius Antias by C–N, as Furius Bibaculus by Courtney (1993) 196) *rumoresque serunt uarios et multa requirunt*.

229 non pudet: Numanus Remulus had taunted the Trojans in the same terms, 9.598; another instance of the Latins taking on the role of the Trojans. **pro cunctis talibus:** *pro* 'on behalf of'; *talibus* implies something like *fortibus*; 'this giant army' (Mandelbaum). Page notes that *cunctis* and *talibus* are echoed by *numero* and *uiribus* in 230. The phrase implies that T. is performing a *deuotio* on behalf of the Latins; cf. on *deuouet* 235.

230 obiectare: to throw someone or something in the way of something, often with the implication of placing at risk or even exposing to certain death, cf. 2.751 *caput obiectare periclis*, *G.* 4.217–18 (the bees protecting their king) *corpora bello | obiectant*, Livy 6.27.6 *obaeratam plebem obiectari aliis atque aliis hostibus*; our passage (with the ind. obj. omitted) is imitated in Stat. *Theb.* 11.159–60 *non plebis Danae florem regumque uerendas | obiectare animas*. **uiribus aequi:** Paratore sees an echo of *non uiribus aequos* (218); the imbalance between A. and T. is evened if the two armies are compared.

231–2 en . . . Turno: by enumerating the opposing forces Juturna combines two arguments: (a) there are not enough of the enemy to withstand us, and (b) we can finish the war with a single attack (*omnes* implies that these are all the forces they have).

232 fatalisque manus: *fatalis manus* is almost certainly ironic, 'a troop protected by fate', as in the sneering references elsewhere in the poem to A.'s alleged fatedness, with a specific echo of 11.232 *fatalem Aenean manifesto numine ferri*. It is less clear whether to see a jibe at the stereotype of superstitious Etruscans; Page cites Livy 5.1.6 *gens . . . ante omnes alias . . . dedita religionibus*. The ancient codices and commentators divide between *fatalis* and *fatales*; with the singular *fatalis* the second syllable of *manus* is lengthened *in arsi*, and the plural (which gives less good sense) may have arisen as a means of removing that irregularity. **infensa Etruria Turno:** because T. had given refuge to the hated Mezentius when his subjects expelled him.

233 uix . . . habemus 'were every other one of us to engage them, we scarcely have an opponent'. *alternus* = 'every other one' (*OLD* 4), cf. 386 below.

hostis here = an individual opponent. In *Il.* 2.123–30 Agamemnon more elaborately argues the Greeks' numerical superiority to the Trojans.

234–7 Juturna contrasts the glory T. will win with the ignominy that awaits the Latins if they continue to sit idly by. Her argument assumes that T. will die if the duel takes place (playing on the Rutulians' fears as described above, 216–21).

234 quidem: often used, like μέν, to point a contrast, here between T. and the rest of the Rutuli. *nos* (236) serves in place of an adversative word such as *tamen*; cf. 11.49–52 *et nunc ille* [Evander] *quidem spe . . . captus inani* | . . . *uota facit* . . . | *nos iuuenem exanimum* . . . | . . . *uano maesti comitamur honore*, Cic. *Orat.* 171 *apud Graecos quidem iam anni prope quadringenti sunt cum hoc probatur; nos nuper agnouimus*, Solodow (1975) 67–74.

234–5 ad superos . . . succedet fama: Cic. *Cat.* 3.1 *Romulum ad deos immortales beneuolentia famaque sustulimus.* The wording resembles *G.* 4.226–7 (divine elements in living things) *uiua uolare* | *sideris in numerum atque alto succedere caelo.*

234 deuouet: the verb evokes the Roman concept of *deuotio*, in which an individual voluntarily endures death to save his people; cf. Leigh (1993), Oakley on Livy 8.8.19–11.1 (the *deuotio* of P. Decius Mus). The addition of *aris* makes the sacrificial sense even clearer. (C–N suggest that the image is instead of T. fighting *pro aris et focis*, i.e. 'in defence of hearth and altar', metonymy for a people's most precious possessions, but that seems less likely.) Juturna's words are almost a restatement of T.'s declaration in 11.440–2 *uobis animam hanc soceroque Latino* | *Turnus ego* . . . | *deuoui.* In the end T. does die in place of his people, though not in a *deuotio*; see n. on 921 *murali.*

235 uiuusque per ora feretur: recalling the Ennian *uolito uiuus per ora uirum* (*Epigr.* 18 V), also echoed by V. in *G.* 3.9 *uirum uolitare per ora* (with Thomas's n.); in all three passages *uiuus* has the sense 'kept alive in memory'. *feretur* is more dignified than *uolitare* and more clearly expresses the idea of being carried aloft; the passive emphasizes the role of others. The allusion to passages that describe lasting renown achieved through poetry may suggest that T.'s fame will be perpetuated in a way Juturna cannot foresee, through V.'s epic.

236 nos patria amissa: C–N note the similar line opening of 3.325 *nos patria incensa* (Andromache speaking of the Trojans).

236–7 dominis . . . cogemur: Juturna conjures up the same prospect of enslavement as Amata foresaw in 63 above, *nec generum Aenean captiua uidebo.* Her vision of Trojan domination resembles what Evander says of Mezentius' rule of Agilla (8.481–2): *rex . . . superbo* | *imperio et saeuis tenuit . . . armis.* **parere:** the word appears at the same place in the line in 189, where it is strongly negated.

237 lenti: either 'inert, sluggish', cf. Prop. 1.6.12 *pereat si quis lentus amare potest*, or 'idle' (= *otiosus*), as Servius says, comparing *Ecl.* 1.4 *lentus in umbra.* **consedimus:** this detail has not been explicitly mentioned, but it recalls T.'s words in 15 above *sedeant spectentque Latini.* La Cerda cites Demosthenes, *Olynth.* 2.23 καθήμεθ' οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες (of the Athenians in response to Philip).

238 Talibus . . . dictis: cf. 212 above. The repetition underscores Juturna's success in subverting the truce. Line 238 could be heard as a complete sentence (an effect heightened by the line-enclosing word order). The spillover of the thought in *iam magis atque magis* mirrors the rising unrest among the Latins; cf. Pearce (1966) 156. **incensa:** *incendere* and *accendere* often describe the inflaming effect of words, cf. 4.197, 360; 5.719; 10.368, 397, 426 below; '*incendere* attains the status of a semi-technical term in Cicero's oratorical writings, to describe the effect of the emotional weapons of which he was so fond' (Feeney (1983) 209 = Harrison (1990) 175). **sententia:** 'purpose, intention' (*OLD* 2), cf. Caes. *B ciu.* 3.9.4 *quorum cognita sententia Octauius . . . oppidum circumdedit*, Livy 21.30.1 *postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire.*

239 magis atque magis: a metrically conditioned variation of the usual prose expression *magis magisque*, also at 2.299, *G.* 3.185; cf. Wills (1996) 112–13. **atque magis:** the higher genres of Latin poetry show a strong tendency to elide *atque*. The elided form already predominates in Ennius, and it accounts for nearly 90 per cent of the word's appearances in *Aen.* The exceptions are unevenly distributed: 8 in the first six books and 27 in the latter six. Books 10 and 12 have the highest concentrations, with 8 each (elsewhere in this book cf. 312, 332, 343, 355, 424, 615, 616). The unelided form may add solemnity (and perhaps a suggestion of archaism) to expressions such as *hominum sator atque deorum* (1.254, 11.725), *noctes atque dies* (6.127), or *matres atque uiri defunctaque corpora uita* (6.306, *G.* 4.475), and a similar aim may account for the clustering in 7.304, 315, 317 (all in Juno's speech), but in other places, as here, no specific effect is discernible. On unelided *atque* see Axelson (1945) 83–5, Ross (1969) 33–9, Harrison on 10.51–2, Horsfall on 7.473. **serpitque:** for the metaphor cf. *G.* 3.468–9 *priusquam* | *dira per incautum serpant contagia uulgus*, of a spreading rumour Cic. *Mur.* 45; the connection with snakes makes it a natural metaphor for harmful things, but cf. 2.268–9 *prima quies mortalibus aegris* | *incipit et dono diuum gratissima serpit.* **murmur:** cf. Stat. *Theb.* 11.454–5 (the response to a *prodigium*) *alterna . . . murmura uoluunt* | *mussantes* (cf. *mussant* 718 below).

240 A powerful and emphatic line, anchored by the repeated *ipsi* and the globalizing proper names *Laurentes* and *Latini.* **ipsi:** war fever now spreads from the Rutulians (216–18) to the rest of the Latins. **ipsi . . . ipsique:** the emphatic repetition may mark the reversal of the situation in 11.218, where the Latin women urged T. to fight A. himself: *ipsum armis ipsumque iubent decernere ferro.*

241–3 V. underscores the gravity of the moment with a rhetorical device (the *qui*-clause) often tinged with indignation or pathos; there is a pointed echo of V.'s comment on the Trojans tricked by Sinon in 2.196–8 *captique dolis lacrimisque coactis* | *quos neque Tydides nec Larisaeus Achilles,* | *non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae* (to which Austin compares historical accounts of the fall of a city); similarly Ovid, *Met.* 3.534–7 (Pentheus on the Thebans welcoming Bacchus) *ut, quos non bellicus ensis,* | *non tuba terruerit, non strictis agmina telis,* | *femineae uoces . . . uincant*, also Sall. *Cat.* 10.2 on the moral decline of Rome: *qui labores, pericula, dubias atque asperas*

res facile tolerauerunt, eis otium diuitiaeque . . . oneri miseriaeque fuere. Fraenkel (1957) 50 n. 3 suspects that this is 'a traditional device, expressing a particular type of indignation or lament'.

241–2 qui . . . sperabant 'those who by this time were hoping for rest' (Page); for the sense of *iam*, cf. *OLD* 3. Lewis and Short have an entry for *iam* meaning 'a moment ago', 'a little while ago' (I.B.1), which might seem appropriate here, but all the examples cited can be better explained otherwise. La Cerda compares *Il.* 3.112 (Trojans and Achaeans glad at the coming duel of Menelaus and Paris) 'hoping now to be rid of all the sorrow of warfare'.

241 rebusque = *malis*, 'troubles'.

242–3 arma . . . iniquam: the Rutulians' reactions are elaborated in a *tricolon abundans*: *nunc arma uolunt* || *foedusque precantur* | *infectum* || *et Turni sortem miserantur iniquam.* **foedusque . . . infectum** 'they pray for the annulment of the treaty' (*infectum* predicative); for the concrete-for-abstract construction C–N compare 10.503–4 *tempus erit magno cum optauerit emptum* | *intactum Pallanta.* See also n. on 219 above.

243 infectum: the hyperbaton reflects by its position the hoped-for breaking of the truce. **sortem . . . iniquam:** as in 219–21 above, the viewpoint of the phrase is that of the Latins rather than of the narrator.

244 his: i.e. *dictis* (238) or else, more generally, 'to what she had already done'. **aliud maius:** the intensifying transition has a close parallel in 2.199–200, following the narrator's summing-up (see 241–3n.), and also introducing a portent that removes any lingering doubt, *hic aliud maius miseris multoque tremendum* | *obicitur magis* (i.e. the snakes that kill Laocoon and his sons).

244–5 alto | dat signum caelo: *alto . . . caelo* is probably local, 'in the sky above' (rather than 'from the sky above', which would imply that Juturna has herself ascended). **dat signum:** can mean 'to give a sign', but here = 'provides a portent'.

245 praesentius: as in 152 above, the meanings 'efficacious' and 'close at hand/immediate' are both active; cf. *G.* 3.452 *non tamen ulla magis praesens fortuna laborum est* (where Thomas renders *praesens* as 'timely'). The word may also have a narratological dimension, since the portent is described as it happens, not related as a past action or recalled by an observer.

246 turbauit mentes Italas: continuing the parallel with the deceived Trojans, cf. 2.200 *improuida pectora turbat.*

247–56 The description is full and vivid, in keeping with the persuasive effect that it is intended to have and that it does produce. The closest Homeric antecedent is *Il.* 12.200–9, an eagle carrying a snake and compelled to let it fall, interpreted as an unfavourable sign for the Trojans; the lines were translated by Cicero in his poem on Marius, and quoted in *Diu.* 1.106. Another related passage is *Il.* 15.690–5, a simile comparing Hector attacking the Greek ships to an eagle swooping down on river birds (including swans). But the most significant intertext is *Aen.* 1.393–400, a portent shown to A. by Venus, in which an

eagle assails 12 swans but the swans all reach safety, as A.'s ships will likewise survive.

247 namque: introducing an explanatory narrative, as in 7.765 and 10.189 (both times with *ferunt*). **rubra . . . in aethra:** the combination is Ennian (*Ann.* 415–16 Sk.), from a description of sunset, *interea fax* | *occidit oceanumque rubra tractim obruit aethra*. Skutsch ad loc. observes that in V. *rubra* means 'more loosely the sky in its brightness and as the seat of the celestial fire . . . (after all that has preceded it is too late for dawn colouring)'. Servius distinguishes *aether* (the element proper) from *aethra* (*splendor aetheris*). **Iouis ales:** so also in 1.394. Here the periphrasis probably alludes to the fact that A. enjoys the support of Jupiter. A portent in Stat. *Theb.* 3.531–3 represents the attackers of Thebes as seven eagles, *septem ordine fuluo* (~ *fuluus*) | *armigeras* (~ *aligeri*?) *summi Iouis . . . intuor*. For eagles in omens cf. Pease on Cic. *Diu.* 1.26.

248 agitabat 'was harassing'. La Cerda cites Cic. *Diu.* 2.144 (the negative interpretation of seeing an eagle in a dream) *ista enim auis insectans alias auis et agitans semper ipsa postrema est.*

248–9 turbamque . . . aligeri: conspicuously high language. **-que** here introduces a further description of the previous *litoreas . . . auis*.

248 sonantem: the birds under attack emit distress calls.

249 agminis: *agmen* used of animals often carries military associations (see *OLD* 9), and so here. The military metaphor relates the portent to its alleged counterpart: A. threatens all the Latins before singling out T. C–N distinguish *turbam* (the disordered result of the eagle's attack) from *agmen* (the birds' previous orderly formation), but that is probably too subtle. **aligeri:** a Virgilian coinage, according to Servius Auctus; it also appears at 1.663, of Amor. On compounds in *-ger* and *-fer* see n. on 170 above, and more generally on compound adjs. cf. R. D. Williams (1960) on 5.452. **cum:** the so-called *cum inuersum* construction, in which the *cum*-clause comes after the main verb(s), is often used for dramatic effect: the action of the *cum*-clause is sudden and unexpected, interrupting what had been in progress just before, which is often described in the imperfect, as here *agitabat*; cf. 379 and 941 below, 2.679–80 *gemitu tectum omne replebat,* | *cum subitum dictuque oritur mirabile monstrum*, my n. on Sen. *Agam.* 470. **lapsus:** here 'gliding', of flying creatures 3.243 (Harpies), 6.202 (doves).

250 cycnum excellentem: matching T.'s pre-eminent position among the Latin fighters. WF 72 suggests that the word implies 'rising in flight above the rest' and assures us that V. knew that wild swans have a leader. **excellentem:** the participle/adjective is exceedingly rare in poetry (elsewhere only Sil. 14.29, *Anth. Lat.* 174.1 SB), the verb only slightly less so (cf. Lucr. 1.27, Macer fr. 2 Courtney, Sil. 1.151, 14.142, Stat. *Theb.* 4.195, Prudentius *Apotheosis* 560). **pedibus rapit improbus uncis:** a vividly mimetic phrase, in which swift dactylic rhythm and crisp alliteration mirror the eagle's onrush. Cf. 5.255 *sublimem pedibus rapuit Iouis armiger uncis.* **improbus** 'ruthlessly', adj. functioning as a virtual adv.; the eagle shows no mercy toward its intended victim. For the connotations of

improbus see Mynors on *labor improbus* in *G.* 1.146. The word is applied to A. with a clearer pejorative tone in Tolumnius' speech, 261 below.

251 arrexere animos Itali: a remarkable mingling of the animal and human worlds; even if *arrexere animos* meant only 'riveted their attention' (W.), the words would involve the Latins closely in the action, but the words also imply 'lifted their spirits' (as at 1.579 *his animum arrecti dictis*), which makes the Latins' reaction precisely parallel that of the birds who flock together to rescue the swan.

252 conuertunt . . . fugam: the phrase combines two ideas, 'stop fleeing' and 'reverse course' (the likely meaning in Caes. *B Gall.* 7.56.2 *ne . . . iter in prouinciam conuerteret*); 'wheel right around' (Mandelbaum). Cf. 5.582 *conuertere uias*. **(mirabile uisu):** in inverse order in 7.78, the only examples in V.; cf. Varro of Atax fr. 14 Courtney *bos suspiciens caelum (m. u.)*. *uisu* here fits the immediacy of the description.

253–6 Paratore notes the dispersed alliteration of *p* (*pennis . . . premunt . . . pondere . . . praedamque . . . proiecit . . . penitus*), interlinked with juxtaposed *ui uictus*; both patterns reappear in Tolumnius' speech (262–3).

254 facta nube: *nubes* of a dense mass of birds *uel sim.*, *G.* 4.557 (bees), *A.* 7.705 *uolucrum . . . nubem*; but also relevant is *nubes* of a mass of soldiers: cf. Livy 35.49.5 *peditum equitumque nubes*, Tac. *Hist.* 3.2.4 *pulsu sonituque et nube ipsa operient . . . equites*. In *Il.* 17.755 νέφος is used of a 'cloud' of small birds frightened by the approach of a hawk, in a simile comparing the birds to the Greeks fleeing from Hector and A. *facta* adds to the quasi-military aspect of the picture, as if the birds are moving into battle formation (compare the formulaic *agmine facto*, *testudine facta*).

254–5 ui . . . defecit: *ui* and *pondere* are to be taken with both *uictus* and *defecit*, perhaps suggesting the way the eagle is at last entangled in the mass of attacking birds.

255 pondere: probably the weight of the swan (*praeda* in the following phrase). In Ovid, *Met.* 12.507–21 the invulnerable Caeneus is overcome by a mass of trees piled on him (*erit pro uulnere pondus*, 509; note also *deficit* 518). **defecit:** previously used of the Latins, 11.424, 2 above; its application to the eagle/A. reflects the false optimism of the portent.

256 fluuio: dat. after vb. of motion; cf. 4.600–1 *undis* | *spargere*, 7.456 *facem iuueni coniecit*; Page gives many other examples. WF 72 assumes that a river must be near the scene of the action, and cites Ovid, *Met.* 14.598–9 to show that the Numicius (the modern Rio Torto) was close to Laurentum. Traina plausibly suggests that V.'s geography is influenced by Homer's Troy with its nearby rivers. **in nubila fugit:** as the Latins hope that A. and his forces could be compelled to leave their territory.

257–65 Portents are often misinterpreted by those to whom they are given, but this portent is intended to deceive and is thus 'correctly' understood by Tolumnius.

257 augurium . . . clamore salutant: the line-end *c. s.* echoes 3.524 (A.'s men greet their first sight of the coast of Italy). The combination *augurium salutant* is imitated by Sil. 2.411, 15.146–7. *clamore* ~ *clamore* 252.

258 expediuntque manus: Servius thought this meant 'they spread out their hands' in a gesture of *militaris adsensio*, but it more probably means 'they ready their hands (for fighting)', cf. 4.592 *non arma expedient . . . ?*, Caes. *B Gall.* 7.18.4 *Caesar . . . arma expediri iussit*, Livy 24.26.10 *ferrum quosdam expedientes cernebat.* **Tolumnius:** previously mentioned at 11.429, with what proves to be the ironic epithet *felix*; the line-end *T. augur* returns at 460 below to announce his death. The name would almost certainly evoke memories of Lars Tolumnius of Veii, another treaty breaker, who killed four Roman legates and was in turn killed by A. Cornelius Cossus in 437 BCE; cf. Livy 4.19.3 (where Cossus calls him *ruptor foederis humani uiolatorque gentium iuris*), Holland (1935) 211.

259 hoc . . . hoc: excited repetition figures prominently at the start of Tolumnius' speech (also *me, me*). Compare 9.128–9, where T. misinterprets the transformation of A.'s ships as an omen unfavourable to the Trojans: *Troianos haec monstra petunt, his Iuppiter ipse | auxilium solitum eripuit.* **hoc erat:** an idiom of belated recognition, in which the impf. represents the prior existence of what is now recognized ('it was this all along'); comms. compare Greek ἄρ' ἦν. Cf. 7.128 *haec erat illa fames.* V.'s phrase resembles Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.1 *hoc erat in uotis*, although there the impf. is used normally ('I used to pray'). Fraenkel (1957) 138 n. 1 wondered whether *hoc erat in uotis* was 'an echo of a set phrase used when someone, in thanking a deity, said that the wishes which he had uttered in making his vow were now fulfilled', and noted our passage as 'strangely similar'. But Horace goes on to say that the gods have given him more than he wished, so the opening *hoc* is not identical to what he has received. Wills (1996) 77 observes that T.'s words are echoed in Ovid, *Met.* 11.694 *hoc erat, hoc animo quod diuinante timebam* by Alcyone, herself a quasi-augur (*diuinante*) soon to become a bird. **uotis . . . quod saepe petiui:** Tolumnius presumably means that he had often prayed for a portent favourable to the Rutulians, not that he had sought this particular portent. (La Cerda too subtly asserted that Tolumnius is deceiving the Rutulians by treating a *portentum oblatiuum* as if it were a *p. impetratiuum.*)

260 accipio agnoscoque deos: *omen accipere* is standard augural language; cf. Cic. *Diu.* 1.103, with Pease's comment ad loc.: 'omens have no significance independent of the will of an observer to accept them', also Oakley on Livy 9.14.8. Here *omen* or the like is easily supplied with *accipio.* **agnoscoque deos** probably means 'I recognize the gods as responsible for the portent'. The combination *accipio agnoscoque* also appears at 8.155, where Evander welcomes Aeneas. **me, me duce:** repeated *me* (relatively rare, cf. Wills (1996) 79–80) is highly emphatic, cf. 8.144 (A.), 9.427 (Nisus). *me duce* means more than *me auctore* ('on my advice') but less than 'under my command'; perhaps 'following my lead', since Tolumnius does cast the first spear.

261 improbus: Tolumnius does not formally interpret the details of the portent but weaves several of its elements into his exhortation: *improbus* echoes 250, *territat* varies *agitabat* in 248, *litora* looks back to *litoreas* in 248, *fugam* in 263 corresponds to *fugam* in 252 (though now applied to the attacker rather than the intended victims), *penitus* in 263 repeats *p.* in 256, *unanimi* in 264 mirrors *cunctae* in 251, and *raptum* in 265 echoes *rapit* in 250. The condensed simile *inualidas ut auis* explicitly portrays the Rutulians as analogous to the eagle's victims; *ut* = 'as though you were' (*OLD* 8).

263 ui populat: the powerfully condensed phrase gets additional emphasis from its enjambed position. Thought and language resemble a line of Accius' *Astyanax* 164 R^2, *qui nostra per uim patria populauit bona*; the parallel would have particular point if, as is likely, the line came from a Trojan lament for the destruction wrought by the Greeks. **populat. petet . . . penitusque profundo:** the alliteration is an implicit reference to the language of the portent, see 253–6n. **profundo:** a grander synonym for *mari* ('the deep'), only here in V.; previously in Cic. *Verr.* 4.26, *Sest.* 45, next in Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.65, Ovid, *Met.* 1.331. For the dat. cf. *G.* 2.41 *pelago . . . da uela patenti.*

263–4 ille . . . uos: a possible instance of *hysteron proteron* (inverting the logical sequence of two statements), also an implied conditional sentence: if you band together and defend your king, the intruder will flee for safety. **unanimi:** elsewhere in V. only of brothers and sister (4.8, 7.335), and so connoting especially close agreement.

264 densete 'close up', cf. 7.794 *agmina densentur*, 11.650 *hastilia denset*, Livy 33.8.14 *densari ordines iussit.* MSS of V. vary between first- and second-conjugation forms; Servius expressed a preference for the latter, and he is followed by most edd. The image of a closely packed formation recalls *facta nube* in 254. **cateruas:** another implicit link to the portent, since *cateruae* can be used of flocks of birds (as in 11.456).

265 regem . . . raptum 'defend with a fight the king who has been snatched from you' (with the separation of *regem* and *raptum* reflecting the sense). *raptum* is tendentious, since T. had volunteered for single combat with A.; its use shows how the terms of the portent are being mapped onto the situation.

We are probably not meant to ask why Tolumnius does not throw his spear at A., as Pandarus shoots an arrow at Menelaus in *Il.* 4.105ff.; if an answer is needed, V.'s description implies that A. and T. are at some distance from the spectators.

266 aduersos telum contorsit in hostis: the formulaic-seeming phrase is rich in Trojan cross-references, to Pandarus breaking the treaty in the *Iliad* (recalled in 5.496–7 *Pandare, qui quondam iussus confundere foedus* | *in medios telum torsisti primus Achiuos*) and to Laocoon hurling his spear at the belly of the Horse, 2.50–2 *hastam* | *in latus inque feri curuam compagibus aluum* | *contorsit.* There is also almost certainly an allusion to the Roman practice of declaring war by having

one of the Fetial priests cast a spear into the enemy's territory; cf. Livy 1.32.12–14, with Ogilvie ad loc.

267–8 sonitum . . . secat: onomatopoetic alliteration of *c* and *s* (note *stridula*, for which C–N compare *Il.* 4.125 νευρὴ δὲ μέγ' ἴαχεν). *stridere* of the noise of weapons is Ennian, cf. *Ann.* 356 Sk. *missa . . . per pectus dum transit striderat hasta*, 926 below.

267 cornus: 'a metonym for "spear", the cornel being a good source of spear shafts' (Hardie on 9.698 *uolat Itala cornus*), cf. *G.* 2.447–8 *bona bello* | *cornus.*

268 certa 'unerring', often of missiles or of those who wield them, see *OLD* 13. Both here and in 11.767 (Arruns stalking Camilla), *certus* is used of a spear whose fatal effect will soon be described. **simul hoc, simul:** the speed of the reaction is mirrored in remarkably elliptical syntax, as if V.'s narrative voice had been momentarily seized by the frenzy it is describing. Other examples of doubled *simul* are not as elliptical, cf. 758 below *ille simul fugiens Rutulos simul increpat omnis*, 1.513 *obstipuit simul ipse, simul percussus Achates*, 631–2 *simul Aenean in regia ducit* | *tecta, simul diuum templis indicit honorem*, 5.675 *accelerat simul Aeneas, simul agmina Teucrum.*

269 A metrically swift line (SDDD) marked by harsh alliteration of *t* and *c*. **cunei:** some comms. see a reference to rows of spectators, as in 5.664 *ad tumulum cuneosque theatri*, but after *densete cateruas* in 264 there is no reason to exclude the military sense of the word (*OLD* 4 'a closely packed formation of soldiers'), which also appears at 457–8 below, *densi cuneis se quisque coactis* | *adglomerant.*

270–6 The syntax of the principal clause, *hasta uolans . . . horum unum ad medium . . . transadigit costas*, is twice interrupted, producing the narrative equivalent of a split-screen image, as we follow the progress of the spear toward its target. Somewhat similarly in 11.799–802 the Volscians see the fatal spear heading toward Camilla while she remains unaware of its approach.

270–3 ut forte nouem . . . horum unum: similar introduction and resumption in 488–90 below (though without the pathos of this passage) *uti . . . duo forte gerebat . . . horum unum. forte* often describes a coincidence that is essential for the progress of the plot, cf. 7.509–10, Austin on 6.682, 766 below. C–N compare *Il.* 14.410–11 τά ῥα πολλά . . . τῶν ἓν ('there were many . . . he caught up one of these'). For the unusually large number of brothers, cf. on 277 below.

270–1 pulcherrima fratrum | **corpora:** the periphrastic use of *corpora* with the genitive (= *pulcherrimos fratres*) goes back at least as far as Ennius, cf. *Ann.* 88–9 Sk. *ter quattuor corpora sancta* | *auium*, 9.272–3 *bis sex . . . lectissima matrum* | *corpora.*

271–2 quos . . . Gylippo: each of the interruptions (see 270–6n.) is twofold (V. packing as much detail as possible into these diversions); the interlocked word order of this phrase is another retarding element. **fida . . . coniunx:** the faithful and fertile wife is a central figure in the traditional Roman moral sphere, given renewed emphasis and prestige by Augustus.

272 una: at the literal level underscoring her productivity, but perhaps also evoking the image of the *uniuira*, the woman who remains the wife or widow of one man for life. **Gylippo:** not otherwise mentioned.

273 horum unum ad medium: dark vowels and alliteration of *m*. **ad** = *circa*, 'near'.

273–4 teritur . . . mordet: the precision of detail is Homeric; cf. *Il.* 4.132–40 (the wounding of Menelaus by Pandarus). **teritur . . . balteus:** inversion of literal fact (hypallage), since it is rather the belly that is rubbed by the edge of the belt.

274 laterum . . . mordet: the clasp 'bites down on' the ends of the belt; others less plausibly take *laterum iuncturas* as 'ribs'. The metaphor in *mordet*, apparently V.'s innovation, was much imitated by later poets beginning with Ovid, *Met.* 8.318 (Atalanta) *rasilis huic summam mordebat fibula uestem*, 14.394–5; cf. also Calp. Sic. 7.81, Stat. *Theb.* 7.658–9, 9.694–5, *Ciris* 127–8, Korzeniewski (1973) 499–501.

275 At some risk to the coherence of the sentence, V. holds off the youth's death for one last moment to show him in all his doomed loveliness. The line is identical to 6.861, where it describes Augustus' nephew Marcellus, another young man dead before his prime. The words *et fulgentibus armis* apply more naturally to the warrior here than to Marcellus, and it is likely that this passage was the source for 6.861 rather than the reverse (so Goold in his Loeb edition).

276 transadigit costas: same line-beginning in 508 below, though with a different construction (see n.); here *costas* is acc. of respect/specification, often used of the part of the body struck, cf. 10.698–9 *Latagum . . . occupat os faciemque*. On the latter passage Servius comments 'est Graeca figura, in Homero frequens', and given the context an echo of Homeric battle description is likely; Harrison cites *Il.* 7.14–16 (Glaucus) Ἰφίνοον βάλε δουρὶ . . . | ὦμον. In 9.432 *transabiit* (var. *transadigit*) *costas*, *costas* is dir. obj. **effundit:** unusually applied to a standing fighter, more often of a rider thrown from a horse or chariot, cf. 380, 532 below, 10.574, 893. **harena:** see n. on 340 below.

277–8 fratres . . . pars . . . pars: the general term *fratres* is placed in distributive apposition with two subgroups; cf. *Ecl.* 1.64–5 *at nos . . . alii . . . pars*, with Clausen's n., also on 161–74 above.

277 animosa phalanx: the hyperbole and use of military language resemble 10.328, where a group of seven brothers is called a *stipata cohors*. Here both terms are closely linked to 264 in the previous section, *animosa* paralleling *unanimi* and *phalanx* corresponding to *cateruas*; similarly, *corripiunt* in 279 matches *corripite* in 261. The same bold spirits and group loyalty are displayed on both sides, a fact that contributes to the sense of the conflict as a quasi-civil war.

278 gladios: V. has five uses of *gladius* (10.313 and 513, of A.'s sword, 9.769 and 789 below, of T.'s sword) against more than sixty of the poetic equivalent *ensis*; for statistics from other authors see Oakley on Livy 7.10.9, and for the similar case of *scutum* vs. *clipeus* see n. on 130 above. Lyne (1989) 102 sees the occasional preference for prosaic military terminology as reflecting V.'s need

to 'anchor his heroic narrative in mundane reality'. **missile ferrum:** most closely paralleled in 10.421 (Pallas speaking) *ferro, quod missile libro* (cf. also 10.773 (Mezentius) *telum, q. m. l.*); Livy is fond of *missile telum* (especially in the pl.), and for *missilia saxa* cf. Lucr. 5.968 (975), Livy 5.47.5.

279 caeci 'blind with rage' or perhaps 'blindly'; cf. 2.357 *caecos* of the ravening wolves to which the desperate Trojans are compared. V. often uses *caecus* of those acting under the influence of emotion; cf. 1.349 *auri caecus amore*, 11.781 with Horsfall's note, referring to *EV* 1.599. (See also Tarrant (2004) 124 n. 21, on the connection to *carcere caeco* in 6.734.)

280 procurrunt . . . densi: the language recalls Tolumnius' dash forward (267 *procurrens*) and his exhortation *densete cateruas* 264; his aim of fomenting violence has been fully realized. **inundant:** intransitive, 'come pouring in'; the image is echoed with a different construction in Sil. 15.551–2 *fulgentibus armis* (~275) | *Poenus inundauit campos*. In 10.24, 11.382 *inundant sanguine fossae* the sense is 'overflow'.

281 Agyllinique: Agylla is the Greek name for Caere (modern Cerveteri), a major Etruscan centre; after the overthrow of Mezentius some of the inhabitants had remained faithful to his son Lausus, while others became allies of the Trojans; cf. 7.652 with Horsfall's n., 10.183. **pictis . . . armis:** the same phrase is used of Pallas in 8.588 and of Amazons in 11.660. Painted *scuta* are specified in 7.796.

282 The section is rounded off by a powerful, lapidary line, culminating in the Ennian *decernere ferro* (*Ann.* 132 Sk.). **unus:** 'one and the same' (*OLD* 3), in pointed juxtaposition with *omnis*; cf. *G.* 3.244 *amor omnibus unus*, 4.184 *omnibus una quies operum, labor omnibus unus*. **decernere:** complementary inf. after the verbal n. *amor* (see Page for examples).

283–8 This short first section begins with an overview of the action, focuses for a moment on Latinus as he leaves the field then pulls back again for a larger view.

283–5 The strong alliteration in these lines begins with *t* and *c*; *t* then gives way to *f*.

283 diripuere aras: the altars are quickly dismantled or 'stripped' (Goold), either by the attendants or by the onrushing soldiers; some comms. interpret *diripere* (lit. 'to tear something off or away from something else') as 'pull the altars apart' for firebrands (as at 9.75), but that would weaken the effect of Corynaeus' snatching fire from the altar in 298. Another possible sense is 'carry off in haste' (~ *raptim auferre*, *TLL* 5[1].1262.32), supported by Suetonius *Nero* 11.2: when during a performance of Afranius' *Incendium* the stage building was set on fire, the actors were allowed to carry off and keep the furniture from the burning structure, *concessum . . . ut scaenici ardentis domus supellectilem diriperent ac sibi haberent*. In the parallel incident of the Trojan women attacking the ships in book 5, cf. 660–1 *rapiuntque focis penetralibus ignem*, | *pars spoliant aras*. If, as seems likely, *diripuere aras* and *craterasque f. ferunt* describe two parts of a single action, and the intervening phrases describe what is going on around that action, V. would again be straining

at the limits of narrative's ability to depict simultaneous events. **diripuere:** perf. of instantaneous result, often used to convey the speed with which an action is performed (i.e. it is over before the narrator can describe it); compare *diripuere focos* in 9.75, 1.84 *incubuere*, 90 *intonuere*, 511–12 and 717 below, Sen. *Agam.* 891 with my n. **caelo:** either dat. after the vb. of motion, cf. 5.451 *it clamor caelo* (with the n. of R. D. Williams (1960)), 11.192 *it caelo clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum*, or local abl. ('travels through the whole sky'). The presence of *toto* favours the latter interpretation; cf. *G.* 1.511 *saeuit toto Mars impius orbe*, 450 below *campo*.

284 tempestas . . . imber: the metaphor recalls the aerial setting of the portent (perhaps specifically the *nubes* formed by the attacking birds, 254); the metaphor-bearing terms frame the line. *Turbida* in 283 is an apt lead-in, since the word often describes stormy skies or storm clouds; cf. Lucr. 4.168–9 *cum fuerit liquidissima caeli | tempestas . . . subito fit turbida.* **tempestas telorum:** the figurative use of *tempestas* to describe a violent upset or disturbance is old (it is, e.g., common in Cicero in political contexts), but V. develops it by comparing the weapons to raindrops or hailstones. A similarly graphic defining gen. is absent in other passages where *tempestas* = 'attack', e.g. Livy 3.7.3 *t. belli*, 44.39.2 *t. pugnae*, Val. Fl. 6.722, though cf. Silius' imitation 9.311–12 *nimbus . . . telorum*; Sil. 15.627–8 conflates *t. telorum* and *ferreus imber* to produce *ferrea . . . tempestas.* **ferreus . . . imber:** an Ennian phrase, cf. *Ann.* 266 Sk.; the metaphor is rare in Greek, as Skutsch ad loc. notes. **ingruit:** a colourful vb. (~ 'encroach'?) found mainly in poets and historians; V. may have given it currency in poetry (cf. Horsfall on 11.899). It appears five times in *Aen.*, elsewhere with the subjects *armorum horror* (2.301), *bellum* (8.535), *hostis* (11.899), and, most notably, *Aeneas* (628 below, where A. functions as the embodiment of war). For its use with weapons as subj. cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.65.5 *ingruentia tela* (which, chastened by Goodyear ad loc., I would only say *might* be influenced by our passage). Here it also fits the storm metaphor, cf. Sen. *QNat.* 3.27.7 *magis magisque ingruunt nimbi.*

285 ferunt = *auferunt* or *secum ferunt*; the attendants carry off the mixing bowls and hearths to save them; see *OLD* 35, Livy 5.40.7 (also on the salvaging of sacred objects) *quae quia uires ad omnia ferenda deerant relinquenda essent consultantes.* **fugit ipse Latinus:** as he did previously (7.599–600), Latinus makes an ignominious exit when matters hurtle out of his control.

286 pulsatos . . . diuos: although images of gods have not been mentioned as part of the intended ritual, the likeliest sense of *referens* ('taking back inside') would refer to physical objects; *pulsatos* would then have a double meaning, 'beaten, knocked about' and 'rejected, driven off' (*OLD* 5 and 8b). Some comms. interpret *referens* as a verb of speaking with *uiolatos . . . diuos* as the content of the speech, but none of the usual senses of *refero* ('report', 'recall') fits this context, and it is not clear to whom Latinus would be speaking. For discussion see Traina (1996a) 121–6, who implausibly interprets *diuos* metaphorically (i.e. the gods are 'present' in the sense of having been invoked). **infecto foedere:** the hope expressed in 242–3 *foedusque precantur | infectum* has now been fulfilled.

287 currus: by brachylogy for the team of horses, cf. *G.* 1.514 *neque audit currus habenas*, *Aen.* 7.163 with Horsfall's n., 350 below.

288 adsunt 'are at hand', underscoring the speed with which the forces assemble.

289–310 The ferocity of the fighting is depicted in three vignettes of roughly equal length (289–96, 297–304, 305–10). In the first two scenes the element of sacrilege is prominent.

289 Messapus: see n. on 128 above. **regem:** i.e. an Etruscan Lucumo. **regem regisque insigne gerentem:** for the rare repetition *regem regisque* Wills (1996) 263 compares *Il.* 18.517 ἄμφω χρυσείω, χρύσεια δὲ εἵματα ἕσθην. It strikes a briefly pompous note before Aulestes' humiliating death. V. does not specify the 'royal emblem' (*regis insigne*) borne by Aulestes; a diadem, perhaps? **gerentem:** participles, especially present participles, are frequent in descriptions of battle, probably because of their vividness and the greater compression they permit; in this passage cf. 291 *recedens*, 294 *orantem*, 299 *ueni-enti*... *ferenti*, 301 *secutus*, 305 *ruentem*, 306 *sequens*.

289–90 Messapus... Aulesten: a counter-example to La Cerda's law, see n. on 195 above.

290 Aulesten: introduced in 10.207–8 (see Harrison ad loc.); Servius Auctus on 10.198 makes him the founder of Perusia (Perugia) in Umbria, although Perusia was more often regarded as Etruscan. **auidus confundere foedus:** the phrase not only emphasizes the responsibility of the Latins (or at least Messapus) for breaking the truce but also heightens the inverted parallel with the corresponding Iliadic episode, where the Trojan Pandarus was *iussus confundere foedus* (5.496).

291 aduerso proterret equo 'turns his horse toward him and frightens him off'. *proterreo* is relatively rare (only here in V., not in Livy); as in Caes. *B Gall.* 5.58.4 *proterritis hostibus atque in fugam coniectis*, it is followed by flight. **ruit ille recedens** 'as he backs away he trips and falls' (*OLD* s.v. *ruo* 6c); in 305 below *ruentem* means 'come rushing up'.

292–3 oppositis... umeros: Aulestes falls backward and ends up sprawled on the altar that blocks his path from behind (*oppositis a tergo*), with his head and shoulders resting on the altar. Comms. disagree as to whether Aulestes is backing away or turning to run; if the latter, it is not clear why he would become entangled in the altar; he would also be likely to end up prone, whereas the manner of his death strongly implies that he is supine and looking up at Messapus.

292 oppositis: of something that stands in the way of an opposing object, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.11.5 *quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare.*

293 in caput inque umeros: perhaps suggested by *Il.* 5.586 ἐπὶ βρεχμόν τε καὶ ὤμους (so Heyne), with repeated *in* heightening the sense of a violent fall (as repeated *per* does in the case of wounds, cf. 7.499 *perque uterum*... *perque ilia*, with Horsfall's n.). At 1.116 *uoluitur in caput* means 'is hurled headlong'. **feruidus:** '*feruidus*, like *ardens*... is common in Vergil of the "blazing rage" of heroes in

battle' (Harrison on 10.788); applied elsewhere to T. (9.72, 325 below), Hercules (8.230), Euryalus (9.350), Pandarus (9.736) and, remarkably, Amata (7.397), it is in fact used most often of A. (10.788 and 747, 894, 951 below). **aduolat:** closely resembles 10.896 where A. rushes to finish off the helpless Mezentius. The vb. is used in military contexts to describe a sudden assault; cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 5.17.2, Livy 2.24.1, 25.41.2, *OLD* 2b. The line-end *aduolat hasta* may echo a line of Matius (pre-Varronian), from his Latin *Iliad*, *celerissimus aduolat Hector* (fr. 4 Courtney). **hasta:** a loosely attached abl. ('rushes up, spear in hand')

294 teloque . . . trabali: according to Servius Auctus the combination is Ennian (= *Ann.* 607 Sk.); the spear is hyperbolically said to be as wide as a beam ('the beamy spear', Dryden). Page compares 1 Samuel 17.7, of Goliath, 'the staff of his spear was like a weaver's beam'. Ovid elaborates the image in giving Polyphemus a staff fit to carry the sails of a ship, *Met.* 13.782–3 *pinus . . . antemnis apta ferendis*. **orantem multa:** the wide separation of object and verb (*ferit* 295) makes word order match sense (i.e. Aulestes pleading at length before being struck).

295 desuper altus equo: perhaps focalized through Aulestes' eyes, making Messapus seem to tower above him.

296 hoc habet: roughly = 'he's done for' or 'it's all over', a colloquial phrase found (with or without *hoc*) in literary texts before V. only in Comedy (cf. Plaut. *Mostell.* 715, *Rud.* 1143, Ter. *Andria* 83); it is customarily explained as referring to gladiators who have received the death blow ('habere enim dictus qui percussus est . . . quia alii uident quam ipsi sentiant se esse percussos', says Donatus on Terence ad loc.). The 'low' associations of the idiom may reflect Messapus' scorn for his victim. In Sen. *Agam.* 901 *habet* is used of the murdered Agamemnon, following a simile comparing him to a victim sacrificed at the altar; Seneca could be recalling the circumstances of Aulestes' death, but it seems possible that (*hoc*) *habet* also functioned in sacrificial contexts, or even that it originated there and was transferred to gladiatorial combat. Bulhart in *TLL* 6.3.2431.19 glosses *hoc habet* as 'hoc uulnus letaliter obtinet hominem', taking *hoc* as subject with *uulnus* understood, but the only parallel offered for *uulnus habet aliquem* is Ovid, *Met.* 9.540 *me iam graue uulnus habebat*, where most recent editors print the equally well attested *animi g. u. habebam*. The usual construction is *aliquis habet uulnus*; cf. e.g. Ovid, *Pont.* 1.7.50 *si quis . . . non leue uulnus habet*, *OLD* s.v. *habeo* 16b. **melior . . . uictima:** i.e. A. is a choicer victim than the animals that had been offered to hallow the truce (213–14). The expression *melior uictima* could denote a substitute offering, like the bull killed by Entellus instead of his opponent Dares (5.483–4 *meliorem animam pro morte Daretis* | *persoluo*); but here such ideas are perverted. Messapus' abuse of ritual terminology is either avenged or replicated (depending on one's view of the poem's end) in A.'s killing of T., cf. 948–9 and n. Messapus' words are probably echoed in Sen. *Herc. fur.* 922–4 (Hercules speaks) *uictima haud ulla amplior* | *potest magisque opima mactari Ioui,* | *quam rex iniquus.*

297 The first of the three short scenes is given somewhat greater prominence by this formulaic-sounding closural line.

298 obuius 'standing in their path'; i.e. Corynaeus blocks the Latins who have stripped Aulestes of his arms. Corynaeus must therefore be a Trojan: the two other appearances of the name also refer to Trojans (6.228, 9.571). If there is a suggestion of sacrilege in his snatching of fire from the altars, it would help to equal the score of impiety in this section.

Sacrificial objects are also employed as lethal weapons in Ovid's account of the Lapiths and Centaurs in *Metamorphoses* 12; see in particular nn. on 292–3, 298–301. Ovid may be imitating our passage, or this may be an element of a pre-Virgilian Centauromachy that Ovid is reinstating in its original context.

299–300 uenienti . . . ferenti | occupat: the build-up of action in the participles is brutally cut off by the enjambed verb; similar word order and phrasing in 10.797–8 *adsurgentis dextra plagamque ferentis | Aeneae subiit mucronem*, with an intervening line 9.768–70 *Lyncea tendentem contra sociosque uocantem | . . . | occupat.* **Ebyso:** mentioned only here.

300 occupat os 'strikes him first in the face'; *occupare*, of forestalling an opponent by striking the first blow; the phrase also appears at 10.699. *os* is acc. of respect/specification (see on 276 above). Ovid takes V.'s action a stage further: he has the centaur Rhoetus thrust fire into the face of Euagrus and then through his mouth down into his chest, *Met.* 12.294–5 *rutilasque ferox in aperta loquentis | condidit ora uiri perque os in pectora flammas.* **olli:** for V.'s use of forms of *oll-* see on 18 above; this instance is doubly unusual in not being line-initial and in being elided. **ingens barba:** on *ingens* see n. on 92 above.

301 ambusta: there seems to be no special point to the proximity of *ambusta* and *ambustum* in 298, nor to the appearance of *corripit* in 299 and 302. **super ipse secutus:** the phrase combines two recurring motifs of this section: relentless pursuit of the opponent (293 *aduolat*, 306 *sequens*), and the height from which one adversary strikes (295 *desuper*, 306 *superimminet*). The latter element seems to be introduced prospectively here, since Ebysus has not yet been brought down. **ipse:** as Page notes, *ipse* contrasts the personal onslaught of Corynaeus with the torch he had thrust in Ebysus' face, as *ipsum* in 303 contrasts the body of Ebysus with the *caesaries* by which he was first caught.

302–4 caesariem . . . ferit: two slow-moving lines full of detail (302–3) prolong the preparation for Corynaeus' fatal stroke, which is described in rapid dactyls followed by a strong sense break at the caesura.

303 impressoque genu nitens: he bends his knee and puts his weight on it (*nitens*), pinning Ebysus to the ground; 'with thrusting bent knee' (Mandelbaum). **terrae applicat:** 'lays him on the ground'. The vb. has a neutral basic meaning, 'to bring into contact (with)' (*OLD* 1), but since it often describes actions performed with care or gentleness (cf. e.g. ps.-Tib. 3.10.3–4 *nec te . . . pigebit | formosae medicas applicuisse manus*, Sen. *Tro.* 795 *timidum iuuencus applicat matri latus*), its use heightens the contrast with the violent blow about to be struck.

In 10.535–6 V. creates a similar build-up with *applicat* as the climactic word, *sic fatus galeam laeua tenet atque reflexa | ceruice orantis capulo tenus applicat ensem*, where the effect may be to show A. taking his time before striking.

304 sic: i.e. in that position. **rigido:** cf. 10.346, *G.* 1.508. The adjective looks formulaic, but in fact is not found applied to weapons before V. (so Harrison). **Podalirius Alsum:** the juxtaposition of names brings the combatants face to face with each other. Neither man appears elsewhere.

305 pastorem: the epithet virtually identifies Alsus as a Latin. In book 7 the outbreak of hostilities following the death of Silvia's stag musters the indigenous farmers and shepherds into a formidable fighting force; cf. 7.513 *pastorale canit signum*, 520–1 *concurrunt undique telis | indomiti agricolae*, 573–4 *ruit omnis in urbem | pastorum ex acie numerus*. **primaque:** the *-que* is logically superfluous and could be rendered by a comma in translating. **primaque acie:** in the front line of fighters. The expression belongs to technical military language; cf. Hardie on 9.595, Caes. *B Gall.* 1.25.7.

306 sequens . . . superimminet: see n. on 301 above. Podalirius seems to have the advantage, as the pursuer and presumably the taller figure; the participle *ruentem* increases the expectation that Alsus is about to be hit or killed, see on 294 above. Alsus' successful counter-attack varies the pattern of this last vignette and demonstrates the toughness of A.'s Latin opponents. **superimminet:** perhaps coined by V., not taken up in similar contexts by later writers. V. is also the first attested source for *supereminere* (1.501, 6.856, 10.765), *superuolare* (10.522), *superinicere* (*G.* 4.46), and perhaps *superuenire* (cf. n. on 356 below). Given his fondness for such compounds, it is probably best to treat the disputed cases of *superuolitare* (*Ecl.* 6.81), *superincumbere* (4.497) and *superoccupare* (10.384) as single words; cf. Harrison on 10.384.

306–7 securi . . . reducta: the hyperbaton achieves a build-up of detail similar to that in 302–3 above, which is followed by a powerfully enjambed verb (*dissicit*).

306 securi: an appropriately rustic weapon; cf. 7.509–10 where it passes from one use to the other, (Tyrrhus) *quercum cuneis ut forte coactis | scindebat rapta spirans immane securi*, with Horsfall's n.

307 reducta: drawn back to strike; cf. 10.552–3 with a similar hyperbaton *reducta . . . hasta*.

308 sparso late rigat arma cruore: a phrase that looks as if it might be formulaic, but that in fact is never exactly repeated; the closest parallel is 11.698 *calido rigat ora cerebro* (and cf. also 10.908 *animam diffundit in arma*). The present line mutes the gory details, perhaps in preparation for the sombre finale of the scene.

309–10 = 10.745–6 (with one difference, see on 310), describing the death of Orodes at the hands of Mezentius. In both places the strongly closural lines mark the end of a section of battle narrative. As Harrison ad loc. notes, V. has drawn on several Homeric death descriptions, but the result is more

complex and more poignant. The basic principle is variation: *olli... somnus* and *in aeternam... noctem* make the same point in different words, and in the first phrase *dura quies* and *ferreus somnus* are parallel expressions, each paradoxically coupling a harsh adjective (*dura*, *ferreus*) with a noun of opposite connotation. **dura... somnus:** the doubly qualified subject surrounds and overwhelms the bare object *oculos*. **urget:** is there perhaps a slight paradox that *quies* and *somnus* can be so forceful in their effects? **ferreus... somnus:** V.'s rendering of the Homeric χάλκεος ὕπνος (cf. e.g. *Il.* 11.241), with *ferreus* perhaps recalling *ferreus imber* in 284 above.

310 in aeternam conduntur lumina noctem: in 10.746 the verb is *clauduntur*, which is the reading of M and R here, but it seems more in V.'s manner to vary the expression. The parallel suggests that the meaning of *conduntur* here is also 'close' (*OLD* 7c), a sense supported by the possible echo of *G.* 4.496 *conditque natantia lumina somnus*; Apul. *Met.* 2.28 *in aeternum conditis oculis* may in turn look to our passage. *condere oculos* of the dead evokes the ritual closing of the eyes, usually performed by a relative but here carried out by death itself. **in:** together with *condere* meaning 'close', *in* has a quasi-purposive force ('in preparation for'); somewhat similar is Hor. *Carm.* 2.3.27–8 *nos in aeternum exilium* | *impositura cumbae* ('bound for endless exile', where *in* states the destination). **lumina noctem:** as often, V. in moments of high pathos echoes Catullus, 51.11–12 *gemina teguntur* | *lumina nocte*, turning what had been erotic hyperbole to a literal and weightier use.

311–382 Aeneas is wounded, and Turnus goes on the offensive

This section presents strongly contrasted depictions of the two commanders. First we are given a brief glimpse of A. nobly but vainly trying to uphold the truce before he is wounded by an arrow from an unseen and unnamed assailant. The focus then shifts to T. in a way that recalls the opening of the book (cf. 324 *Turnus ut*, with n.). He is given a full-scale *aristeia* in the Homeric manner (324–82), modelled to an extent on *Il.* 11.284–98, where Agamemnon is wounded and forced to withdraw and Hector rallies the Trojans to attack the Greeks; unlike Hector, though, T. operates entirely on his own, as is typical of the *aristeiai* of the *Aeneid*. (There is a similar moment in *Il.* 14.440–1, when Hector withdraws after Ajax hits him with a rock and the Argives regain their spirits.) The scorn T. expresses toward his victims also has Homeric precedent; cf. n. on 359–61.

T.'s *aristeia* falls into two main sections (324–45, 346–82), each containing a simile in which T. is compared to a superhuman force (to Mars in 331–40, to the north wind in 365–70). The first part ends with a fuller reference to the father of one of T.'s opponents (343–5), while the second part begins in the same way, though further elaborated by an allusion to the *Iliad* (346–52). (Heinze (1915/1993)

232–3/178 offers a different structural analysis, in which the encounter with Eumedes (346–61) is surrounded by concentric frames.) On T.'s *aristeia* in general see Mazzocchini (2000) 159–99.

Throughout this section T. is described as a killing machine operating at peak capacity; his characteristic *uiolentia* here finds its fullest expression. But by presenting T.'s exploits as a reaction to A.'s withdrawal (324–5), V. clearly implies that T. can only realize his full potential as a warrior when the prospect of his encountering A. has been removed. The situation is similar to 10.647–8, when T. thinks that A. is leaving the battlefield: *tum uero Aenean auersum ut cedere Turnus* | *credidit atque animo spem turbidus hausit inanem.* (On earlier occasions T.'s confidence had not failed him even when confronted with miraculous omens favouring the Trojans: cf. 9.126 *at non audaci Turno fiducia cessit* = 10.276, with *haud tamen* for *at non*.)

311 The transition to A. is made in moral rather than physical terms: we are not told where he is or how he becomes aware of the renewed fighting, just his horrified reaction; *tendebat* shows him already trying in vain to halt the slaughter. **pius:** here A.'s distinctive epithet underscores his respect for the treaty he has sworn; WF aptly compares Catull. 76.2–4 *cum se cogitat esse pium,* | *nec sanctam uiolasse fidem, nec foedere nullo* | *diuum ad fallendos numine abusum homines. At pius* produces not only a strong shift of emphasis, but also an implied contrast between A.'s consistent behaviour (cf. 175 above) and that of his opponents.

311–12 inermem | nudato capite: A.'s unwarlike posture is emphasized. At 175 above A. speaks *stricto ense*; we are perhaps meant to infer that he puts away his sword for the sacrifice described in 213–15. A. takes off his helmet either to show his peaceful intention or (as Servius thought) to be more easily recognized by his men; for the latter action cf. 5.673–4, where Ascanius throws his helmet to the ground as he reveals himself to the Trojan women (*'en, ego uester* | *Ascanius!' – galeam ante pedes proiecit inanem*), Tac. *Ann.* 2.21.2 *Germanicus quo magis adgnosceretur detraxerat tegimen capiti.*

312 clamore: when *clamor* is used of a single person it seems to denote an especially excited or emotional outcry, cf. 2.769 (A. calling Creusa's name), 5.167 (urgently shouted instructions), 9.597 (Numanus Remulus taunting the Trojans).

313–17 A.'s rhetoric is forceful, but his reliance on the sacredness of the treaty is entirely out of touch with what has been happening on the field: compare, e.g., *ictum iam foedus* with *infecto foedere* in 286. V. may be so determined to show A. as committed to *ius* and *lex* that he risks having him seem naive or slow-witted (or, as Gaston Boissier more diplomatically said of him, 'il pousse jusqu'à l'excès le respect de la foi jurée').

V.'s concern to portray A. in the best light extends to his choice of words: A. makes no reference to killing T., only to his desire to 'contend' with him (*concurrere*); his final phrase speaks in abstract terms of T. as a debt owed to him (*Turnum debent iam haec mihi sacra*). One might compare the unemotive language in which Augustus related his avenging of Caesar's death (*RG* 2): *qui parentem meum*

trucidauerunt eos in exilium expuli iudiciis legitimis ultus eorum facinus, et postea bellum inferentis rei publicae uici bis acie.

A.'s speech has much in common with that of Jupiter in 10.6–15, in which he rebukes the other gods for allowing war to break out against his orders: both speeches combine indignant questions and urgent imperatives, and share several significant items of vocabulary (*discordia, metus, sinite, foedus*). Both attempts at control fail, since Juno and Juturna have conspired to circumvent Jupiter's orders.

313 quo ruitis?: cf. 279 *ruunt*, 291 *ruit*; A. is responding to the frenzy of violence described in the previous section. His question contains an unmistakable echo of Hor. *Epod.* 7.1 *quo, quo scelesti ruitis?*, and one of V.'s clearest indications that the war between the Trojans and Latins is a quasi-civil war. **discordia:** the word implies conflict between those who should be living in *concordia*, and is thus an apt term for civil strife; cf. *Ecl.* 1.71–2 *en quo discordia ciuis | produxit miseros!*, with Clausen's n., *G.* 2.496 *infidos agitans discordia fratres.* For other references to the war in Italy as a quasi-civil war cf. 7.545 with Horsfall's n., 10.9 (Jupiter had forbidden war between Trojans and Latins): *quae contra uetitum discordia?* In 583 below, *discordia* divides the citizens of Latinus' city when A. launches his attack.

314 o cohibete iras: 'this is the theme of the *Aeneid*', writes W., comparing Jupiter's vision of a future in which *furor impius* is kept under restraint (1.294–6). A., however, is not calling for a complete cessation of anger; 'his men must restrain their anger so that he can give vent to his' (Mackie (1988) 196), which he does at the end of the book (946–7 *ira | terribilis*).

315 compositae leges: *componere* 'to set in order' runs like a thread through the second half of the poem: 7.339 Allecto is to disrupt *compositam pacem*, 8.321–2 Saturn civilizing Latium, *genus . . . composuit legesque dedit*, 10.15 Jupiter calls on the other gods *placitum . . . componite foedus*; elsewhere in this book A. prematurely rejoices that the war is to be settled (109 *componi foedere bellum*), and Juno finally accepts the future settlement, 821–2 *cum iam . . . pacem . . . component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent.* **leges:** the immediate reference is to the conditions agreed upon for the duel, but as the passages just cited show, there is a broader reference to the laws that will govern the united peoples – in which broader sense A.'s words are true to a degree he cannot know.

315–17 mihi . . . me . . . ego . . . mihi: the profusion of first-person pronouns underscores A.'s sense of being uniquely responsible for carrying out the terms of the treaty and meeting T. in single combat; that sense of responsibility in turn accounts for his violent reaction when he is prevented from doing so (cf. 494–9 in particular).

316 sinite: i.e. *concurrere.* The use of *sinite* at 10.15 without an object is different, analogous to English 'drop it' (Mackail). **auferte metus:** a possible indication that A. is unaware of events since his last appearance, if he wrongly imagines that the Trojans are responsible for breaking the truce and that they have done so out of fear for his survival (so, e.g., Page; perhaps an allusion to the

Trojans' action in the *Iliad*). C–N take *metus* more generally as 'the fears and suspicions that have driven you to fight' and compare 10.9–10 in Jupiter's speech, *quis metus . . . arma sequi . . . suasit?* Alternatively, A. could simply be saying 'let me fight T. and have no fear of the outcome'; cf. 110–11 above. **sinite . . . auferte:** doubled imperatives are an obvious verbal means of asserting control; cf. 10.15 (again in Jupiter's speech) *nunc sinite et . . . componite foedus.*

316–17 foedera faxo | firma: on triple alliteration of this kind see Hardie on 9.563 (where it appears, as often, at the end of the line), Wölfflin in *ALL* 14.515–23. Here it combines with the archaic *faxo* (see following n.) to suggest solemnity and old-Roman uprightness. *foedera faxo firma* imitates the tendency of early Latin to use simple verbs with complements where later practice employs verbs of specialized meaning (e.g. *foedera firmabo*, as in 212 above). Skutsch (1985) 191 notes that *fides* often appears in alliterative phrases, and the same is true of *foedus*; cf. 573 below *ferte faces propere foedusque reposcite flammis*, 200 *foedera fulmine* with n., 212 *firmabant foedera* (a significant cross-reference: A. is trying to shore up the agreement he and L. were in the process of making).

316 faxo: an archaic future of *facere*, frequently seen in Plautus and Terence but rare in classical and post-classical poetry (18 occurrences, ten in Flavian epic); its only other appearance in V. is at *Aen.* 9.154–5 (T. speaking) *haud sibi cum Danais rem faxo et pube Pelasga | esse ferant.* The construction with a direct object is not archaic; see De Melo (2007) 338–40. Val. Fl. 7.177–8 echoes our phrase but makes *faxo* introduce the more common subjunctive clause: *iam foedera faxo | Haemonii petat ipsa uiri.*

317 firma: highlighted by deferred word order and placement in the line. **manu:** both 'by my own hand' and 'with strength'. **Turnum . . . sacra:** a striking conclusion, with *sacra* partially personified. The overt meaning is 'the rites I have performed owe me the opportunity to meet T. in combat' (i.e. in something like a *quid pro quo* transaction, since A. has performed the prescribed rituals, he is owed the result he sought in performing them). But another sense is also present, though not consciously intended by A.: 'the violation of these rites makes T.'s death obligatory'. The phrase recalls two earlier uses of *debere*, 10.442–3 (spoken by T.) *soli mihi Pallas | debetur* and 11.178–9 (Evander to A.) *dextera . . . Turnum natoque patrique | quam debere uides.* The echo of Evander's words makes T.'s death appear doubly determined. **haec iam mihi sacra:** the monosyllable *iam* at the start of the fifth foot creates non-correspondence of ictus and word accent in the following word; cf. 646 *uos o mihi Manes.*

318 inter . . . inter: the repetition both stresses the simultaneity of A.'s words and the arrival of the arrow and also prolongs the suspense before the main clause.

319 ecce . . . sagitta: attention is focused on the arrow itself, i.e. away from the shooter. The effect of the dramatizing *ecce* within the sentence resembles that of a *cum inuersum* clause (for which see on 249 above); cf. 11.225–6 *hos inter motus, medio in flagrante tumultu | ecce* etc., 650 below, Dionisotti (2007) 80. **uiro:** unemphatic, almost equivalent to *ei*; most forms of *is* are generally avoided in high

poetry, cf. 420 below. **uiro stridens alis adlapsa sagitta est:** a remarkably unspecific description, after which A. is not seen again until 384 (except for *Aenean cedentem* in 324). By offering no details of A.'s wound, V.'s narrative exercises a suppression parallel to that of the name of the perpetrator in the following lines. The other arrow in the book, in the simile in 856–9 describing the descent of the Dira, receives a much more detailed and ominous description. **stridens:** cf. 859 below, *stridula* 267 above with n. **alis adlapsa:** the closely similar 9.578 *alis adlapsa sagitta* shows that *alis* is to be taken with *adlapsa* (abl. of means). **alis** = *pennis*. **adlapsa:** often used of a gentle, gliding motion.

320–3 An emphatic statement, equal in length to its famous opposite 9.446–9, where V. predicts immortal fame for Nisus and Euryalus, and in its negative way as powerful a claim for the poet's ability to confer or withhold remembrance. In Homer Pandarus wounds Menelaus with an arrow (as recalled in 5.496–7); he is encouraged by Athena in disguise, who promises him glory (κῦδος) in the eyes of the Trojans (4.95), and the herald Talthybius calls Pandarus' action a source of fame (κλέος) to him (4.207). La Cerda compared the omission of the names of Alexander's assailants in Curt. 8.10.27 (*quidam e muro sagitta percussit*) and Plut. *De Alex. fort.* 341C. Ovid speaks similarly about the source of the spear that fatally wounds the centaur Cyllarus in *Met.* 12.419 *auctor in incerto est.*

320 incertum: V. may be adopting the pose of a historian whose ability to record the causes or agents of events is limited by his sources. Cf. e.g. Livy 4.55.8 (x *an* y) *incertum diuersi auctores faciunt* (sim. 30.26.12), 9.44.4, 21.29.6 *i. utrum . . . an . . .*, 31.41.2 *clauserant portas, i. ui an uoluntate*, 31.43.7 *i. cura gentis an ut* etc., 37.11.2 *i. metu an erga suos haud sincera fide*, 38.28.7 *i. quam ob causam.*

320–1 qua . . . quo . . . quis: the single unknown fact is elaborated to produce a litany of unanswered questions. The expansion has an ironic effect, grandly gesturing toward a conspicuous absence; similarly, *tantam laudem* and *insignis gloria facti* play up the idea of renown even as the thing itself is being withheld.

320 quo turbine: comms. say that *turbo* refers to the spinning motion imparted to a missile when thrown (clearly seen in 11.284 *quo turbine torqueat hastam*, and cf. 531 below), but arrows do not spin, so *turbo* 'may refer simply to the rush or force with which it was shot' (Horsfall ad loc.). *quo turbine* = *cuius turbine.*

321 quis . . . casusne deusne 'who was it . . . a god or blind chance'. Wills (1996) 376 interprets *casusne deusne* as a variant of the 'humans and gods' pairing (for which cf. 2.745 *hominumqe deorumque*); he compares Manilius 2.903 *casusque deique.*

322 pressa = *suppressa* (so Servius); 'kept secret' C–N. *insignis* is to be taken with *facti.*

323 nec . . . quisquam: a final statement of the anonymous character of the deed, which also hints at V.'s reasons for concealing the shooter's identity, i.e. to deprive him/her of the ability to boast, and to keep the spotlight on T. as A.'s real adversary.

324 Turnus ut: the repetition of the book's opening words draws attention to the parallel situation, in which T. becomes aware of a development that calls for a display of his valour, while underscoring the change in T.'s response: at the start of the book T. professed eagerness to meet A. (11–17), whereas here he only plucks up hope at the sight of A.'s withdrawal. There is also a recollection of the contrasted arming scenes (81–106, 107–12), with A. again showing restraint and aiming to calm fears (110 *metum solatur*, 316 *auferte metus*) and T. whipped up to furious excitement. (Specific echoes: 326 *poscit equos* = 82; 325 *ardet* ~ 101 *ardentis*; 327 *emicat* ~ *micat* 102.)

325 subita spe feruidus ardet: compare 11.491 *exultat . . . animis et spe iam praecipit hostem*, where T. eagerly prepares to meet A.'s attack. For *spe . . . ardet* C–N cite Soph. *Ajax* 478 ὅστις κεναῖσιν ἐλπίσιν θερμαίνεται; V. does not label T.'s hopes as vain, but the emphasis on hopes can imply their lack of fulfilment. **feruidus:** perhaps echoing its recent appearance in 293 (of Messapus).

326 superbus: adj. with adverbial force. In V. *superbus* almost always connotes arrogance rather than just pride; cf. Lloyd (1972). It is sometimes applied to characters in contexts that foreshadow their downfall; that is certainly the case in 10.514–15 *te, Turnum, superbum | caede noua*, which follows closely upon V.'s prophecy of T.'s doom in 503–5, but it is less obviously so here.

327 emicat 'leaps with a flash' (M.); cf. 9. 735–6 *Pandarus ingens | emicat*, 11.496, where T. is compared to a stallion that has slipped its restraints and exults in its freedom. The verb connotes rapid movement along with a flamelike brightness (here explicable as the reflection of sunlight off T.'s armour, but not always so literally grounded); combined with *in* cf. 6.5 *iuuenum manus emicat ardens | litus in Hesperium*. To activate the fire imagery implicit in the verb, V. often uses it with or in proximity to other fiery language, especially *ardeo*: cf. 2.175 (172 *arsere*), 5.319 (*fulminis . . . alis*), 6.5, 11.496 (490 *fulgebat*), 728 below (732 *ardentem*); cf. Norden on 6.5, G. Senis in *EV* 3.518 s.v. *mico*. **molitur habenas:** the combination is otherwise unattested; for *moliri* of wielding weapons or projectiles cf. *G.* 1.329 *fulmina* (after Lucr. 5.255 *commoliri*), 4.331 *bipennem*. The phrase suggests the effort needed to control the reins.

Later in the book T. has a charioteer named Metiscus, whom Juturna impersonates to keep her brother out of danger (468–72); here, however, to maintain the focus on T. and to strengthen the comparison to Mars, V. has T. drive his chariot unaided.

328–30 V. starts with an overview of the slaughter wrought by T. in his course. The strongly framed phrases *multa . . . multos* and *aut . . . aut* are best understood as describing separate operations: in the first, T. kills some opponents outright and hurls others to the ground mortally wounded; in the second, he runs over some enemies with his chariot and harries others with spears as they attempt to flee. The compression of the account and the variety of means that T. employs

give him an almost superhuman stature, an impression that leads naturally into the following simile.

328 uirum = *uirorum*. The uncontracted form appears only three times (3.102, 8.356, 11.634); in part for metrical reasons, it is always found at the end of the hexameter. **uolitans** 'darting about', cf. 126 above, 11.546 *circumfuso uolitabant milite Volsci* (also of cavalry). The image looks forward to *uolant* in 334 and is part of the theme of rapid motion that runs through this section; as the comparison with 334 shows, *uolitans* ascribes to T. actions that strictly speaking are performed by his horses or chariot (similarly *proterit* 330); cf. Mazzocchini (2000) 173–4. **dat fortia corpora leto:** for the generalizing phrase cf. 10.662 *obuia multa uirum demittit corpora morti*; *dare leto*, originally a piece of sacral language, belongs to the high style, cf. 5.806 *milia multa daret leto*, 11.172 *quos dat tua dextera leto*, Enn. *Scaenica* 283 J. *quorum liberi leto dati*, with Jocelyn's n.; similarly *dare neci* in 341 below. **fortia corpora:** cf. 1.101 *scuta uirum galeasque et f. c. uoluit* (= 8.539, with *uolues* for *uoluit*).

329 seminecis: 'dying' rather than 'half-dead'; the adj. (used five times in *Aen.*) is not attested before V. and could be his coinage; Harrison on 10.462 suggests that it might be modelled on Greek ἡμιθνής. **uoluit:** not just 'throws down' (W.) but also 'sends rolling'; cf. 10.555–6 *truncum . . . tepentem | prouoluens*. Here the implication (assisted by the partial echo of *uolitans*) is that these opponents are swept up in the onrush of T.'s chariot. **multos; aut:** a colon after *multos* (Mynors, Conte) would imply that the *agmina* and *fugientes* of the following clauses are subdivisions of the *semineces . . . multos*, which is impossible at least for the latter. It seems better to treat *aut . . . hastas* as describing new phases of T.'s onslaught. (C–N place a comma after *multos*; M. and W. have no punctuation.)

329–30 agmina . . . proterit: the hyperbole can be felt by comparing Curt. 5.3.18 *ingentis magnitudinis saxa per montium prona deuoluunt, quae . . . nec singulos modo sed agmina proterebant*. For *proterere* of horses or elephants trampling foot soldiers, cf. Caes. *B Ciu.* 2.41.5, Plin. *HN* 8.27, Tac. *Ann.* 1.65.5. In the *Iliad* both Hector (11.534–7) and Achilles (20.499–502) trample men and weapons with their chariots; see n. on 339–40 below. **raptas . . . hastas:** the phrase also occurs at 9.763 (again describing T.), where *raptas* is clarified by the preceding *hinc* (i.e. snatched from the bodies of Phalaris and Gyges, named in 762). The sense is almost certainly the same here, that T. snatches spears from the bodies of fallen Trojans and hurls them at fleeing enemies (*fugientibus ingerit*); the fact that such an action would hardly be possible for someone in a speeding chariot shows that V. is portraying T. as transcending normal human limits.

331–40 Several Homeric warriors are compared to Ares as they go into battle (e.g. Agamemnon in *Il.* 2.479, Ajax 7.208–10, Hector 15.605–6, Achilles 20.46, 22.132), but only T. in the *Aeneid* is compared to Mars. V.'s simile is based on *Il.* 13.298–303, where Idomeneus and Meriones are compared to Ares and his son Phobos, but V. has significantly altered his model, e.g. by eliminating any

companion for T. while multiplying Mars' entourage (cf. 335–6n.); T. alone now stands comparison with Mars and his entire retinue (so D. West (1970) 263).

Some critics have seen the simile as glorifying T. (e.g. WF 34: 'T. is idealised; he is for the time at least a superman'; Pöschl (1962) 202 n. 52: 'Turnus, at the zenith is compared to a god. Nobody else is given this honor except Aeneas and Dido'), but in a Virgilian context to be the embodiment of war cannot escape sinister implications (see 336n.). Furthermore, the comparison shows Mars riding into battle while T. is in the midst of the fight; T. thus seems to surpass the war god himself in bloodthirstiness. Finally, the analogy between T. and Mars stands in pointed contrast to A. seen at his most civilized and law-abiding. For further discussion see D. West (1970) 262–4, Mazzocchini (2000) 165–76. La Cerda cites as imitations Sil. 1.433–6, Claud. *In Eutropium* 2.103–4.

331 qualis . . . cum: a not infrequent lead-in to a simile, cf. 2.223, 8.622, *G.* 3.196. **Hebri:** in the Homeric simile Ares and Phobos are seen coming from Thrace (13.301); V. also sets his simile in Thrace, probably because of its traditional association with Mars; the Thracian setting carries over into the following simile (365). **concitus** 'aroused, stirred up' (perf. part. of *concieo*); *concitus* can describe people or objects in swift motion (cf. 902 below *cursu concitus heros*), but here the emphasis is on the agitation that precedes the outbreak of war, cf. Livy 8.17.2 *Samnium fama erat conciri ad bellum*, 10.18.1 *Romanis . . . bellum ingens multis ex gentibus concitur.*

332 sanguineus: not a conventional epithet of Mars (perhaps echoed by Ovid, *Rem. am.* 153), though obviously appropriate; of Bellona, cf. 8.703 *cum sanguineo sequitur B. flagello* (often recalled, cf. Sen. *Ira* 2.35.6, *Agam.* 82, Luc. 7.568, Stat. *Theb.* 7.73, 9.297), of *bellum* personified Ovid, *Met.* 1.143 *sanguinea . . . manu crepitantia concutit arma*. *sanguineus* ('bloodstained') is echoed by *sanguineos* ('made of blood') in 340. **Mauors:** a form regarded as archaic by the Romans, sometimes etymologized as *Mauors qui magna uertit* (i.e. M. who determines the outcome of great events), cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.67, 3.62. It appears in epic from Ennius onward (*Ann.* 99 Sk.); V. has the nom. five times in *Aen.*, along with two uses of the gen. *Mauortis* and five of the adj. *Mauortius*. **clipeo increpat:** strikes his shield with his sword as a signal for battle or to strike fear into the enemy, cf. *G.* 4.70–1 *morantis* | *Martius ille aeris rauci clamor increpat*, Caes. *B Gall.* 7.21 *armis concrepuit multitudo*, and for a similar action on T.'s part cf. 8.3 *ut . . . acris concussit equos utque impulit arma*. Page compares Callim. *Hymn to Delos* 136, where Ares strikes his shield with his spear. The oldest manuscripts divide between *increpat* and *intonat*; the former is strongly supported by the close parallel in Sil. 12.684–5, of Hannibal, *clipeoque tremendum* | *increpat* (cf. also Ovid, *Met.* 14.820–1 *conscendit equos Gradiuus et icto* | *uerberis increpuit*), and *intonat* could be an echo corruption caused by memory of 9.709 *clipeum super intonat ingens*, or, as Traina suggests, of 700 below *horrendum . . . intonat armis*. **furentis:** corresponds to *fumantis* 338.

333 bella mouens: corresponds to πόλεμον δὲ μέτεισι of Ares in *Il.* 13.298. For the phrase cf. *G.* 1.509 *hinc mouet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum.* **immittit** 'lets loose', with wider implications of loosing war's fury; cf. 10.40–1 *superis immissa* . . . | *Allecto*, and Mark Antony's 'cry Havoc and let slip the dogs of war' (*Julius Caesar* 3.1.270). **illi:** the asyndeton (again with *gemit* in 334), together with the profusion of verb forms in the previous phrase (*increpat, furentis, mouens, immittit*), creates a sense of fevered activity. **aequore** 'plain', cf. 353, 450 below *campo* . . . *aperto.*

334 ante . . . uolant: somewhat surprisingly, the corresponding detail in the narrative applies to two of T.'s victims, Glaucus and Lades, brought up *equo praeuertere uentos* (345). But we have already learned that T.'s own horses can outrun the winds (84 above). **gemit:** more emotive than (*con*)*tremo* as in Enn. *Ann.* 309 Sk. *Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu* (imitated in Lucr. 3.834–5 *omnia cum belli trepido concussa tumultu* | *horrida contremuere*); *gemo* corresponds to Homeric στεναχίζω as in, e.g., *Il.* 2.784, 20.157. **ultima:** not so much 'far off Thrace' as an intensifying 'to the ends of Thrace'.

335 Thraca: Latin poets use both the form *Thraca* (cf. Hor. *Epod.* 1.16.13, Stat. *Theb.* 5.435) and *Thrace* (Hor. *Carm.* 2.16.5, Ovid, *Her.* 2.84); V. has both corresponding adj. forms, *Thracius* and *Threicius.*

335–6 circum . . . aguntur: in place of the single companion Phobos (*Il.* 13.299–300), V. provides Mars with a triple entourage; there is a Homeric model in *Il.* 4.440, where Deimos, Phobos and Eris accompany Ares and Athena, but the members of V.'s troupe are primarily Roman in their colouring and connotations. On catalogues of personified abstractions see Austin on 6.273ff.

335 atrae Formidinis ora: a bold borrowing from Lucr. 4.173 *impendent atrae formidinis ora superne*, referring to frightening shapes that loom when dark storm clouds gather. **atrae:** in Lucretius used literally of shapes in darkness (cf. also 170 *tenebras*, 172 *nimborum nocte coorta*), but here more emotively of that which is foul or noxious (so WF 78).

336 Iraeque Insidiaeque: the combination strongly recalls 7.325–6 in the description of Allecto, *cui tristia bella* | *iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi.* The reminder of war's hellish associations – and of T.'s own connection to Allecto – casts a grim light on T.'s performance: 'at his height before death, Turnus appears as the bloody demon of war, just as Allecto has fashioned him' (Pöschl (1962) 118). It is possible that *Irae* is sing. dependent on *ora*, but the *-que* . . . *-que* correlative pairing (on which see Wills (1996) 374) makes it much more likely that it is pl. here, as it is in 7.326. **aguntur** 'speed on'; passive with middle force, cf. 346 below *fertur.*

337 alacer 'keen for battle'; cf. Harrison on 10.729, where the adj. is applied to Mezentius.

338 quatit 'lashes' (*OLD* 5), cf. 8.3 (of T.) *acris concussit equos.* The presence of *insultans* in the following line may evoke the description of Tisiphone in

6.570–1 *sontis ultrix* . . . | *Tisiphone quatit insultans.* **miserabile:** adverbial acc., like *immane* in 535 below. Although the verse cadence momentarily connects *miserabile* to *caesis*, it seems best to take *miserabile* as referring to the whole phrase *caesis hostibus insultans.* The editorializing comment (similar to *miserabile uisu* in 1.111, 9.465) expresses sympathy for the victims of T.'s onslaught, while *hostibus* reminds us of how T. views them.

338–9 quatit . . . insultans; spargit: as previously in the simile, asyndeton and short clauses underscore the rapidity of the action.

339–40 spargit . . . harena: the gory details resemble *Il.* 15.534–7 = 20.499–502; the focus in Homer is on the blood that splashes back onto the chariot, here on the blood that is thrown into the air (*rores*) and trampled into the sand.

339 ungula: for the collective sing. cf. the Ennian formula *quatit/concutit ungula terram* (*Ann.* 242, 263, 431 Sk.), echoed in V.'s *quatit ungula campum*, 8.596, 11.875.

339–40 rores | sanguineos: 'bloody dew' appears in *Il.* 11.53–4, where it is sent down from the sky by Zeus; V. is fond of the metaphor, cf. 512 below (*capita*) *rorantia sanguine*, 8.645 *rorabant sanguine uepres*, and it becomes something of a cliché in post-Virgilian epic, cf. Mazzocchini (2000) 171, Dewar on Stat. *Theb.* 9.596. Here it is enlivened by the strong enjambment of *sanguineos.*

340 sanguineos: looks back to *sanguineus* in 332 above. **mixta . . . harena:** abl. abs. (lit. 'blood with sand mixed in'), cf. 667 below *mixto* . . . *insania luctu* (= 10.871), 2.609 *mixto* . . . *puluere fumum.* **harena:** a favourite line-ending word in V. (40 instances), often the last word of a segment, and in one case the last word of a book, 5.871. 'Even in the later books when the fighting is well inland V. uses *harena* of the dust of the battlefield, perhaps hinting at a gladiatorial image' (Hardie on 9.589).

341–5 Lists of victims (usually figures who make only one appearance) are a standard component of a Homeric *aristeia*; recording the names of enemies killed is essential to secure the hero's κλέος, and such records can provide a measure of fame for the victim as well. Also conventional is the brief indication of the manner of death (e.g. whether at close quarters or at a distance) and the obituary notice that singles out a defeated opponent for a short memorial, see n. on 343–5.

This catalogue is recalled in Ovid's Centauromachy, *Met.* 12.459–61 (Nestor speaking):

> quinque neci Caeneus dederat Styphelumque Bromumque
> Antimachumque Elymumque securiferumque Pyracmon:
> uulnera non memini, numerum nomenque notaui.

Wills (1996) 380 observes that 'Ovid's . . . *numerum nomenque notaui* marks the method of the allusion: when Caeneus puts his foes to death the count is the same as Virgil's (five victims, now accurately with five instances of *-que*) and he starts with a man of similar name (*Styphelum* ∼ *Sthenelum*). Virgil did not say how they died, so neither does Ovid (*uulnera non memini*).'

341 iamque . . . dedit: the fact that T. has already accumulated so many victims attests to his speed and invincibility. Mazzocchini (2000) 178 suggests that T. killed those opponents while the narrator was preoccupied with the simile, and that V. is now hurrying to catch up with his character's progress, but the simile has been effectively over since 336, and the overview of slaughter in 339–40 is a natural preparation for the more detailed account in 341–5. **neci . . . dedit:** a high-sounding periphrasis for *occidit*, cf. 513–14 below *neci* . . . *mittit*, 328 above *dat* . . . *leto* (n.), Austin on 2.85 *demisere neci*, and Bömer on Ovid, *Met.* 12.459 *quinque neci Caeneus dederat*. **Sthenelumque . . . Thamyrumque Pholumque:** Sthenelus is the name of a Greek fighter in 2.261, and Pholus is the name of a centaur in 8.294, *G.* 2.456, and Ovid, *Met.* 12.307; Thamyrus is otherwise unattested. The first of Caeneus' victims in Ovid, *Met.* 12.459 is Styphelus, probably chosen for a near-echo of V.'s Sthenelus. **-que . . . -que . . . -que . . . -que:** see on 363 below.

342 hunc . . . hunc, illum . . . ambo: all five victims are mentioned and figuratively despatched in one extraordinary line, reinforcing the impression of T.'s ruthless efficiency. **congressus . . . eminus:** it is traditional to distinguish between men killed in hand-to-hand combat and those further off slain by a spear throw, cf. *Il.* 20.378, 462. In Latin the distinction can be baldly expressed by *comminus* vs. *eminus* (as in Ovid, *Met.* 3.119), but variations are often found, especially for *comminus*: thus *congressus* here ('meeting face to face'), *collato Marte* in Ovid, *Met.* 12.379. In 509–11 below V. varies the pattern further: *Amycum fratremque Diorem* | *congressus pedes* (i.e. T. engages them on foot), *hunc uenientem cuspide longa*, | *hunc mucrone ferit*.

343–5 V. ends this section of narrative with a fuller notice of two of T.'s victims and a sketch of their upbringing. On similar obituary notices in Homer see Griffin (1980) 103–43, who notes that Homer's predominantly 'objective' style invests the details in these passages with great pathos. On the whole V. here adopts the Homeric manner, allowing the facts to register without overtly empathetic touches; contrast, e.g., 10.315–27, where pathetic apostrophes solicit the reader's sympathy. See further Harrison (1991) xxxii–xxxiii.

343 Imbrasidas: a Thracian son of Imbrasos is named in *Il.* 4.520, and an Asius son of Imbrasos appears in 10.123 in a group of Trojans and allies (including two brothers from Lycia, 125–6). **Glaucum atque Laden:** named only here. Glaucus is a fitting name for a Lycian, recalling the companion of Sarpedon and co-commander of the Lycians at Troy (*Il.* 2.876–7). For pairs of warrior brothers in *Aen.* see Harrison on 10.125–6. **ipse:** i.e. not entrusting their upbringing to another (Servius).

344 nutrierat: all three instances of the verb in *Aen.* depict fathers who play a nurturing role; cf. 7.485 (Tyrrhus helping to rear the stag), 11.572 (Metabus with the infant Camilla). The image of the 'mothering father' (Horsfall on 11.570–2) heightens the pathos of Imbrasus' loss; on bereaved parents in epic obituaries see Griffin (1980) 123–7. **paribusque ornauerat armis:** some comms.

interpret *paribus* as 'equally suited' to both forms of fighting named in 345, but it seems more natural to understand it in the sense 'equal, evenly matched', i.e. between the two brothers; cf. 6.826 *paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis* (where *paribus* alludes to civil war, in which the combatants fight with weapons 'alas, identical in form' (Mynors on *G.* 1.489)). **ornauerat armis** 'had fitted them out with arms', cf. 10.638 *Dardaniis ornat telis*, Enn. *Ann.* 170–1 Sk. *proletarius publicitus* . . . | *ornatur ferro*, Nep. *Dion* 9.2 *nauem triremem armatis ornat.*

345 uel conferre . . . uel praeuertere: M. takes the inf. as depending on *nutrierat* ('he had brought them up to be good fighters and riders') and explains the construction as a poetic extension of the infinitive under Greek influence (see his n. on 97–9 above); though exact parallels are lacking, that explanation is more plausible than W.'s suggestion that *docens* is to be understood. The picture of the brothers equally skilled in various forms of warfare may recall *Il.* 5.11 (the two sons of Dares) μάχης εὖ εἰδότε πάσης. **conferre manum** 'engage, come to grips' (*OLD* s.v. *confero* 15c), a relatively rare expression in both prose and verse; it appears more often in *Aen.* (seven occurrences) than in any other extant text (e.g. four times in Livy, twice in Cicero, three times in Seneca, three times in Silius; see *TLL* 4.180.55–67, Oakley on Livy 9.5.10, Lyne (1989) 111–12 (overestimating its prosaic character)). Also in this book at 480, 678 (on which see n.). **equo praeuertere uentos:** a skill shared by the horses of Mars (334) and of T. himself (84). It may seem remarkable that V. attributes it to these minor figures; the point is perhaps that not even their extraordinary speed could save them from T.'s onslaught. For the phrasing cf. 1.317 (Venus disguised as Harpalyce) *fuga praeuertitur Hebrum*, 7.806–7 (Camilla) *adsueta . . . cursu . . . pedum praeuertere uentos.*

346–8 The introduction of Eumedes poses an interpretative problem noticed already in Antiquity (cf. Macrob. *Sat.* 5.16.9): he is compared to his father Dolon in spirits and prowess (348 *animo manibusque*), but whereas the Homeric Dolon is an unimpressive figure, Eumedes is described in highly laudatory terms. Most comms. conclude that V. has ennobled Dolon for his own purposes, but La Cerda acutely suggested that V.'s tone is ironic, and the suggestion finds support in the suspiciously grandiose *proles bello praeclara*, the absence of any warlike action on Eumedes' part, the sarcasm evident in 351–2, and the close parallels between the fates of Dolon and his son (cf. 351–2 n.). It appears that the scorn T. expresses for his opponent (359–61) has seeped into V.'s own narrative voice.

346 Parte alia: as a transition formula cf. 8.433, 9.521, perhaps with an origin in ecphrasis, cf. Catull. 64.251 *parte ex alia*, *Aen.* 1.474, 8.682. **fertur:** in combination with *equo* or *equis*, *fertur* would mean 'borne in a chariot' (cf. e.g. 1.476, 11.730), but used absolutely the word describes self-propelled motion, cf. 2.511 (Priam) *densos fertur moriturus in hostis*, 11.530 (T.) *nota fertur regione uiarum.*

347 A portentously slow line, marked by interlocked word order and alliteration of *proles . . . praeclara*. If the tone is ironic (see on 346–8), the appearance of Dolon's name at the end of the line may be deliberately anticlimactic. **bello praeclara:** cf. 8.480 *Lydia . . . gens bello praeclara*, 10.397–8 *praeclara . . . facta uiri.*

The grand adj., frequent in Ciceronian prose, is also a Lucretian favourite, cf. 1.729, 732, 4.1033 *nuntia praeclari uultus pulchrique colore*, where the high language is clearly ironic. Compare also the laudatory terms with which Camers is introduced in 225–6 above.

348 nomine auum referens: the herald Eumedes is named as the father of Dolon in *Il.* 10.314. **referens** 'recalling, resembling' (*OLD* 19), cf. 4.329 *qui te tamen ore referret*, 5.564 *nomen aui referens*, Lucr. 4.1219 *ut*... (*nati*) *referant proauorum saepe figuras*. **manibus:** almost a synonym for *uiribus*; in this sense more often in the singular, *manu*, cf. 23 above (n.).

349–52 The story of Dolon is told in the second half of book 10 of the *Iliad* (299–579). Hector offers a chariot and horses to whoever will volunteer to spy on the Greek ships; Dolon accepts the assignment on condition that he be given the chariot of Achilles (cf. 350). Before he leaves the Trojan camp he is cut off and taken captive by Odysseus and Diomedes, who have come on a spying expedition of their own; to save his life Dolon reveals the disposition of the Trojan forces, in particular the newly arrived Thracians under Rhesus with his golden armour and snow-white horses. Armed with this information Diomedes kills Dolon and the Greeks proceed to murder Rhesus and his companions in their sleep and to carry his arms and horses back to the Greek camp.

In 1.469–73 V. relates Rhesus' story without explicitly mentioning Dolon, focusing instead on the theft of the horses (an oracle had warned that if they ate Trojan grass or drank from Trojan rivers the city could not be captured); only *prodita* in 1.470 alludes to Dolon's role in betraying the location of the camp to Odysseus and Diomedes.

349 quondam: it is tempting to see *quondam* as a marker of a literary reference (= 'in an earlier text'). **ut:** introducing a quasi-purpose clause ('as the price of his going'); Servius less plausibly wished to see a hypallage for *ut Achillis equos posset accipere, ausus est ire* etc. V.'s manipulation of syntax throws greater weight onto 350, which becomes the fateful moment of choice.

350 ausus: answered by *pro talibus ausis*, as *Pelidae*... *currus* returns in *equis*... *Achilli*, *pretium* is transformed into *alio*... *pretio*, and *poscere* is negated by *nec*... *aspirat*. The point-for-point reversal implies that Dolon's desire for Achilles' chariot led to his doom, thereby linking him to figures such as Euryalus and Camilla, who perish through their reckless pursuit of rich spoils (cf. 9.359–66, 11.778–82). There is equally extensive correspondence between this line and 359–61 (*ausus* ~ *ausi*, *pretium* ~ *praemia*, *poscere* ~ *petisti*, perhaps also *qui* 349 ~ *qui* 360). The effect can be compared to the way details in a simile relate to aspects of the surrounding narrative; the close connections portray the death of Eumedes as a re-enactment of that of Dolon (Mazzocchini (2000) 182.)

351–2 alio... | adfecit pretio 'presented him with a reward of a different kind'. The irony depends on the fact that *adficere* is used of bestowing both rewards and punishments; cf. e.g. Cic. *Fam.* 2.3.2 *plurimis maximisque muneribus*... *nos*... *adficies* vs. 13.10.2 *maximis enim damnis adfectus est*. The verb is primarily

prosaic. The wide separation of *alio* ... *pretio* gives added emphasis to the pointed *alio*.

351 pro talibus ausis: the same combination at 2.535. V. seems to have pioneered the use of *ausum* as a noun; Servius Auctus ad loc. remarks 'quaeritur quis ante hunc *ausis* dixerit'.

352 nec ... Achillis: i.e. because he is now dead. The shift to the present tense underscores the sarcasm in the narrator's voice.

Achillis: the regular form of the gen. sing. of Greek names in *-es* is *-i* (or *-ei*), as in, e.g., *Vlixi*, and in *Aen.* 1.30, 2.275, 3.87 and 6.839 *Achilli* has strong manuscript support, with *Achillis* usually attested as a variant. (At *G.* 3.91 the MSS are divided among *Achilli*, *Achillis*, *Achillei* and *Achilles*.) In the present passage and at *Aen.* 2.476 and 10.581, *Achillis* is the better-attested form. Some comms. believe that V. was guided in his choice by euphony, and that he preferred *Achilli* when the previous word ended in *-is* or *-us*; cf. Servius on *Aen.* 1.30 '*Achilli*: propter ὁμοιοτέλευτον detraxit s litteram', i.e. V. wished to avoid the homoeoteleuton *immitis Achillis*. That explanation would account for *Achilli* there and in *Aen.* 3.87 (*immitis A.* again), 2.275 (*exuuias indutus A.*), 6.839 (*genus armipotentis A.*) and *G.* 3.91 (*magni currus A.*) and would support the majority reading *Achillis* here and in *Aen.* 2.476 *equorum agitator A.* In *Aen.* 10.581, however, reading *nec currum cernis Achilli* (as do Mynors and Conte) requires overruling the unanimous text of MPR; it seems likely that V. chose the combination *currum* ... *Achillis* for the chiastic symmetry with *Diomedis equos* at the beginning of the line. (So Leumann (1959) 117, who also suggested that the gen. *Achillis* was a Virgilian innovation.) It is curious that all three *Aeneid* passages in which *Achillis* is the likely form deal with Achilles' horses or chariot. **aspirat:** only here in V. with the sense 'aspire to'; elsewhere it means 'breathe upon' or 'show favour to'.

353–4 hunc ... secutus: iconic word order, depicting the distance travelled by the spear to reach its target; the effect is heightened by the intervening *longum per inane*. These two lines create a momentary *rallentando* before the swift action of 355–8. A similar effect is produced in 11.778–81 (Camilla's stalking of Chloreus) *hunc uirgo* ... | ... | ... *unum ex omni certamine pugnae* | *caeca sequebatur*.

353 hunc: i.e. Eumedes. Resumptive *hic* performs a similar function following an extended description, as in 772 below. **procul ... prospexit:** Diomedes similarly spots Dolon approaching in *Il.* 10.339–40; *campo* ... *aperto* may correspond to πεδίοιο in *Il.* 10.344.

354 ante: adv., 'previously', i.e. before the close-quarters encounter to follow, but perhaps also suggesting that T. acts before Eumedes can defend himself. **longum per inane:** *inane* as a noun can evoke Lucretian descriptions of the void (as in *Ecl.* 6.31–2 *magnum per inane coacta* | *semina*), but here it is a loftier equivalent of *aer*. The phrase is echoed in 906 below, where the rock thrown at A. by T. moves *uacuum per inane* but falls short of its target. **secutus:** *sequor* in combinations such as *telo* (*hasta* etc.) *sequi* often has the sense of 'catch' (= *consequor*), cf. 11.674–5 (Camilla) *sequitur* ... *eminus hasta* | *Tereaque* etc., 774–6

below (Aeneas) *uoluit . . . telo . . . sequi quem prendere cursu* | *non poterat. sequor* and *consequor* are important thematic terms in this episode (cf. 366, 375, 380), characterizing T. as the implacable hunter of his enemies.

355–8 WF called these lines 'the most remarkable "paratactic" passage in Virgil' (79); they are marked by polysyndeton, short phrases, alliteration of *t* (355) and *p* (356–7), and one of only two instances in V. of *atque* at line-end, all contributing to a feeling of 'breathlessness'.

355 biiugis: the 3rd decl. form only here and in *G.* 3.98; elsewhere in V. the pl. adj. has the 2nd decl. form *biiugi.* **atque:** this and 615 below are the only examples in V. of *atque* at the end of a line, creating a strong enjambment with the following line. With the exception of Horace's *Satires* and *Epistles*, *atque* at the end of a hexameter is exceedingly rare: cf. Lucr. 6.1108, Juv. 4.78 (perhaps imitating Horatian practice), *TLL* 1.1049.68ff., Norden, Appendix 3.3.

356 semianimi: scanned as a four-syllable word, with the first *i* consonantal; cf. 401, 706 below. **superuenit:** the verb may be a Virgilian invention (see Clausen on *Ecl.* 3.38); the sense here is something like 'catches up with/comes upon' (probably not, as in *OLD* 1, 'come down on top (of) so as to weigh down or cover'). Elsewhere *super* more clearly depicts the victor standing above the fallen foe, cf. 10.540–1 *lapsumque superstans* | *immolat*, Val. Fl. 4.311–12 *labentem propulit . . . super insistens.*

356–7 pede collo | impresso: as T. did previously with the body of Pallas, 10.495–6 *laeuo pressit pede . . .* | *exanimem* (~*semianimi* here). There the gesture followed a boastful speech; here it precedes one (as it does in 10.736–7 and *Il.* 13.618–19, see 359–61n.). *pede . . . impresso* is abl. abs, and *collo* is dat. after the compound *impresso.*

357 dextrae mucronem extorquet 'wrenches the sword from his hand' (*dextrae* dat.); cf. Cicero's claim to have disarmed Catiline, *Cat.* 2.2 *quod uero non cruentum mucronem . . . extulit, . . . quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus.* Killing an opponent with his own weapon makes the death especially humiliating. Servius thought that V. did not want to spoil the later moment when T. discovers that he has been using Metiscus' sword instead of his own, cf. 735–41 below; but in 738–9 V. explains why that oversight had not been noticed before.

357–8 alto . . . iugulo: the enclosing word order and the shape of the words match *alio . . . pretio* in 351–2; the phrases are also allusively linked in content, since the 'other reward' refers to the fatal neck-wound Diomedes gives Dolon in *Il.* 10.455–6. *alto* = 'deep in his throat', cf. 6.599 *sub alto pectore.*

358 tingit: the verb appears in a similar context before V. only in Lucr. 5.1328 (wild boars) *tela infracta suo tingentes sanguine.* It is often used in descriptions of sacrificed animals (*G.* 3.492, Hor. *Carm.* 3.28.13, Ovid, *Met.* 7.599), but that association does not seem to be invoked here. The brachylogy in *iugulo . . . tingere* (condensed from *sanguine iuguli tingere*) is probably imitated in Prop. 4.1.112 (Calchas sacrificing Iphigenia) *ferrum ceruice puellae* | *tinxit.* In the other examples of *tingere* cited, the

wounded person or animal is the subject; making T. the subject emphasizes his complete domination.

359–61 T.'s speech has a Homeric model in the much longer speech of Menelaus over the body of Peisander (*Il.* 13.620–39), which features a similarly taunting address to the Trojans (621, 633, 639).

359–60 en . . . metire: *en* with imperatives has an encouraging sense, 'come on, go ahead'; cf. *G.* 3.42–3 *en age segnis* | *rumpe moras.* The tone is often sarcastic, as here.

359 Troiane: by turning Menelaus' 'Trojans' (Τρῶες, *Il.* 13.621) into a singular, V. heightens the parallel between Eumedes and Dolon. For the mocking use of an ethnic adjective, cf. Camilla's words to Ornytus (11.686) *'siluis te, Tyrrhene, feras agitare putasti?'* **quam bello . . . petisti:** for both thought and tone compare 9.600 (Numanus Remulus) *en qui nostra sibi bello conubia poscunt*, 10.650 (T. to the *umbra* of A.) *hac dabitur dextra tellus quaesita per undas.*

360 metire: if victorious, the Trojans would measure out land to be given to settlers, for which cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9.17.2 *Veientem quidem agrum et Capenatem metiuntur*, Livy 31.4.2 *decemuiros agro Samniti . . . metiendo diuidendoque crearent*; instead, T. claims, they will measure it with their bodies. The phrase is imitated by Stat. *Theb.* 5.577 *hic magno tellurem pondere mensus. metire* is imperative of the deponent *metior.* **praemia:** for the ironic use cf. 2.536–8 *di . . . persoluant grates dignas et praemia reddant* | *debita*, 11.856–7 *huc periture ueni, capias ut digna Camillae* | *praemia.* Here *haec* conveys more elliptically what *dignus* does in the other passages.

360–1 me | ferro ausi temptare: *temptare* with the sense 'attack' (*OLD* 9a) governing a personal object (as opposed, e.g., to cities or buildings) seems rare; its use may indicate that T. sees the war as an assault on him personally. Another sense may also be in play, 'to test me with the sword' (i.e. to see what stuff I am made of); Ovid's imitation in *Met.* 12.490–1 suggests that he understood the passage in that way, as Caeneus, whose body has just been proved invulnerable, says to his opponent *nunc age . . . nostro tua corpora ferro* | *temptemus.*

361 sic moenia condunt: i.e. not at all. Ironic *sic* is more often found in questions, cf. 1.253 *sic nos in sceptra reponis?*, 2.44 *sic notus Vlixes?* In the longer term, though, *moenia condere* is just what A.'s descendants will do; cf. 1.276–7 *Mauortia condet* | *moenia.*

362 comitem: to keep Eumedes company in death, another instance of the narrator's voice taking on T.'s sarcasm; similarly in 9.763 *addit Halyn comitem* (again with T. as subject). The mocking tone is underscored by the biting alliteration of *c*. Statius echoes the Virgilian passages (also 881 below) in *Theb.* 2.608–9 *comitem . . . illi iubet ire sub umbras* | *Phegea*, perhaps taking the name Phegeus from 371 below. **coniecta cuspide:** T. has apparently returned to his chariot after killing Eumedes (as becomes clear in 368–70), but V. does not wish to slow the pace of his narrative by spelling out the detail. **mittit:** 'to death' is probably

to be understood; *mittere* is used in several periphrases for *occidere*, e.g. *mittere leto*, *mittere umbris*, cf. 513–14 below, Horsfall on 11.81.

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simile is balanced by 451–5 below, comparing A. on his return to the battlefield to an approaching storm.

365 Edoni: *Edonus* is a poeticism for 'Thracian', found only here in V. but popular with later writers, cf. Ovid, *Rem. am.* 593, *Tr.* 4.1.42, Stat. *Theb.* 5.78, etc. The Thracian setting of the simile forms a link to the previous simile, cf. 333–4 above. **spiritus** 'blast', in framing position with *aura* in 370.

366 insonat: Homer's winds are often called 'shrill' (λιγέες), cf. *Il.* 15.620, and in 1.53 Aeolus controls *tempestates* ... *sonoras*. For the verb cf. 11.595–6 (the nymph Opis) *caeli delapsa per auras | insonuit*, where the noise may be that of the whirlwind that envelops her (*nigro circumdata turbine*). Ovid may recall this line in *Tr.* 3.10.45 *quamuis Boreas iactatis insonet alis.* **sequiturque ... fluctus:** *fluctus* is either nom. sing. (for waves that follow winds cf. 5.193 *sequacibus undis*) or acc. pl. (wind driving the waves toward the shore, cf. *Il.* 4.422–6, 11.307–8); since the focus of the first part of the simile is on the flight of T.'s opponents, the former seems preferable. But the imitation in Sil. 14.123–4, cited by Traina, might point in the other direction: [Boreas] *sequitur cum murmure molem | eiecti maris.*

367 incubuere: *incumbere* often describes bending forward or exerting downward pressure and so is aptly used of a wind's violent descent; cf. *G.* 3.196–7 *Hyperboreis Aquilo cum densus ab oris | incubuit*, *Aen.* 1.84–5 *incubuere mari* ... *Eurusque Notusque* ('down they crash upon the sea' Austin ad loc.). But the verb can also refer to attacking soldiers (cf. 9.791 *Teucri clamore incumbere magno*, Livy 31.31.20 *Punico perfecto bello totis uiribus nostris in Macedoniam incubuimus*), and these military connotations are activated both by the surrounding context and by the immediate result, *fugam dant nubila* (Mazzocchini (2000) 186). *incubuere* is a true perfect (M.): wherever the winds have descended, the clouds scatter. **nubila:** both the waves (*fluctus*) and the clouds are the object of Boreas' onslaught, exactly as in *Il.* 11.305 (νέφεα) and 307 (κῦμα). **fugam dant** 'turn to flight', higher style than *fugiunt*. For *dare* in the sense 'make, perform' (*OLD* 25, *TLL* 5¹.1686.33–76), compare *dare motus*, Lucr. 2.311, Virg. *G.* 1.350, Livy 7.2.4; *dare ruinam* or *ruinas* ('come crashing down'; contrast 453 below), Lucr. 2.1145, *Aen.* 2.310, 11.613–14; *dare saltum* in 681 below; in Val. Fl. 7.570 *dant* ... *fugam* means 'make their escape'. (In 7.23–4 *Neptunus* ... *fugam dedit*, *dare* has the force of *concedere* or *permittere*.) **caelo:** abl. of place.

368 quacumque uiam secat: C–N delicately observe that *uiam secat* 'has a special propriety here' (i.e. T. is literally slicing his way through the opposing Trojans); cf. 10.440, again of T. *qui uolucri curru medium secat agmen.* (*uiam secare* is often used of ships cleaving the water, cf. Harrison on 10.222.) In a chilling inversion, the first two thirds of this line reappear in 913–14 below, where T.'s efforts are thwarted by the Dira: *sic Turno, quacumque uiam uirtute petiuit, | successum dea dira negat.*

368–9 agmina ... acies: the picture of one man routing what appears to be an entire army resembles the corresponding moment in *Il.* 11.309–11, where

Hector nearly panics the Greeks into running for the ships; cf. also *Il.* 5.94, where Diomedes drives the Trojans back (πολέες περ ἐόντες).

369 conuersaeque ruunt: typical hypotactic description of coordinate actions (= *se conuertunt et ruunt*), cf. nn. on 98 above, 509–11, 537, 870 below. **ruunt:** *ruere* denotes swift or headlong motion in any direction; cf. 313 above. In military contexts it most often describes rushing into battle or at the enemy; here *cedunt* and *conuersae* show that the opposite is meant. **fert impetus ipsum:** i.e. the motion of the chariot is so swift that it carries T. along, with no need for him to use the whip (as he does in 337–8); cf. the description of the ship race in 5.218–19: *sic Mnestheus, sic ipsa fuga secat ultima Pristis | aequora, sic illam fert impetus ipse uolantem.*

370 The surface meaning is that as T.'s chariot moves into the wind the plume of his helmet is blown backward; for a similar picture (and the sense of *aduerso*) cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.528 (of the running Daphne) *obuia . . . aduersas uibrabant flamina uestes.* But there is also an implied conflict of forces, between the wind that 'strikes' (*quatit*) the plume and the 'opposing' (*aduerso*) chariot; *quatit* is similar in meaning to στυφελίξῃ and τύπτων in Homer's simile of the west wind 'striking' the clouds of the south (*Il.* 11.305–6); thus the typical storm motif of opposing winds (on which see Harrison on 10.356–61), excluded from the simile proper, finds indirect expression here. Cf. Mazzocchini (2000) 187. **uolantem:** a significant final word, implying that T.'s plume itself has a wind-like speed; cf. 455 below (in the corresponding simile) *ante uolant sonitumque ferunt ad litora uenti.*

371–82 After scenes in which T. either picks off opponents at a distance or mows them down in droves with his chariot, the fierce resistance shown by Phegeus and the highly unusual form it takes provide the strongest possible contrast. In the larger scheme of things Phegeus' opposition is futile (a 'sublimely trivial' example of the heroic impulse, according to Quinn (1968) 11), but V.'s graphic account makes it unforgettable. It is characteristic of V. (though not of Homer) to give the final encounter in an *aristeia* a fuller treatment; cf. Willcock (1983) 91.

371 non tulit: a formulaic transitional phrase conveying 'heroic impatience of the success or arrogance of others' (Harrison on 10.578 *haud tulit Aeneas tanto feruore furentis*); Ovid employs it in his Centauromachy, *Met.* 12.355–6 *haud tulit utentem pugnae successibus ultra | Thesea Demoleon.* The action or behaviour that provokes such a reaction is often represented by a present participle, so here *instantem* and *frementem*, *furentis* in 10.578, *utentem* in *Met.* 12.355. **Phegeus:** T. kills another Trojan of this name in 9.765, and a Phegeus was killed by Diomedes in *Il.* 5.11–20; at 5.263 Phegeus is the name of a *famulus*. His name suggests 'oak-man', and his resistance to the Boreas-like T. resembles that of the *quercus* in 4.441–6; Paschalis (1997) 408. **animisque frementem:** cf. 535 below. Some strong punctuation (e.g. a colon) after *frementem* seems required to

to be understood; *mittere* is used in several periphrases for *occidere*, e.g. *mittere leto*, *mittere umbris*, cf. 513–14 below, Horsfall on 11.81.

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383–440 Aeneas' wound is miraculously healed; he returns to the field

This episode functions as an interlude between the *aristeia* of T. and A.'s return to the battlefield. It is one of the most memorable sections of the book, in part because of its brief glimpses of remote worlds and literary genres: the erotically tinged relationship of Apollo and the healer Iapyx, and the georgic-didactic-Alexandrian associations of the dittany with which Venus through the agency of Iapyx heals her son's wound. In evoking areas of experience far removed from epic warfare, the scene mirrors A.'s temporary absence from the fighting.

V. draws on several Homeric episodes of healing but greatly enlarges and enriches the details they provide: the corresponding scene in *Il.* 4.210–19 where Machaon removes the arrow that struck Menelaus, also 11.843–7 (Patroclus cuts an arrow from the thigh of Eurypylus) and 16.503–31 (the wounded Glaucus prays to Apollo and is instantly cured).

The section resembles the preceding *aristeia* of T. in having a bipartite structure of roughly equal parts (383–410, 411–40), but with much greater contrast between the components: at 410 the situation reaches a point of imminent disaster before Venus intervenes. For a verbal link between the two halves see n. on 403 *nequiquam.*

The episode concludes with A.'s brief but highly charged speech to Ascanius (435–40). Since the two will not again be seen together, A.'s words have a quasi-valedictory character and look beyond the scope of the poem to a future in which Ascanius will need to rely on the memory of his father to guide him. A.'s speech also encapsulates his view of himself as a victim of misfortune and a potentially tragic figure (see n. on 435–6).

383–4 dum . . . interea: this is the only place in the poem where *interea* introducing a new scene (so used about 40 times) is preceded by a dependent clause (Mackail). For *dum* in transitions cf. e.g. 1.494, 7.540, 9.1; the combination *interea . . . dum* in 9.367–9 is not as marked. The doubling places strong emphasis on the simultaneous character of the two scenes.

383 dat funera: also at 8.570–1, 11.646, *G.* 3.246, and compare *edere funera* 9.526–7, 10.602. In such expressions *dare/edere* have the sense 'cause, produce'; see Harrison and Horsfall ad locc., *TLL* 5^1.1686.14–32, 453 below *dabit . . . ruinas.* On other periphrases with *dare* see 69 and 367 above, 437 below. **campis:** abl. of place, balanced by *castris* in 385.

384 Mnestheus: see n. on 127 above. **fidus Achates:** Aeneas' closest companion and confidant, Achates is called *fidus* in six of his 21 appearances (see 1.188, 6.158, 8.521, 586, 10.332); in book 1, where Achates is mentioned 11 times, the epithet occurs only once – a sign of V.'s restraint in using Homeric-style formulaic epithets. Also typical of V.'s reshaping of Homeric convention is the fact that *fidus*, like A.'s frequent epithet *pius*, denotes a moral quality rather than a physical or mental endowment. **Achates:** Servius on 1.174 links the name to ἀχάτης, 'agate' (for the sake of a play on *silici* in that line) and on

1.312 to ἄχος, 'grief, anxiety' (for the even more far-fetched reason that anxiety is the companion (*comes*) of rulers as Achates is of Aeneas); Harrison on 10.332 more plausibly connects it with the river Achates in Sicily ('a region rich in the Aeneas-legend'). Cf. O'Hara (1996) 119, 124.

385 comes: the codex Romanus and the commentary of Tib. Cl. Donatus read *puer*, perhaps an echo corruption from 2.598 (and cf. 435 below); *comes* adds to the alliteration in *Ascanius . . . castris . . . cruentum*. **castris statuere:** in a sort of hysteron proteron, V. describes the end of the action (arriving at the camp) before the intermediate steps that precede it (A.'s slow progress). **statuere:** of placing a person or object in a given location (e.g. animals before an altar), cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.199 *pro uitula statuis . . . Aulide natam | ante aras*, Livy 1.45.6 *bouem . . . deducit ad fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit*. The verb suggests that despite A.'s efforts he required the support of the others to reach the Trojan camp.

386 A suitably spondee-heavy line depicting A.'s laboured pace. In *Il.* 19.47–9 the wounded Diomedes and Odysseus come to the assembly limping and leaning on their spears. **alternos . . . gressus:** on the enclosing word order cf. on 80 above. **alternos:** most comms. (and *OLD* 4) take *alternos* to mean 'every other step', implying that A.'s wound causes him difficulty in walking only on one side. That is not implausible, but since V. does not specify the location of the wound, the detail has nothing to which it can relate. Paratore interprets *alternos . . . gressus* as 'putting one foot in front of the other' (as perhaps did Valerius Flaccus, see next n.), but that seems unlikely in view of *nitentem cuspide* (i.e. A. would have to shift his spear from side to side with each step). In his note on Prop. 1.9.23–4 *nullus Amor cuiquam facilis ita praebuit alas | ut non alterna presserit ille manu*, Camps cites our passage in support of understanding *alterna manu* as 'an intermittent action of the hand, instead of . . . a hand-over-hand action'; but Propertius' phrase more probably describes the constant alternation with which Amor raises the lover's hopes and dashes them, cf. Hubbard (1991). **nitentem . . . gressus:** acc. after the intransitive verb *nitentem* ('leans his steps on his spear'), in imitation of Greek usage; cf. perhaps 10.283 *egressi . . . labant uestigia prima* (although there Mynors, Harrison and Conte read *egressis*, with *uestigia* as subj. of *labant*). C–N compare Eur. *Ion* 743 βάκτρῳ δ' ἐρείδου . . . στίβον (but the text is doubted and emended by Diggle (1981) 104–5). This acc. seems somewhat different from, e.g., *colla tumentem* (2.381, *G.* 3.421) or *tremit artus* (*G.* 3.84, Lucr. 3.489, after Eur. *Med.* 1169 τρέμουσα κῶλα), which can be comfortably classified as accs. of respect or specification; closer is Prop. 2.34.47–8 *non ante graui taurus succumbit aratro | cornua quam ualidis haeserit in laqueis* ('until his horns have been caught in the stout noose' Goold), cf. Courtney (2003/4) 430. Imitations of V.'s phrase replicate both the enclosing word order and the acc. construction: Val. Fl. 2.93 *alternos aegro cunctantem poplite gressus*, Sil. 6.79 *lapsantis fultum truncata cuspide gressus*.

387–90 In *Il.* 4.184–7 Menelaus calmly assures Agamemnon that his wound is not fatal; some Homeric scholiasts found his speech insufficiently heroic, comparing it to the words of a sick child comforting its parents (cf. Schlunk (1974)

90–1, Schmit-Neuerburg (1999) 155–61). V.'s description of a frenzied A. tearing at the arrow offers a pointed contrast. Indifference to pain and determination to keep fighting are often ascribed to outstanding commanders: La Cerda cites an episode from Plutarch's life of Philopoemen (359B) in which P. dislodges a spear that has pierced both his legs, while his attendants hesitate to act; P. is described as driven by zeal for the fight (ὑπὸ . . . φιλοτιμίας πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα).

A.'s eagerness to return to the fighting is mirrored in vocabulary that in other contexts describes actual combat: *saeuit* (9.420 and following n.), *secare* (9.331, 368 above, 440 below), *rescindere* (9.524).

387 saeuit: often used by V. of the violent longing for battle, cf. 7.461 (T. maddened by Allecto) *saeuit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli*, 8.5, 700 *saeuit medio in certamine Mauors.* **infracta . . . telum:** the point of the arrow has broken off and embedded itself in the wound; *infracta harundine* is probably abl. abs., with a slight hypallage, since it is the *harundo*, not the *telum*, that A. is trying to remove. **luctatur:** *luctor* with a complementary inf. is first attested here, then later in both prose and poetry (*OLD* 5b); W. compares *certo*, where the construction with inf. is found in poetry from Ennius onward.

388 auxilioque: dat. with *uiam* (equivalent to *ad auxilium*, 'the way to a cure'); *auxilium* often appears in medical contexts, cf. *G.* 2.130, Prop. 1.1.26 *quaerite non sani pectoris auxilia*, Ovid, *Rem. am.* 528 *auxilium multis sucus et herba fuit.* **quae proxima:** the rel. cl. takes the place of the metrically inadmissible *proximam.*

389–90 secent . . . rescindant . . . remittant: subjunctives in an indirect command cl. depending on *poscit*; reflexive pronouns or adjs. in subordinate clauses often relate to the subject of the controlling verb, so *sese* in 390 = *Aenean.*

389 latebram: only here in the sing. in V. as against 11 cases of the pl.; M in fact reads *latebras*, but there is no reason to normalize, and the singular better suits this metaphorical use. The word emphasizes how deeply the arrowhead has penetrated into the flesh; as Celsus observes (7.5.2), *nihil tam facile in corpus quam sagitta conditur, eademque altissime insidit.* The quasi-personifying term may evoke *latebrae* used of the Trojan Horse (2.38, 55), also a hiding place for treachery directed against the Trojans. (I am grateful to Sergios Paschalis for that suggestion.)

390 rescindant 'cut open', a procedure recommended in dealing with infected wounds, cf. *G.* 3.453–4 *si quis ferro potuit rescindere summum | ulceris os* (cited by Colum. 7.5.20, cf. also 6.11.1).

391–7 The doctor Iapyx is not otherwise known and may be V.'s invention. The prominence given to him is all the more noteworthy since his medical intervention is futile and he is therefore superfluous to the narrative. His principal functions in the scene are to provide a model of filial devotion which parallels that of A. and Iulus and to certify the necessity of divine intervention in curing A.; the latter function also serves to insulate A. from the healing process: see nn. on 416, 425–9, 435–6 below. Iapyx's concern for his father connects the episode with the two vignettes in the previous section, both of which focus on a father–son relationship (see 343–5, 347–52).

More difficult questions are raised by the depiction of Apollo. First, why does V. portray Apollo, who has appeared several times previously as an ally of the Trojans, as failing to assist A.? (Iapyx is said to apply Phoebus' own medicinal herbs in vain (402), and *nihil auctor Apollo | subuenit* (405–6) makes it clear that the god himself declines to intervene.) One way of explaining Apollo's ineffectiveness is to see it as the result of V.'s rearrangement of the episode in *Iliad* 5 where Aphrodite attempts to rescue A. from Diomedes but drops him when she is herself struck by Diomedes, leaving him to be picked up and carried to safety by Apollo; cf. E. L. Harrison (1981) 221–3. V. reverses the Homeric divine roles and makes Venus her son's saviour, thereby also creating a counterpart to the action of Juturna in protecting T. (cf. n. on *concussa* 411, 468). Wiseman (1984) 125 argued that V. downplayed the figure of Apollo Medicus because his temple in Rome had recently been rebuilt by C. Sosius, who fought on Antony's side at Actium; but by V.'s last years Sosius had been reconciled to Augustus, and the official dedication of the rebuilt temple in 23 BCE took place on Augustus' birthday, cf. J. F. Miller (1994) 110. Nicoll (2001) 193–4 argued that Iapyx is responsible for the failure of Apollo's medical arts, because he is 'unheroic' and 'completely lacking in higher aspirations'; it is not clear, though, why a physician should be required to be a heroic character.

Second, what is the point of linking Iapyx's medical skills to Apollo's love for him? One result is to contrast the eagerness of the besotted god (392–4) with Iapyx's sober response (395–7), which puts the survival of his aged father above all else; the element of *pietas* is thereby strongly highlighted. J. F. Miller (1994) 111 sees ill-fated associations in Apollo's sexual attraction to Iapyx: 'the mere mention of Apollo's love, in light of the god's usually unhappy affairs, would immediately suggest that all will not go well for the beloved . . . The failure to cure Aeneas emerges as, in some sense, a legacy of Apollo's passion.' Skinner (2007) contrasts the 'temperate' pederastic relationship of Apollo and Iapyx with the sexual madness that Venus can inspire and sees her as the appropriate healer in the context of V.'s sexually charged depictions of warfare.

The picture of an infatuated Apollo offering Iapyx lavish gifts resembles episodes in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in part because Ovid has drawn on this passage in more than one place: his Jason asks Medea to use her magical powers to extend the life of his aged father, Aeson (*Met.* 7.164–78), and his Sibyl, in conversation with A. on their way up from the Underworld, recalls that when Apollo offered her anything she wished in return for her virginity, she asked for as many years of life as there are grains of sand in a handful (*Met.* 14.132–41). See also nn. on 391, 394, 397.

The scene is depicted with remarkable fidelity in a Pompeian wall painting from the Casa di Sirico now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples. Cf. *LIMC* s.v. Aineias 174, Joly (1969) 482–5. In the positions of Iapyx and A. and the placement of A.'s wound in the right thigh, the Pompeii painting resembles the depiction on Trajan's Column of a soldier-*medicus* treating a wounded comrade,

cf. Scarborough (1969) pl. 19. There the wounded soldier is seated, a more realistic (and un-epic) conception of the scene (cf. n. on 398 *stabat... hastam*).

391 iamque: a frequent temporal transition word, used with different tenses to situate the succeeding action in relation to what has gone before; here the imperfect *aderat* shows that Iapyx has been present while A. issues the orders in 388–90. See Horsfall on 11.100. In *Il.* 4.192–7 Agamemnon orders the herald Talthybius to bring the warrior-physician Machaon to treat Menelaus' wound; pedantic scholiasts criticized Agamemnon's instruction as unnecessary, since Talthybius could see the need for a physician himself (Schlunk (1974) 91–3). V. may have wished to avoid such petty details, but Iapyx's immediate presence has another explanation: unlike Machaon, who must be summoned from his place in the Thracian ranks, Iapyx is an older man (401 *senior*, 420 *longaeuus*) who is on hand to attend A. as a doctor might treat a Roman legionary commander in his field quarters, cf. Scarborough (1969) 68, 70–1. **Phoebo... dilectus:** the dat. of agent with passive participles is a poetic construction based on Greek practice; cf. Fordyce on 7.412. **ante alios dilectus:** for the phrasing cf. 8.590 [Lucifer] *quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis*. The romantic superlative is another feature of the episode with Ovidian parallels, cf. e.g. *Met.* 12.404–6 *multae illum* [sc. the centaur Hyllarus] *petiere sua de gente, sed una | abstulit Hyllonome, qua nulla decentior inter | semiferos altis habitauit femina siluis* (itself a mischievous adaptation of *Aen.* 9.179–81 on Nisus and Euryalus).

391–2 Iapyx | Iasides: Iasus and Iasides are Homeric names (*Il.* 15.332, *Od.* 11.283, 17.443), but neither of those characters is a member of the medical profession; in the present context the names imply a connection to healing (ἰᾶσθαι), as noted by Ausonius, *Epigr.* 19 Schenkl/21 Green 7–8 *Idmona quod uatem, medicum quod Iapyga dicunt, | discendas artes nomina praeueniunt.* Iapyx as the son of a healer may recall the Homeric Machaon and Podalirius, sons of Asclepius; if so, the fact that Iapyx asked for medical skills to treat his father becomes even more striking, an inversion of the model that makes his *pietas* all the more evident.

For the combination of name and patronymic cf. *G.* 3.550 *Phyllirides Chiron Amythaoniusque Melampus* (also of healers, apparently by coincidence), after Ap. Rhod. 1.554 Χείρων Φιλλυρίδης; also Mosch. *Europa* 44 Ἰναχὶς Ἰώ. Here the mode of naming anticipates the close bond between son and father.

392 acri... cui captus: the alliteration is resumed in *citharam... celerisque* in 394. **acri:** for *acer* of intense emotions (more often negative), cf. Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 52 *odium acerrimum patris in filium ex hoc... ostenditur*, Lucr. 3.311 *quin... hic iras decurrat ad acris*, Livy 3.41.5 *tribuniciae potestatis... cuius desiderium plebi multo acrius quam consularis imperii rebantur esse.* Its application to love evokes elegy; cf. Ovid, *Am.* 1.2.17 *acrius inuitos... urget* [sc. *Amor*], 2.19.3 *acrius urit*, *Her.* 19.15 *si minus acriter urar.*

393 ipse... Apollo 'Apollo himself', 'the mighty Apollo': not even so powerful a god could withstand the force of love (another theme developed by Ovid; in relation to Apollo, cf. *Met.* 1.463–5). For this sense of *ipse* see on 83 above. **suas**

artis: at least from Plato onward, the arts of Apollo comprised music, prophecy, archery and medicine; cf. Pl. *Crat.* 405a, Callim. *Hymn to Apollo* 42–6 with F. Williams's n., Hor. *Carm. saec.* 61–4. **suas artis, sua munera:** the lively anaphora suggests Apollo's exuberance; the effect is heightened by the elaboration of *artes* and *munera* in *augurium*, *citharam* and *sagittas*, the wide separation of *ipse . . . Apollo . . . dabat*, and the breathless tempo of line 394 (to which *celeris* calls attention). **laetus:** adj. with adverbial force, 'cheerfully, willingly'; perhaps hinting at the use of *laetus* (or *libens*) in votive promises, cf. 5.236 *laetus . . . taurum* | *constituam*. If so, there is a touch of humour in having a god use toward a mortal the sort of language usually addressed by mortals to gods. *laetus* can also describe one who receives a favourable omen (cf. Oakley on Livy 7.26.4), and the proximity of *augurium* might recall that usage; but any reference to augury would be ironic, since for this Apollo, as for his Ovidian counterpart in an erotic pursuit, *sua . . . illum oracula fallunt* (*Met.* 1.491).

394 dabat: conative imperfect, 'was attempting to give'; C–N compare 6.468 *lenibat . . . animum* (A. unsuccessfully trying to soothe Dido's anger); or perhaps suggesting repeated offers or promises, as in Stat. *Theb.* 9.517–18 *certe tumulos supremaque uictis* | *busta dabas*. V. tactfully omits the fact that Apollo's offer was contingent on a sexual relationship with Iapyx. In his corresponding episode Ovid makes Apollo's intentions clear: the Sibyl forgets to ask for eternal youth to go with her preternaturally long life, but Apollo *hos tamen ille mihi dabat aeternamque iuuentam,* | *si Venerem paterer* (*Met.* 14.140–1). **sagittas:** in *Il.* 2.827 Pandarus carries a bow given to him by Apollo, presumably the one P. later used to wound Menelaus and break up the truce.

395 depositi 'despaired of, given up for dead', a sense found before V. in Caecilius, Accius and Lucilius (*TLL* 5[1].583.74–584.11). Servius cites Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.5 *mihi uideor . . . maxime aegram et prope depositam rei publicae partem suscepisse*, and he explains that it was once the custom to place the terminally ill outside their doorstep, either so that they could breathe their last onto the earth or so that someone who had suffered from the same disease might cure them. There is also a tradition recorded by Herodotus 1.197 that in prehistoric times the sick were displayed in public for anyone with knowledge of the disease to treat; La Cerda cites Plut. *Mor.* 1128E. **proferret fata:** the phrase could mean either 'prolong the life' (cf. Plin. *Epist.* 2.7.4 *uita eius . . . debuerit . . . immortalitate proferri*) or 'delay the death' (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.15.33 *diem proferet Ilio* 'will grant Troy an extension', Livy 3.20.6 *tribuni . . . de proferendo exercitus exitu agere*); the latter is more likely, since *fatum* is more often used as a euphemism for *mors* than as a synonym for *uita*.

396 usumque: either 'experience, practical skill' (often opposed to theoretical knowledge of a subject) or 'usefulness', which would be parallel to *potestates*, cf. Plin. *HN* 24.152 *herbam . . . eximii usus ad uulnera*.

397 maluit: Apollo's offer made no reference to his medical skills, perhaps for the reason implied in *mutas* and *inglorius*. In another possible Ovidian reworking of the passage, Apollo in pursuit of Daphne enumerates his talents as augur,

singer and archer but gives most space to his mastery of herbs and cures (*Met.* 1.517–24). **mutas:** medicine is 'mute' in the literal sense because, unlike song or prophecy, it does not require speech; thus Cicero calls painting and sculpture *mutae quasi artes* in opposition to oratory (*De or.* 3.26). The adjective may also glance at the opposition between physician and rhetorician as presented in Plato's *Gorgias* (e.g. 459a–c); cf. Celsus 1 *pr.* 39 *morbos ... non eloquentia sed remediis curari*, cited by La Cerda. But in conjunction with *inglorius* the adj. implies as well that medical skill is 'mute' in not generating fame. V. may play on *mutae ... artes* in making Iapyx literally speechless while carrying out his own procedures; he only speaks later, when he acknowledges a god's intervention (425–9). (Stok (1988) argued at length (65–181) that *mutae artes* = *artes quae mussant* ('mutter ineffectually'), seeing an allusion to Lucretius' account of the plague at Athens, *mussabat tacito medicina timore* (6.1179). The alleged parallel lacks close verbal support, and since *mutas agitare ... artis* refers to Iapyx's medical practice in general, an echo of the Lucretian passage would disastrously imply that his treatments had never been effective.) **agitare** 'practise, exercise'; of an occupation or field of study cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.66 *mens* (sc. *Archimedis*) *rationibus agitandis ... alebatur*, Cels. 1 *pr.* 5 *maiore studio litterarum disciplina agitari coepit*. Comms. compare the Ennian *agitare aeuum* 'to spend one's life' (cf. *Ann.* 307 Sk.); a related idiom, *aeuum exigere*, is used with *inglorius* in 10.52–3 *positis inglorius armis* | *exigat hic aeuum* (which Silius echoes together with our passage in 3.578–9 *obscura sedendo* | *tempora agit mutum uoluens inglorius aeuum*). **inglorius:** either a reflection of Roman attitudes to doctors and surgeons (Sen. *Epist.* 87.15 includes medicine among skills that can be practised even by the lowliest (*humillimi*)), or else meant in relative terms, compared to the great renown of prophets and singers (so Servius). Compare *G.* 2.486, where V. with feigned modesty uses *inglorius* of himself as the author of the *Georgics* in comparison with a Lucretius-like poet of natural phenomena; similar in sense and tone is *G.* 4.564 *studiis florentem ignobilis oti*. Lack of *gloria* is the worst possible fate in heroic terms, but V.'s relationship to that kind of heroism, and to the pursuit of *gloria* in general, is not straightforward. The combination of *mutus* and *inglorius*, perhaps together with V.'s self-description in the *Georgics*, lies behind Gray's image of 'some mute inglorious Milton' resting in a country churchyard.

398–400 stabat ... immobilis: after the introduction of Iapyx, these lines return to the situation described in lines 384–90, which they echo at several points: *acerba fremens* ~ *saeuit* 387, *nixus in hastam* ~ *nitentem cuspide gressus* 386, *maerentis Iuli* ~ *Ascanius ... comes* 385.

398 stabat ... hastam: a seriously wounded person would naturally recline in order to relieve pain and pressure on the wound; A.'s standing pose (reflected in the Pompeian painting) signals his determination to master his injury. **acerba:** adverbial acc. with *fremens*, cf. *acerba tuens* Lucr. 5.33, *Aen.* 9.794, *a. sonans G.* 3.149; see n. on *multa* 402 below. Traina compares Homeric βαρέα στενάχοντα. **ingentem:** see n. on 92 above. Relatively unemphatic here, the adj. serves as a reminder of A.'s stature as a warrior.

399–400 magno iuuenum . . . concursu: cf. *Il.* 4.211–12, where the wounded Menelaus is surrounded by 'all the great men' (ὅσσοι ἄριστοι); V.'s substitution of *iuuenes* makes A. stand out by contrast and suggests his status as the lead fighter for his people. *magno . . . concursu* is abl. of attendant circumstance; *concursus* not simply = 'gathering', but implies that the *iuuenes* have come rushing up in fear and concern, cf. Cic. *Flac.* 74 *qui concursus ex oppidis finitimis undique, qui dolor animorum, quae querela!* There is a likely echo in Tac. *Ann.* 5.10.2 (the false Drusus) *iam iuuentutis concursu, iam publicis studiis frequentabatur.*

399 maerentis Iuli: cf. 110 above *maesti . . . Iuli.* The stress on Iulus' anxiety suggests that, for all his growing confidence, the young man remains dependent on his father and dreads the thought of his death. Silius elaborated the idea in his description of the young Scipio grieved to see his father wounded (4.454–6): *hic puer ut patrio defixum corpore telum | conspexit, maduere genae, subitoque trementem | corripuit pallor, gemitumque ad sidera* [!] *rupit.*

400 lacrimis immobilis 'unmoved by their tears'; A.'s imperviousness corresponds to his attitude in 387–90, but this phrase also recalls the earlier scene in which he remained unmoved by Anna's tearful entreaties, 4.438–9 *nullis ille mouetur | fletibus*, 449 *mens immota manet, lacrimae uoluuntur inanes.*

400–1 ille . . . senior: for the demonstrative followed at a distance by its referent ('he . . . the old man'), cf. 5.609–10 *illa . . . uirgo*, *G.* 4.457–8 *illa . . . moritura puella*, n. on 5 above. **retorto . . . succinctus amictu:** probably referring to two garments, the cloak thrown over his shoulders (*retorto . . . amictu*) and the tunic girt up (*succinctus*), both to allow greater freedom of movement; the imitation in Sil. 5.367 (describing the physician Synhalus) combines V.'s details into a single image: *intortos de more astrictus amictus.* Perhaps for reasons of artistic decorum, those details are not reproduced in the Pompeian painting of the scene, where Iapyx's garment covers his knees and lower legs.

401 Paeonium in morem 'in the fashion of a healer' (Paeon = Paean, an epithet of Apollo as god of healing). The adj. is first attested in V. (also at 7.769) and imitated in Ovid, *Met.* 15.534–5 *fortibus herbis* (~ *potentibus herbis*) | *atque ope Paeonia*, Stat. *Silu.* 1.4.107–8 *ritu se cingit uterque | Paeonio.* For the scansion of *Paeonius* (with short *o*), see Horsfall on 7.769. **succinctus:** a detail associated with those who perform servile or demeaning tasks, cf. e.g. Prop. 4.3.62 *succincti . . . calent ad noua lucra popae* (sacrificial attendants), Ovid, *Met.* 8.660–1 (the poor Baucis) *mensam succincta tremensque | ponit anus.*

402 The line stresses Iapyx's skill (*manu medica*) and the power of his medicinal herbs (*potentibus h.*), creating an expectation of success that is dashed in the following lines. The alliteration in *m̲ulta m̲anu m̲edica* might suggest Iapyx's intense concentration. **multa:** adverbial acc. with intransitive *trepidat*, cf. *multa morantem* 502 below, *multa gemens* 886 below.

403 nequiquam . . . nequiquam: the repetition underscores the failure of Iapyx's repeated efforts; *nulla* and *nihil* in 405 make the same point. In the second half of the episode, repetition is used to emphasize the

effectiveness of Venus' intervention, cf. 416–17 *hoc . . . hoc*, 421–2 *omnis . . . omnis*, 429 *maior . . . maiora.* **trepidat:** hard to render with a word-for-word translation ('bustle about' may be the closest equivalent); here it connotes activity undertaken in haste and/or anxiety, a sense well illustrated by 737 below, of T. mistakenly picking up the sword of Messapus 'in his haste' (*dum trepidat*). The adj. *trepidus*, which can convey a similar meaning, appears several times in the latter part of the book (583, 589, 730, 748, 901).

404 sollicitat 'works on' (in an effort to remove it), see *OLD* 1b. The alliteration in *sollicitat . . . tenaci forcipe* is surely deliberate, though not expressive in a pictorial way. Cf. 418 below. **tenaci:** something of a favourite word with V. (especially in the *Georgics*), used both literally of objects that grasp (*forceps* of the Cyclopes' tongs, *G.* 4.175 (also *Aen.* 8.453), an anchor 6.3), more freely of sticky or viscous substances (clay, *G.* 1.179; honey, *G.* 4.57) and 'gripping' hoes (*G.* 2.421); in 4.188 Fama is *ficti prauique tenax*. On adjectives in *-ax* see on 364 above.

Iapyx is following standard procedure for removing an arrowhead if the shaft has broken off; cf. Celsus 7.5.2 *si iam illa* [sc. *harundo*] *decidit solumque intus ferrum est, mucro uel digitis apprehendi uel forcipe atque ita educi debet.*

405 uiam: recalls and reverses 388 *auxilio . . . uiam . . . poscit.* For *regere uiam* ('guides his path'), cf. 6.350 *cursus . . . regebam*; perhaps a variation on *regere uestigia*, cf. Catull. 64.113 *errabunda regens tenui uestigia filo* (of Theseus), recalled in 6.30 *caeca regens filo uestigia* and similarly varied in Prop. 2.14.8 *lino cum duce rexit iter.* **nihil:** a strong negative, 'not at all'; in origin an adverbial acc., 'to no extent'. **auctor:** predicative with *subuenit*: 'nor does Apollo come to his aid to offer support'; *auctor* in this sense is common in prose, cf. also 5.418 *probat auctor Acestes.* Given the context, the military connotations of *subuenire* may be to some degree present. In *Il.* 16.510–31 Apollo hears Glaucus' prayer and heals his wound.

406 et: the minimal transition parallels the sense, bringing the approaching warfare abruptly into the foreground. **magis ac magis:** a variant of the normal prose idiom *magis magisque* (Wills (1996) 112–13); V. may be recalling Lucr. 6.126 *turbine uersanti magis ac magis undique nubem* (in an apocalyptic description of thunder). **horror:** probably the terrifying din of battle, as in 2.301 *armorum . . . ingruit horror* (a significant cross-reference), and cf. Lucr. 2.411, where *horror* describes the frightening sound of a saw; but the absence of a qualifying gen. makes the phrase emotively more powerful, as does the unspecific *malum* instead of, e.g., *proelium* or *pugna* (see next n.).

407 malum 'disaster', cf. 10.843 *praesaga mali mens.*

407–8 puluere . . . uident: as noted by the Horatian commentator Porphyrio, an echo of Enn. *Ann.* 612 Sk. *stant puluere campi*; if Ennius' phrase comes from his account of the Roman military disaster at Cannae (which is possible but not provable), V.'s near-quotation would have a particularly ominous resonance. **puluere caelum | stare** 'the sky seems like a wall of dust' (Mandelbaum), a bold reinterpretation of Homeric descriptions of dust that rises and stands still in the air, ποδῶν δ' ὑπένερθε κονίη | ἵστατ' ἀειρομένη (*Il.* 2.150–1,

23.365–6). With the Homeric passages in mind, C–N interpret as a hypallage for *puluis caelo stat*, but it seems more likely that *stare* here (as in the Ennian model) has the sense 'be thick, stiff' with a substance (*OLD* 5b), cf. Caecil. 219 R[2] *ager* . . . *stet sentibus* ('a field thick with brambles'), Sisenna, *Hist.* 130 *caelum caligine stat*, perhaps also Prop. 4.11.5 *non exorato stant adamante uiae* (on which see Heyworth (2007) 503). The meaning of *stare* in this phrase was much debated in Antiquity, as shown by the several interpretations canvassed by Servius Auctus and by the heading of a now lost section of Aulus Gellius (8.5) *quid illud sit, quod Vergilius 'caelum stare puluere', et quod Lucilius 'pectus sentibus stare' dixit.*

408–9 subeunt . . . mediis: the thick dust is closely followed by its cause, the onrushing horsemen.

408 subeunt 'come up' to attack, cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 7.85.5 *alii tela coniciunt, alii testudine facta subeunt.*

409 it . . . clamor: a frequent hyperbole in V., cf. 2.338 *sublatus ad aethera clamor* (at the sack of Troy; as the Trojans seem once again to face destruction, echoes of Troy's fall recur, see n. on 406 *horror*), also 5.140 *ferit aethera clamor*, 11.192 *it caelo clamorque uirum clangorque tubarum*; see Hardie (1986) 241–92 on Virgilian hyperbole, 291–2 for comparison with 'sky-reaching' in Homer. V. also uses *it clamor* several times in non-hyperbolic contexts; cf. 4.665–6 *it clamor ad alta | atria*, 9.664 *it clamor totis per propugnacula muris.*

410 bellantum . . . cadentum: the rhyming gen. pl. participles create a strong frame, cf. 7.17 *uincla recusantum et sera sub nocte rudentum*, and especially 11.885–6 *miserrima caedes | defendentum armis aditus inque arma ruentum.* (On V.'s fondness for framing a line with participles, see Austin on 2.568.) The alliteration of *u* further darkens the tone, producing a line of enormous weight and gloom. V. also exploits the sound of *cadentum* in 10.674 *gemitum . . . cadentum*. Poets writing dactylic verse prefer the ending *-um* to the metrically intractable *-ium*; cf. Horsfall on 11.886.

411 Hic: temporal, 'at this point'; cf. 554 below (where it introduces another intervention of Venus), 728 below. **indigno** 'undeserved', cf. 11.108–9 (A. to the Latins) *quaenam uos tanto fortuna indigna . . . | implicuit bello?* Although here it is strictly speaking in the narrator's voice, the implied viewpoint is that of Venus. Tib. Cl. Donatus comments 'pro animo parentum indignum est quidquid filii fuerint passi'. **concussa:** repeated at 468 below, where Juturna reacts with distress as A. hunts for T. In book 10 Venus' intervention at 331–2 is similarly balanced by that of Juturna in 439–40: *alma Venus* (332) is echoed by *soror alma* (439). *concutere* of emotional upset is used several times in V. to describe individuals (cf. also 5.700, 869, 9.498), elsewhere more often of cities, nations or the entire world (*OLD* 4, cf. e.g. Lucr. 3.834 *omnia . . . trepido belli concussa tumultu*, but cf. also Livy 28.44.11 *concusso iam et paene fracto Hannibale*); it is characteristic of V.'s highly charged language when dealing with the emotions.

412 dictamnum: in botanical classification *Origanum dictamnus*, apparently not identical to any of several modern plants called dittany, e.g. bastard dittany,

white dittany (*Dictamnus albus*, Amer. gas plant) and *Cunila origanoides* (Amer. stone mint). The plant's Cretan origin and curative properties were described by Aristotle, *Hist. an.* 612 a 2–5 (also Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 9.16), whose account was followed by Cicero, *Nat. D.* 2.126 *auditum est . . . capras autem in Creta feras, cum essent confixae uenenatis sagittis, herbam quaerere quae dictamnus uocaretur, quam cum gustauissent sagittas excidere dicunt e corpore*. Much lore regarding the plant is collected in Pease's n. ad loc., also in Pease (1948) 469–74. V.'s connection of *dictamnum* with Venus probably lies behind English texts that associate the herb with rulers or the deity: thus Joseph Hall, dean of Winchester, in a sermon of 1624, 'the shaft sticks still in thee; . . . None but the Sovereign Dittany of thy Saviour's Righteousness can drive it out' (*Sermons* v.190). For *dictamnum* Tib. Cl. Donatus read *ipsa manu*, a combination of simple misreading (of the uncommon *-mnum* as *manu*) and bold interpolation (the now nonsensical *dicta-* replaced by *ipsa*). **genetrix:** emphasized by its separation from *Venus*: not merely 'Venus . . . his mother' but 'Venus . . . with a mother's concern'. **Cretaea . . . ab Ida:** V.'s sources cite only Crete in general as the source of *dictamnum*; the mention of Mount Ida might be meant to evoke the 'other' Ida, at Troy. O'Hara (1996) 235 offers a subtler explanation: '*Cretaea carpit ab Ida* suggests the other famous Cretan mountain, Dicte, which Servius says gave the name to the herb. Thus the line is framed by *dictamnum*, and the words that allude to its etymology, just as in Arat. *Phaen.* 33 Δίκτῃ ἐν εὐώδει, ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίοιο.'

413–14 puberibus . . . purpureo: the lush description of the plant is enriched by exquisitely patterned alliteration: *foliis et flore* enclosed by *caulem . . . comantem*, with *puberibus . . . purpureo* framing the whole.

413 puberibus: cf. 4.514 where *pubentes herbae* are gathered for Dido's magic ritual; Pease ad loc. explains *pubentes* as denoting the plants' 'vigorous and hence potent state', and *puberibus* here would similarly imply that Venus chooses an especially healthy specimen. Cf. also *G.* 2.390 of a flourishing vine, *omnis largo pubescit uinea fetu*. Servius glossed *puberibus* as *adultis* ('mature'), *OLD* 2 renders 'full of juice or sap', and André (1970) 23 sees a reference to the downy surface mentioned by Theophrastus (*Hist. pl.* 9.16.1, comparing dittany to pennyroyal) and Dioscorides (8.3.32). **caulem:** syntactically in apposition to *dictamnum*, designating the particular stalk plucked by Venus. **flore . . . purpureo:** Pliny's description of Cretan *dictamnus* in *HN* 25.92 notes that the plant has neither stalk nor flower (*flos nullus aut semen aut caulis*), but Pliny mentions another variety (known in Greek as *aristolochia*) that corresponds more closely to V.'s picture: *caulibus paruis, flore purpureo* (25.96). **comantem** 'blooming', a lofty adj. first seen in *G.* 4.122–3 *sera comantem | narcissum*, cf. also Plin. *HN* 13.59 of a type of *ficus*, *semper comantibus foliis*; the figurative use of *comare* may have been inspired by the frequent use of *coma* to denote foliage.

414 non . . . incognita: the mannered litotes helps to distance the passage from scientific writing; it appears several times in the *Georgics*, e.g. *non* or *nec frustra* 1.257, 4.353, *non* or *nec nequiquam* 1.95–6, 4.37–8.

The phrase is grimly inverted in 859, where *incognita* describes the Dira descending unseen; she has just been compared to a poisoned arrow, this time a weapon with no cure (*telum immedicabile*).

415 gramina: often used to denote herbs with medicinal or magical properties, see *OLD* 2b, Ovid, *Met.* 7.137 *ne . . . parum ualeant a se data gramina.* **tergo:** dat., probably of location, cf. 4.73 *haeret lateri letalis harundo*, in a simile comparing Dido to a wounded deer wandering in Cretan forests (72-3 *saltus . . . peragrat* | *Dictaeos*). Skinner (2007) 96 sees an echo of the earlier passage that recalls Venus' responsibility for Dido's misery and undercuts her maternal solicitude for A. **uolucres:** cf. 5.544 *uolucri harundine*, 11.858 *uolucrem . . . sagittam*; Horsfall ad loc. compares Homeric ταχὺν ἰόν. **sagittae:** the goats are wounded by arrows, like A., and the allusion to hunting creates a quasi-parallel to warfare; for *haerere* of weapons in battle descriptions cf. 10.383–4 *hastam . . . receptat* | *ossibus haerentem*, 11.864 *haesit . . . in corpore ferrum*, Luc. 6.196–7 *quid . . .* | *perditis haesuros numquam uitalibus ictus?* The didactic-scientific aside relates to the main narrative in much the same way as a simile.

416–17 hoc . . . hoc: the first *hoc* is acc. obj. of *detulit*, the second abl. of means with *inficit*. For variation in case with repeated forms of *hic* compare the Sibyl's famous words about returning from the Underworld, *hoc opus, hic labor est* (6.129); Austin ad loc. cites Quintilian's clever expansion in *Inst.* 6.2.7 *huc igitur incumbat orator, hoc opus eius, hic labor est.* See also 8.351–2 *hoc nemus, hunc . . . collem* | *. . . habitat deus*, 572 below *hoc caput, . . . haec belli summa nefandi.*

416 obscuro . . . nimbo: Homeric gods wrap themselves in cloud when appearing on earth; cf. *Il.* 15.308, Harrison on 10.634 (Juno) *nimbo succincta.* Here there is a more immediate reason for Venus to hide herself: if she appeared openly, A. would have to acknowledge her help, and his self-depiction in 435–6 would become untenable. **faciem:** acc. with the middle participle *circumdata*; cf. 65 above *perfusa genas*. In 4.137 the construction is varied: *Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo.* V. was probably thinking of *Il.* 5.186 νεφέλῃ εἰλυμένος ὤμους, also echoed by Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.31 *nube candentes umeros amictus*; cf. Courtney (2003/4) 127.

417 detulit 'brought down', i.e. from a higher elevation on Mount Ida. **fusum labris splendentibus amnem:** the language is conspicuously high: *labrum* ('basin') is loftier than its near-synonym *uas*, and it is further dignified by the 'poetic' pl. (cf. 8.22–3 *aquae tremulum labris . . . lumen aenis* | *sole repercussum*); *amnis* for *aqua* is even more choice, cf. 7.464–5 *aquai . . . amnis*. As in 7.462–6 (another passage describing water in a vessel), V. pitches the vocabulary at a high level when dealing with potentially mundane objects. The technique is pervasive in the *Georgics*; for one example see Thomas's n. on 2.386–90, also Thomas (1995) on V.'s methods of stylizing rustic material. O'Hara (1996) 235 believes that *amnis* implies an etymology *Dicte* + *amnis*, but this seems oversubtle. **fusum labris:** *labris* dat. with the vb., a construction more often found, as C–N note, with a compound vb. such as *infusum*. They compare 4.600–1 *non potui abreptum diuellere*

corpus et undis | spargere?; cf. also 1.70 *corpora dissice ponto*. **splendentibus:** Traina compares *Od.* 19.386 λέβηθ' . . . παμφανόωντα.

418 medicans: with *amnem* (which is also obj. of *inficit*). The alliteration in *inficit occulte medicans* is apparently non-pictorial, as in 404 above.

418–19 spargitque . . . panaceam: taking no chances with A.'s recovery, Venus adds another guaranteed medication. **spargitque . . . sucos:** Ovid often uses the combination to describe the use of magical herbs; cf. *Met.* 6.139–40 *discedens sucis Hecateidos herbae | sparsit* [sc. Minerva], 7.152 *hunc . . . sparsit* [sc. Medea] *Lethei gramine suci*, 14.299 *spargimur* [sc. Circe's victims] *ignotae sucis melioribus herbae*, 403 *illa* [sc. Circe] *nocens spargit uirus sucosque ueneni*. For *spargere uenenum* in similar contexts cf. *Met.* 2.801, 15.359; *spargere nectar*, *Met.* 4.250, 10.732.

419 ambrosiae: 'this medicinal extract for external application is evidently not the ambrosia that was the favourite item on the Olympian menu' (M.). In *G.* 4.415–18 Cyrene anoints Aristaeus with ambrosia to strengthen him for his encounter with Proteus; cf. in particular 418 *habilis membris uenit uigor*. Its function here may therefore be to reinvigorate A., and its result the *nouae . . . uires* of 424. **odoriferam:** the lofty adj. *odorifer* appears before this passage only in Prop. 2.13.23 *desit odoriferis ordo mihi lancibus* (perfume-bearing platters carried in a lavish funeral procession); it is re-employed once by Sil. 16.309 *odoriferis aspergit* (~ *spargit* 418) *floribus aras*. Lucretius speaks of the smell emitted by this and related herbs in far less romantic terms, 4.123–5 *quaecumque suo de corpore odorem | exspirant acrem, panaces absinthia taetra | habrotonique graues et tristia centaurea*. **panaceam:** variant first-declension form of *panaces, -is*, a name given to a number of herbs with alleged painkilling properties; it brings the immediate relief described in 421–2 *subito . . . dolor*. (In a curious and perhaps corrupt note, Servius claims that Lucretius everywhere referred to salt as panacea ('sciendum . . . Lucretium panaceam ubique salem dicere') and that salt was the remedy in question here; Lucretius' only mention of the herb (see previous n.) makes no such connection, and *Lucretium* was emended to *Lucilium* by Johannes Baptista Pius in his 1511 edition of Lucretius. Servius Auctus adds the detail that Hercules is said to have provided the herb to the Thessalians as an antidote for poison.) The unusual rhythm of the line ending *odoriferam panaceam* gives an effective closure to this richly coloured passage.

420–2 V. varies the tempo to reflect the action: the slow rhythm of *fouit . . . ignorans* suits Iapyx's gentle swabbing of A.'s wound (an effect heightened by the sounds and word order of *ea uulnus lympha longaeuus*), then with *subito* the pace picks up as the drugs take effect.

420 fouit: *fouere* often describes bathing bruised or afflicted parts of the body, cf. 10.838 (Mezentius) *colla fouet*, Plin. *HN* 24.58 *podagricis cortice et foliis in uino decoctis foueri neruos utilissimum*. **ea:** the oblique cases of the pronoun *is* are rarely found in high poetry: the abl. *ea* appears elsewhere in *Aen.* only in 7.63 and 8.86, *eo* is used twice, *eos* once, and *eum* six times; for data on other authors see Axelson (1945) 70–2. This general avoidance makes Dido's words at 4.478–9

'inueni, germana, uiam . . . | quae mihi reddat eum uel eo me soluat amantem' all the more extraordinary. **lympha:** a high poetic synonym for *aqua*, used by V. only in *Aen.* and by Ovid only in *Met.*; it was thought to be cognate with νύμφη, itself a poeticism for 'water'. As Austin on 1.701 notes, V. tends to use *lympha* in contexts of cleansing; for its use in cleaning a wound compare 10.834 *uulnera siccabat lymphis*, with Harrison's n. Our passage is imitated by Stat. *Theb.* 3.398 *uulnera dum lymphis Epidaurius eluit Idmon.* **longaeuus:** a grander synonym for *senior* (401); Latinus is similarly referred to as *senior* (7.46) and *longaeuus* (7.166).

421 ignorans: the word's enjambed position gives it greater emphasis, particularly since 420 in itself appears to be complete in sense.

421–2 omnis . . . sanguis: the details closely resemble Apollo's healing of Glaucus in *Il.* 16.528–9: 'at once he made the pains stop, and dried away from the hard wound the dark running of blood, and put strength into his spirit' (αὐτίκα παῦσ' ὀδύνας ἀπὸ δ' ἕλκεος ἀργαλέοιο | αἷμα μέλαν τέρσηνε, μένος δέ οἱ ἔμβαλε θυμῷ). The emphatic repetition *omnis . . . omnis* recalls and reverses that of *nequiquam* in 403 above.

422 quippe: *quippe* (like *scilicet* and *uidelicet*) normally introduces an explanation or clarification of a previous statement and is often rendered 'naturally', 'of course'; here it seems instead to vouch for the reality of A.'s amazing cure, and to mean 'truly, really'. One might compare Cicero's ironic remark about Clodius in *Mil.* 33 *mouet me quippe lumen curiae*, 'I am really [i.e. not at all] moved by that light of the Senate'; in Iarbas' bitter words at 4.217–18 *nos munera templis | quippe tuis ferimus*, *quippe* shows that the action in question is both real and futile ('we, to be sure, bring gifts to your temples'). Some of Ovid's uses of *quippe* assert the truth of a statement with little or no explanatory force, cf. *Met.* 13.360–1 *quippe manu fortes nec sunt tibi Marte secundi.* See further Austin on 4.218, 1.39. In V. *quippe* always begins a line, whether or not it comes first in its clause. V. may have chosen it here partly for its crisp sound. **dolor:** for the lengthening of the second syllable see on 13 above *pater.* **omnis stetit imo uulnere sanguis** 'all his bleeding stopped, deep in the wound' (Fitzgerald). Each of the last three words occupies a metrical foot, forming a 'static' rhythm that mirrors the sense. **sanguis:** 'bleeding, flow of blood' (*OLD* 1b); cf. Plin. *HN* 22.36 *sanguinem sistit* [sc. *sucus urticae*], Stat. *Ach.* 2.160 *quo nimius staret medicamine sanguis*, Plin. *Epist.* 8.1.3 *stetit sanguis, resedit dolor.*

423 secuta manum: the arrow yields to Iapyx's guiding hand without needing to be forced (*nullo cogente*). Absence of force where it would normally be needed is a sign of the miraculous; cf. 6.146–7 (of the Golden Bough) *ipse uolens facilisque sequetur, | si te fata uocant.* For *nullo cogente* compare *G.* 2.10–11 *aliae* [sc. *arbores*] *nullis hominum cogentibus ipse | sponte sua ueniunt*, echoed by Ovid in his description of the Golden Age, *Met.* 1.104 *contenti . . . cibis nullo cogente creatis.*

424 nouae . . . uires: *nouus* can mean 'restored to its original state, renewed', see *OLD* 13, Ovid, *Ars am.* 3.185 *quot noua terra parit flores*, but it may be more satisfying to see the phrase as conflating two related ideas, that A. feels new

strength and that his old strength returns. **in pristina** 'to their former state', n. pl. as a substantive, cf. Lucr. 5.1415 *immutat sensus ad pristina quaeque*; the usual prose expression is *in pristinum*, cf. Nepos, *Timoth.* 1.1 *ut Siciliam ... suo aduentu in pristinum restitueret*. Given the juxtaposition of *pristina* and *nouae*, it may be relevant that n. pl. *noua* is often used substantively, cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 878 *noua nunc facio*, Plin. *HN* 10.120 *in diem noua loquentes*.

425–9 In another reversal of the earlier part of the episode, the ineffectual Iapyx is transformed into a forceful and authoritative figure, attesting to the presence of divine aid and rousing A. and the Trojans for the fight. In *Il.* 16.530–2 it is Glaucus himself who recognizes that Apollo has healed him and responds similarly. Iapyx's role as a surrogate for A. is part of V.'s careful preparation for the scene between A. and Iulus, see n. on 435–40.

425 arma ... statis?: V. reports Iapyx's words before identifying him as the speaker, producing a narrative *accelerando* that matches the speed Iapyx calls for. **arma ... properate** 'quickly bring arms' (reinforced by *citi*, adj. with adverbial force); as an analogy to *propero* with a direct object (like σπεύδειν) Servius Auctus cited a phrase from Sallust's *Histories* (fr. inc. 20 Maurenbrecher), *soleas festinate*; cf. also 9.400–1 *an ... pulchram properet per uulnera mortem*, *G.* 4.170–1 *Cyclopes fulmina ... cum properant*. **uiro:** not as colourless as in 319 above, though not as emphatic as 8.440 *arma acri facienda uiro*; for such shadings cf. 11.224, where Horsfall notes that *uirum* is 'a good deal more warlike (and complimentary) than the avoided *eum*'. The combination of *arma* and *uiro* does not necessarily recall 1.1 *arma uirumque cano*, but an echo is not excluded (and is perhaps assisted by *primus* in the next line). **uiro! quid statis?:** the strong fourth-foot caesura after *uiro* is followed by an uncommon fifth-foot caesura after *statis*, creating a 'staccato' effect (W.).

426 conclamat primusque: cf. 3.523 *'Italiam' primus conclamat Achates*.

427–8 non ... seruat: a classic expanding tricolon, in which each phrase is more elaborate than the previous one: the second colon outweighs the first by the addition of the shared verb *proueniunt*, and the third is marked by variation (*neque* following *non ... non*) and the apostrophe to A. The presence of so formal a structure is remarkable in a short speech and in what is essentially a lead-in sentence; the effect is to throw great emphasis on Iapyx's final line.

427 arte magistra: *magistra* is predicative, 'with my skill acting as guide'; the same phrase at 8.441–2 *nunc uiribus usus ... omni nunc arte magistra* (where some comms. take *magistra* as attributive, others as predicative). The repetition links the re-arming of A. with the original provision of the weapons, both brought about by Venus' concern for her son.

429 A line of lapidary weight and concision, anchored by *maior* and *maiora* in emphatic positions (with *uariatio* in quantity, *maior* with short *o* vs. *maiora* with long *o*). **maior agit deus:** *deus* in apposition to *maior*, 'a greater one is accomplishing this, a god'. The less likely alternative is to connect *maior deus*, 'a greater god' (i.e. presumably, greater than Apollo). **agit** sc. *haec* (427); *agere* can be used

intransitively in the sense 'to be active, to be at work' (see *OLD* 23), but it is then normally accompanied by an adverb or a prepositional phrase. The omission of the object parallels the omission of *te* with *remittit.* **ad maiora:** i.e. to deeds greater than A. has yet performed, a narrative build-up that looks toward the climactic duel with T. Another possible sense (though not consciously intended by Iapyx) is 'to greater things', hinting at A.'s future apotheosis. Ovid has one of the Muses tell Minerva that she would have been in their number, *nisi te uirtus opera ad maiora tulisset* (*Met.* 5.269).

430 auidus pugnae: A.'s consistent attitude in this episode, cf. 387–90, 398–400, n. on 435–40. *pugnae*, like *bella* in 390 above, may look forward to the wider battle to come. **suras incluserat auro:** the plupf. points up the rapidity of A.'s response: by the time Iapyx has finished speaking, he has already put on his greaves. The phrase is repeated from 11.488, where it is part of an arming scene of T., who is also eager for fighting after a long interruption. This is the only time in the poem that we see A. put on his armour; the process is quick and businesslike, underscoring his resolve to return to the fight; cf. Kühn (1957) 37, Klodt (2003) 30. **auro:** metonymy for greaves fashioned from gold; often of golden goblets and other vessels, cf. 1.739 *pleno se proluit auro*, with Austin's n. At 8.624 A.'s greaves are described as formed from an amalgam of gold and electrum.

431 hinc atque hinc: i.e. on both legs. **oditque moras:** for the thematic importance of *mora* in this book, see Introduction, pp. 3–4. **hastamque coruscat:** anticipating *telum coruscat* in 887, 919 below. V. uses *corusco* and its adjective *coruscus* 19 times (as against, e.g., four examples in all of Ovid); *OLD* attempts to distinguish between motion-centred and light-centred meanings, but V. often blends the two, as here, where *hastam coruscat* = 'he makes the spear flash by brandishing it'; cf. also 10.651–2 *strictum . . . coruscat | mucronem*, with Harrison's n.

432 habilis . . . tergo: the words are knitted together by elaborate alliteration and assonance: *habilis lateri clipeus loricaque tergo*; the metallic *c*-sounds continue into the next line (*circum complectitur*), perhaps suggesting the clank of A.'s armour as he embraces Ascanius (see n. on *fusis . . . armis*). **habilis** 'well fitted', perhaps an equivalent of Homeric ἀραρυῖαν, as in *Il.* 13.188; cf. F. Bellandi in *EV* 2.827. It is to be understood with *lorica* as well.

433–4 Iulus' presence has been noted twice in the episode (385, 399), laying the groundwork for this encounter; the importance of A.'s words to him is underscored by the unusually full lead-in to A.'s speech.

433 fusis . . . armis: C. Day Lewis's 'folded his son in a mailed embrace' captures the unsettling mixture of tenderness and martial strength in V.'s picture. *fusis . . . armis* could be abl. abs. or abl. of means with *complectitur. fusis circum* = *circumfusis*; imitated by Val. Fl. 8.92–3 *Medea . . . fusis circum proiecta lacertis. armis* is potentially ambiguous (either from *arma* or from *armus, -i* 'upper arm'), but after the description of A.'s armour in the previous lines and with *galea* in the next line,

arma is almost certainly the predominant sense; furthermore, *armi* could figure in an embrace only if taken loosely as = *brachia*, for which V.'s other uses of *armus* offer no support. Tacitus echoes V.'s phrase in *Hist.* 1.36.2 *prensare manibus, complecti armis*, where the combination of *manibus* and *armis* shifts the balance in favour of *armus* (see Damon ad loc.); in a similar way 4.11 *quam sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!* (where *armis* is ambiguous) is echoed by Val. Fl. 4.265–6 (of a boxer) *uigil ille metu cum pectore et armis | huc alternus et huc*, in a context where *armus* is required. (See further Pease on 4.11.) M. Edwards (cited by O'Hara (1996) 236) thought that the ambiguity of *armis* showed that 'both of them are surrounded not only by the arms of the loved one but by the horrors of the war'.

434 A.'s gesture is both touching (arguably more so than the speech that follows) and meaningful: unlike Homer's Hector, who removes his helmet to kiss the baby Astyanax in *Il.* 6.471–4, A. allows himself no respite from the impending battle. The line also recalls Jupiter's comforting kiss before he reveals the future to Venus, 1.256 *oscula libauit natae, dehinc talia fatur.* Those are the only parent–child kisses in the poem, and physical contact between parent and child is generally rare: Evander clasps Pallas' hand as he sends him off to fight (8.558–9) and clings to his corpse (11.150 *haeret*), but A. is famously unable to embrace either mother (1.407–9) or father (6.697–702). The warmest such gestures in the poem are a sham, the kisses and embrace that Dido and A. exchange with Cupid in the guise of Iulus, 1.687 *cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet*, 715–16 *complexu Aeneae colloque pependit | et magnum falsi impleuit genitoris amorem.* **summaque . . . delibans oscula:** *summa* (lit. 'the outermost surface of', cf. 376 above *summum . . . corpus*) heightens the sense of *delibans* (Fitzgerald has 'brushes his lips'). But given the valedictory nature of the scene, another sense of *summa* might be hinted at, i.e. 'for the last time' (*OLD* 5); of parting kisses cf. Ovid, *Tr.* 1.3.58 *quasi discedens oscula summa dedi.* **per galeam:** Stat. *Theb.* 4.20–1 recalls this detail in a description of loved ones bidding an ill-omened farewell to departing soldiers, *galeis iuuat oscula clausis | inserere.*

435–40 This short speech contains a wealth of inter- and intratextual associations. It occupies a crucial position in the book, just before A. rejoins the fighting and the tide of battle turns in the Trojans' favour. It is also the only time in the poem that A. is shown speaking to his son and the last moment in which the two are seen together, which gives A.'s words the character of a farewell. That feeling is strengthened by the dual allusion the speech makes, to Hector taking leave of his wife and son in *Iliad* 6 and to Sophocles' Ajax addressing his son before his suicide (see following nn. for details). It may seem strange that V. aligns A. with two doomed heroes shortly before his victory over T.; one effect is to foreshadow A.'s own death, which is also implied in A.'s reference to a time (*mox* 438) when a mature Ascanius will look to A. and Hector as models.

In situation and wording, A.'s speech also recalls two moments in the poem in which a parent offers his child an encouraging vision of the future, Jupiter to Venus in 1.257–96 and Anchises to A. in 6.756–853; A.'s perspective is more

limited, but also more practical and immediate – in a word, Roman – in its concern for his son's development. Together the passages link four generations (Jupiter > Venus and Anchises > Aeneas > Iulus) in a chain of instruction and exhortation that the *Aeneid* itself enacts and extends into the future (see n. on *puer* 435).

435–6 disce . . . aliis: a clear echo of Soph. *Ajax* 550–1 'my child, may you be more fortunate than your father, but like him in all other respects' (ὦ παῖ, γένοιο πατρὸς εὐτυχέστερος, | τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ὅμοιος), which in turn probably recalls Hector's desire that his son grow up to be, like him, outstanding among the Trojans, *Il.* 6.476–7. V. is also thinking of Accius' reworking of Sophocles in his tragedy *Armorum Iudicium*: *uirtuti sis par, dispar fortunis patris* (156 R², cited by Macrob. *Sat.* 6.1.58). Jocelyn (1965) 127–9 suggested that the line in Accius was not delivered by Ajax before his suicide, but after his loss in the contest for Achilles' arms, when he still hoped to redeem himself by a glorious deed in battle. Jocelyn's argument is too complex to be examined here, but the fact that his proposal would make the situation of Accius' Ajax more closely resemble that of A. is not sufficient grounds to adopt it.

A. consistently sees himself as dogged by misfortune (cf. 1.372–4, 384–5 *ipse ignotus egens, Libyae deserta peragro, | Europa atque Asia pulsus*, 6.62 *hac Troiana tenus fuerit fortuna secuta*), and V.'s prologue stresses A.'s hardships (1.3 *multum ille et terris iactatus et alto*), but V. takes a considerable risk in having A. complain of his bad luck immediately after being saved yet again by his mother. To avert a loss of sympathy for A., V. distances him from his rescue by having Venus hide herself and making Iapyx the witness of divine help; as a further result, A.'s words to Ascanius can be heard as a reflection on his experience as a whole, not as a response to what has just taken place.

Lyne (1987) 9–10 reads the allusion to Ajax as implying that 'A. is being represented, at a certain level, as playing the role of the tragic Ajax . . . a relentless, passionate hero, whose essentially selfish obsession with honour led to madness and suicide'. (Panoussi (2009) 214–16 interprets the allusion along similar lines.) Alternatively, it could be seen as expressing A.'s view of himself as a figure of tragic stature.

Addison echoed A.'s words in his tragedy *Cato*, where Cato, speaking to the young Juba, contrasts his virtuous hardships with Julius Caesar's good fortune: 'Dost thou love watchings, abstinence, and toil, | laborious virtues all? Learn them from Cato; | success and fortune must thou learn from Caesar' (2.4.61–3).

435 disce: cf. 146 above *disce tuum . . . dolorem*, where Juno bids Juturna learn the fated doom of T. **puer:** Dickey (2002) 192 notes that the most frequent use of *puer* is to address 'known, named boys unrelated to the speaker'; so, e.g., A. addresses both Lausus (10.825) and Pallas (11.44) as *miserande puer*. Iulus is often called *puer* in the narrative and is so addressed by others (e.g. by Andromache in 3.487), but in his father's mouth the address is remarkable. A likely inference is that *puer* is generalizing, like *Romane* of Aeneas in 6.851; in both cases the individual

addressee stands for a wider audience that is meant to hear and respond to the speaker's message. (Philip Hardie notes the juxtaposition *puer uirtutem* and its counterpart in 9.641 (Apollo to Iulus) *uirtute puer*; the implication could be that by learning from his father the boy becomes a man.) **ex me:** *discere* is used with various preps. (*a*(*b*), *de*, *e*(*x*)) to designate a person as the source of instruction; cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.217 *nonnullam in spem ueneram posse me ex eis aliquid discere.* **uerumque laborem:** *uerus* here implies 'genuine, authentic', as in 11.892 *monstrat amor uerus patriae*; Servius less plausibly took it to mean effort undertaken by A. himself, as opposed to the credit for others' labour often given to commanders.

437 defensum dabit: a grander equivalent of *defendet*, further elevated by alliteration; *dare* in the sense 'render, cause to be' (*OLD* 24b) seems genuinely archaic, cf. Plaut. *Cist.* 595 *perfectum ego hoc dabo negotium*, but V. may be extending the usage in an archaic-sounding way (so also perhaps Sall. *Iug.* 59.3 *expeditis peditibus suis hostis paene uictos dare*, Livy 8.6.6 *stratas legiones Latinorum dabo*, on which see Oakley ad loc.); C–N compare 3.69–70 *placata . . . uenti | dant maria*. Page on 383 above lists many examples in V. of verbal idioms with *dare*; see also nn. on 367 above, 453 and 681 below. **inter praemia ducet:** comms.' views on the implication of *inter* range from the abstract (M. 'show you . . . how great prizes may be won') to the highly tangible (Mackail 'the picture is of A. being led . . . up an avenue where the prizes of valour are displayed on both sides'). I have found no other example of *ducere* with *inter*; the sense is presumably 'lead into the presence of', analogous to *uenire inter*, cf. *Ecl.* 2.3–4 *inter densas . . . fagos | adsidue ueniebat*, Cic. *Cat.* 1.8 *dico te prima nocte uenisse inter falcarios.* The idea of leading someone to a reward or prize might suggest a general whose soldiers will share in the spoils of victory, cf. Curt. 9.2.27 *non tam ad gloriam uos duco quam ad praedam*, Luc. 7.736–7 *non magno hortamine miles | in praedam ducendus erat.*

438 tu: strongly emphatic, as in 6.851 *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento* (~ *sis memor* 439). **facito:** the so-called future imperative is both more formal than, e.g., *fac sis memor* and also appropriate to a command that is to be obeyed at a later time (cf. Woodcock (1959) sect. 126). **mox:** in conjunction with *nunc* cf. Livy 3.2.4 *deos nunc testes esse, mox fore ultores*; *mox* often denotes 'in due course' rather than 'soon', although the latter sense would not be inappropriate here. **cum matura adoleuerit aetas:** probably recalling Lucr. 3.449 (also of children growing to adulthood) *ubi robustis adoleuit uiribus aetas. matura* (like *robustis* in Lucretius) is used proleptically to describe the result of the process: 'when your years have grown up and become mature'. *Ecl.* 4.37 similarly looks forward to a time when the *puer* of that poem will have become a man, *ubi iam firmata uirum te fecerit aetas.*

439 sis memor: sc. *mei* (or *meorum factorum*, as Servius suggested); omitted in order not to disrupt the symmetry of 440. **te . . . tuorum:** a grand build-up in which Ascanius is placed in a syntactically subordinate position to throw greater emphasis onto A. and Hector. **te animo:** elision of a monosyllable containing a long vowel before a word beginning with a short vowel is extremely

rare in V.; the only other example is 657 below *in te oculos referunt*. **animo:** with *repetentem*, either the equivalent of *memoria* as in, e.g., Cic. *De Or.* 1.1 *cogitanti mihi . . . et memoria uetera repetenti*, or the equivalent of *secum*, as in (*re*)*putare cum animo* or *animis*; cf. Sall. *Iug.* 13.5, 70.5, 85.10. **repetentem:** *repetere* = 'recall', often of calling to mind past events or persons; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 3.182 *quid ego uetera repetam?*, Livy 9.34.14 *quid ego antiqua repetam?* (with Oakley's n. (p. 443)), Sen. *Controu.* 1.1.3 *tam longe exempla repeto, tamquam in domo non sit?*; of recalling a lesson cf. Cic. *Q. fr.* 1.2.7 *si omnium mearum praecepta litterarum repetes*. **exempla:** the emulation of illustrious predecessors (often from one's own family = *exempla tuorum*) was central to aristocratic Roman ideas of education and character development; cf. Habinek (1989) 238–54 (discussing Anchises' speech to A. in 6.756–853).

440 = 3.343 with the difference of one letter. Andromache, seeing A. alone, asks about Iulus: *ecquid in antiquam uirtutem animosque uiriles | et pater Aeneas et auunculus excitat Hector?* The repetition may suggest that Iulus is to take continuing inspiration from his elders. V. consistently puts A. on an equal footing with Hector, cf. 11.288–9 *Hectoris Aeneaeque manu uictoria Graium | haesit* with Horsfall's n.; here the familial perspective makes the coupling appear more natural. In Eur. *Andr.* 342–3 (cited by La Cerda), Andromache predicts that Neoptolemus will act in a way worthy of his grandfather Peleus and his father Achilles. (The lines are part of a section (330–51) bracketed by Kovacs in his Loeb text.) **pater Aeneas:** A. is fond of naming himself in a self-dramatizing way, cf. in particular 10.826 and 830. It is a trait he shares with his opponent, cf. n. on 11 above *nulla mora in Turno*. **auunculus excitet Hector:** alliteration of *c* and assonance create a stirring conclusion. **auunculus:** Iulus' mother, Creusa, was a daughter of Priam and thus a sister of Hector; cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 3.31.4 and Austin on 2.787, 795. Servius Auctus on 3.343 reports that some critics thought *auunculus* unfit for epic language; in post-Virgilian epic it appears only in Sil. 3.248. **excitet:** the verb is often applied to commanders stirring up their troops (cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 3.26.1 *ut magnis praemiis . . . suos excitarent*, Livy 25.37.10, 39.1.5); the implication is that the *uirtus* Iulus is to learn will manifest itself above all in martial valour. **Hector:** the allusion to *Iliad* 6 implied by the situation is made explicit in A.'s last word. Hector also looked forward to his son's mature years, generously wishing that men would call him greater than his father (*Il.* 6.479). Silius' Hannibal combines references to Hector's and A.'s speeches in the words he instructs his wife to convey to his infant son when he is grown (3.69–86).

441–499 Aeneas pursues Turnus, but Juturna disguised as the charioteer Metiscus keeps him out of reach. Aeneas is attacked and begins to kill indiscriminately

The primary focus is on A., who now appears even more formidable than previously; a key description at the outset is *ingens* (441; see n.). T. is placed in a

subordinate position, as either the terrified witness of A.'s advance (446–8) or the object of A.'s pursuit (466–7, 483) or of Juturna's efforts to protect him (479–80).

The section comprises two main subdivisions, 441–67 and 468–99. The first concludes with A. still in single-minded pursuit of T., while the second builds toward the unleashing of A.'s frustrated anger against the Italians generally. As in the earlier section 311–82, each part contains a prominent simile. In this case the similes are sharply contrasted and highlight the disparity between A. and his opponents: he is likened to a storm about to wreak destruction on a large scale (451–8), while Juturna is compared to a mother bird desperately seeking food for its young (473–8).

La Cerda compared the return of A. to Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.43, where Romulus is wounded in a battle with the Sabines and withdraws but soon returns, with similar reactions from the enemy as here.

441–5 After a powerful close-up description of A., the focus widens and the pace quickens as the Trojan advance gathers strength.

441 Haec ubi dicta dedit: cf. 81 above. **portis:** the gates of the Trojan camp have not been mentioned so far in this book; the detail adds to the impressiveness of A.'s exit. Traina compares *Il.* 7.1–7, where Hector and Paris come out through the city gates and give new hope to the Trojans. **sese extulit:** high diction, cf. Accius 592 R[2] *egredere exi ecfer te* (a style parodied in Plaut. *Bacch.* 965 *me illo extuli e periclo*), 11.462 *corripuit sese et tectis citus extulit altis*; similarly with *inferre*, 11.36 *Aeneas foribus sese intulit altis.* **ingens:** cf. 92 n. The magnifying epithet's force is heightened by its position at the end of the line; together with *telum immane* (following n.), it suggests that A. is a figure of superhuman size and might.

442 telum immane manu: strong assonance in *immane manu*, also at 11.552. *immanis* is a favourite word with V. (five occurrences in *Georgics*, 50 in *Aen.*), and often appears in conjunction with *ingens*; in many cases its primary meaning is 'huge' (Harrison on 10.318 compares Homeric πελώριος), but other associations include 'frightening, ferocious, monstrous'. Cf. 535, 904 below. **agmine denso:** also at 2.450, 9.788.

443 Antheusque Mnestheusque: Antheus has not been mentioned since book 1 (181, 510); Mnestheus has been prominent in this book (127, 384). For the lengthening of the first *-que* see 89n. **ruunt:** in contrast to A.'s ponderous (gigantic?) motion, his companions move swiftly.

444 fluit: cf. 11.236 *conuenere fluuntque ad regia . . . tecta.* V. is the first writer for whom this use of *fluere* is attested, see *TLL* 6[1].974.13–21; Horsfall ad loc. compares Homeric ἐπέχυντο. P here and M in 11.236 replace forms of *fluere* with the more common *ruere.* The metaphor anticipates the simile in 451–5, in particular *nimbus* in 451; cf. D. West (1970) 265.

444–5 tum . . . tellus: the pronounced alliteration of *t – c – p* and the increasingly dactylic rhythm in the middle of 445 create a sense of rapid, excited action.

444 caeco 'blinding', cf. 8.253 *caeca caligine*. **puluere:** dust is a standard feature of the heroic battlefield; cf. 7.625, 11.866, 876–7, 908, *EV* s.v. *puluis*.

445 miscetur 'the plain is a confusion of dust' (C–N); elsewhere a noise or outcry creates this kind of confusion, cf. 1.124 *magno misceri murmure pontum*, 2.298 *miscentur moenia luctu*, 486–7, 4.160, 411. **pulsuque . . . tellus:** as Traina notes, V. has combined two Ennian alliterative expressions, *sonitus auris meas pedum pulsu increpat* (*Sc.* 305 J.) and *Africa terribili tremit horrida terra tumultu* (*Ann.* 309 Sk.), while toning down the exuberance of the originals. **excita:** almost a personification: the ground is 'stirred up'; cf. the similar 7.722 *pulsuque pedum conterrita tellus* (with Horsfall ad loc.), even more explicitly 3.673–4 *exterrita tellus* | *Italiae*.

446–9 A balancing passage describes the onlookers' reaction to A.'s return, heightening the impression of his overwhelming force. Traina compares *Il.* 18.217–29, where Achilles' war-cry panics the Trojans.

446–7 uidit . . . uidere: the repetition dramatizes a critical juncture in the action, as at 7.516–17 when Allecto sounds the shepherds' alarm, *audiit et Triuiae longe lacus, audiit amnis . . . Nar*.

446 aduerso: forms of *aduersus* recur at 456, 461, of *auersus* in 464, 484. The words are not in themselves strongly marked, but the repetition of both within the same passage may suggest the motif of a face-to-face encounter that is thwarted. **aggere:** presumably an elevated vantage point (Servius glosses with *eminentia*), which does not need to be more specifically identified. If T. as observer plays the part of the goatherd in the Homeric model for the coming simile (see n. on 451–8), the *agger* may correspond to the watching-place (σκοπιή) in *Il.* 4.275. That interpretation seems preferable to construing *ab aduerso aggere* with *uenientis* (Servius Auctus and Tib. Cl. Donatus).

447–8 gelidusque . . . tremor: the phrase also appears at 2.120–1 and (with *dura* for *ima*) 6.54–5. The other passages describe a terrified response to something preternatural (the oracle quoted by Sinon, the Sibyl's first words), and that factor is present here as well, in A.'s miraculous recovery from his wound. Ovid, *Met.* 10.423–4 *gelidus nutricis in artus* | *ossaque . . . penetrat tremor* depicts the moment when Myrrha's nurse realizes her incestuous love for her father.

448–9 prima . . . refugit: although the reference to Juturna may be intended to prepare for her appearance at 468, it seems less than fully integrated in its context; Servius Auctus found it puzzling that Juturna, having fled the scene, should be brought back so soon. Another sign of awkwardness is the use of the formula *prima ante omnis* (cf. e.g. 2.40, 5.540) after the response of T. and the other Italians has been described.

449 agnouit . . . sonum: i.e. the tramp of feet mentioned in 445. *agnouit* anticipates T.'s moment of recognition; cf. 632 n. **tremefacta refugit:** V.'s only other use of *tremefactus* of a person, 2.382 *tremefactus abibat*, describes the Greek Androgeos, who realizes too late that he has fallen into the hands of Trojans wearing Greek armour.

450 A single line returns the focus to A. and underscores the relentlessness of the Trojans' advance; it also provides the following simile with its point of departure. **ille:** A. is not named in this section until 481; the absence of his name makes him felt as a looming presence. **campoque . . . aperto:** for *campus* = 'field/plain of battle', see n. on 80 above; with *apertus* cf. 353 above, 9.25, *G.* 2.280. After *agit*, *campo* is abl. of extension or 'area over which', on which see 10.540 *quem congressus agit campo*, with Harrison's n., 501–2 below *quos aequore toto* | . . . *agit*. **atrum . . . agmen:** the colour corresponds to Homer's φάλαγγες κυάνεαι in *Il.* 4.281–2 (Traina adds 16.66 κυάνεον Τρώων νέφος), but it also suits the dark storm cloud (*nimbus*) to which the Trojans are compared. **rapit:** implies force and rapidity; A. 'sweeps' his men across the plain, cf. 7.724–5, 10.178, 308–9 (Turnus) *rapit acer* | *totam aciem in Teucros*, with Harrison's n. Lucan uses *rapit agmina* of Caesar after he crosses the Rubicon (1.228). Dingel on 9.364 notes that *rapere* is much more frequent in the latter half of the *Aeneid* than in the former; the highest concentration comes in books 10–12.

451–8 The simile has its primary model in *Il.* 4.275–280: 'As from his watching place a goatherd watches a cloud move | on its way over the sea before the drive of the west wind; | far away though he be he watches it, blacker than pitch is, | moving across the sea and piling the storm before it, | and as he sees it he shivers and drives his flocks to a cavern; | so about the two Aiantes moved the battalions' (ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἀπὸ σκοπιῆς εἶδεν νέφος αἰπόλος ἀνὴρ | ἐρχόμενον κατὰ πόντον ὑπὸ Ζεφύροιο ἰωῆς· | τῷ δέ τ' ἄνευθεν ἐόντι μελάντερον ἠΰτε πίσσα | φαίνετ' ἰὸν κατὰ πόντον, ἄγει δέ τε λαίλαπα πολλήν, | ῥίγησέν τε ἰδών, ὑπό τε σπέος ἤλασε μῆλα· | τοῖαι ἅμ' Αἰάντεσσι . . . κίνυντο φάλαγγες).

Preserving the bare outline of the Homeric simile (an observer seeing a storm approach and reacting in fear), V. has expanded its scale and deepened its impact: instead of a single goatherd, an entire community of farmers is at risk, and the storm's potential for destruction appears limitless (*ruet omnia late* 454). In that respect the simile looks ahead to the wholesale slaughter A. begins to inflict at 497–9. By focalizing part of the simile through the eyes of the farmers, V. expresses empathy with the victims of violence in the natural order and implicitly with the doomed Latins. (For the storm as symbolic of the destiny awaiting A.'s opponents see Pöschl (1962) 121–2, who also notes that A.'s spear when it mortally wounds T. is like a tornado, *atri turbinis instar* 923.) The grimness of this simile can be appreciated by contrast with 10.803–10, where A., pelted with weapons by Lausus and his men, is compared to a farmer who takes shelter during a hailstorm. Lyne (1987) 4–12 uses the simile as the paradigm for an insinuated further voice. Briggs (1980) 90–1 and Thomas (1998) 296 explore connections between the simile and the storm in *G.* 1.316–34; see n. on 453 *horrescunt corda*.

The structure of the simile re-enacts that of the preceding narrative: the advance of the storm is followed by the reaction of its prospective victims. The highly emotive language of the reaction section matches the *gelidus . . . tremor* felt by the Latins. The closest verbal connections are clustered at the end of the

narrative and simile: *uolat* 450 ~ *uolant* 455; *sonum* 449 ~ *sonitum* 455; *rapit* 450 ~ *ferunt* 455.

451 abrupto sidere 'when the sun's light is cut off'; for *sidus* = *sol* cf. *OLD* 2c (citing this passage), and for this interpretation see R. D. Williams (1956). Stat. *Theb.* 1.325 *abrupto sole* and Sil. 6.608 *abrupto caelo* suggest that they understood V.'s phrase in the same way. Most comms. follow Servius in taking *sidus* to refer to a storm, an extension of its common use to mean 'weather', often bad weather; *abrupto sidere* ('when a storm has broken out') would thus be parallel to, e.g., *abruptis procellis*, *G.* 3.259. Apart from the strain placed on the meaning of *sidus*, the result does not seem to add anything to the surrounding description.

452 it: here the monosyllable is terrifying in its plainness. V. has 15 instances of *it* at the beginning of the line, cf. Horsfall on 11.90; βῆ appears in that position only in *Il.* 1.34.

452–4 heu . . . late: the parenthesis interrupts the description of the storm's progress, which continues in 455; it is as if the terror of the onlookers is so great that it breaks into the text. For parentheses in similes see Tarrant (1998) 146–8, on this passage 153.

452 miseris, heu: although later phrases express the point of view of the *agricolae*, these opening words imply the narrator's sympathy for their plight. For *heu* compare 483 below, with n. **longe:** probably in a temporal sense with *praescia*, 'foreseeing far in advance' (like Juturna in 448–9, *prima ante omnis . . . audit*), cf. *G.* 4.70 *praesciscere longe*, *TLL* 7^2.1649.60–71; less likely as the equivalent of Homer's ἄνευθεν (*Il.* 4.277), 'far away upon the land' (C–N).

453 horrescunt corda: cf. *G.* 1.330–1 *mortalia corda . . . strauit pauor*. In the *Georgics* it is Jupiter's thunderbolt that causes fear; the parallel to Aeneas-as-storm looks ahead to the identification of A. with Jupiter at the end of the book. **agricolis:** dat. of ref. (of the person affected), idiomatic with descriptions of physical/emotional reactions. Specifying that the victims of the storm are farmers recalls the fact that the Latins were farmers in peacetime, cf. 7.521.

453–4 dabit . . . late: V. so completely adopts the perspective of the observers that these words could be printed as quoted direct speech. **dabit . . . ruinas . . . stragemque:** for similar periphrases with *dare* in the sense *efficere* (*OLD* 24, *TLL* 5^1.1686.14–32), cf. Lucr. 5.1329 *permixtas . . . dabant equitum peditumque ruinas*, Livy 21.32.8 *ingentem fugam stragemque dedissent*; *dare stragem*, Lucr. 1.288, *Aen.* 11.384; *dare funera*, *G.* 3.246, *Aen.* 8.570, 383 above with n. The effect is considerably more elevated than, e.g., *euertet arbores*. **ille:** sc. *nimbus*, but the echo of *ille* in 450 tightens the links between the simile and the narrative.

454 arboribus . . . satis: same combination in *G.* 1.444. **stragem:** *strages* can denote devastation caused by natural forces, as in Lucr. 1.288–9 (*amnis*) *dat sonitu magno stragem . . . ruitque et quidquid fluctibus obstet* (a passage probably in V.'s mind), but the more common sense 'slaughter' is also evoked. **ruet:** here transitive, 'will overturn', but corresponding to *ruunt* in 443.

455 The preceding parenthesis leaves this line isolated, underscoring its connections to 450 (which include a pounding rhythmic pulse).

456 ductor Rhoeteius: the epithet is usually explained as an elegant synonym for 'Trojan' (from Rhoeteum, the promontory near Troy). Lyne (1987) 10–12, links it with the burial place of Ajax and infers a similarity of ethos between the Sophoclean Ajax and A. (12 'there is still something of an Ajax in Aeneas, a hero honour-obsessed and doomed'). Traina, however, notes that Rhoeteum was also the site of Deiphobus' cenotaph (cf. 6.505).

457 agmen agit: the combination of a verb and an etymologically cognate object (*figura etymologica*) is a feature of archaic Latin often employed by V. for elevated effect; for *agere agmen* see Wills (1996) 245, Horsfall on 7.707. **agmen . . . densi:** the echo of *agmine denso* in 442 rounds off this portion of the narrative, after which the fighting proper begins. **cuneis . . . coactis** 'gathered in formation', abl. abs.; *cunei* are strictly speaking wedge-shaped formations of troops. *coactis* describes the completed action begun in *agmen agit*. **quisque:** singular but with plural reference, in apposition to the subject of *adglomerant*: 'they, each of them, mass together'.

458 adglomerant: perhaps a significant echo of the verb's only other appearance in V., 2.341, where Trojans cluster around A., eager to make a desperate stand against the Greeks. The verb is not found again until the Flavian period (cf. Val. Fl. 2.197, 499, 3.87, Sil. 5.238); it may be a Virgilian coinage.

458–61 Listing a series of Trojans each of whom kills a Latin shows that the tide of battle has turned in favour of the Trojans; the effect is frequent in Homer but appears only here in V. (Willcock (1983) 89). The conquered Latins are arranged in ascending order of prominence. Osiris, Arcetius and Epulo appear only here. Ufens, on the other hand, has been mentioned several times (7.745, 8.6, 10.518), and his death will be recalled by T. at 641 below. Tolumnius is saved for the place of honour, as it were, because of his role in breaking the truce. Except for Thymbraeus (named only here), the corresponding Trojans are all conspicuous figures: Gyas appeared in book 1 (222, 612) and was one of the contestants in the boat race of book 5; for Mnestheus see n. on 127 above.

458 grauem: a rather unspecific descriptor; Servius glossed it with *fortem*, but it may simply refer to physical bulk, as with Entellus (5.437, 447). **Thymbraeus:** a Trojan Thymbraeus was killed by Diomedes (*Il.* 11.320–1); the victory of this Thymbraeus is part of the pattern by which the Trojans are transformed from conquered to conquerors. Reed (1998) sees a connection with Tiber (in the form *Thybris*), making Thymbraeus a symbol of the unification of Trojan past and Italian future. **Osirim:** a remarkable name for a Rutulian; Bergk proposed emending to *Osinim* (an Italian king Osinius is mentioned at 10.655). Reed (1998) exploits the Egyptian associations of the name, together with Antony's depiction in Egypt as Dionysus-as-Osiris, to interpret the encounter with Thymbraeus as foreshadowing Rome's defeat of Egypt at Actium.

459 Arcetium Mnestheus: if Arcetius is to be seen as an ancestor of the Roman *gens Arquitia* (as suggested by A. Fo, *EV* 1.296), as Mnestheus is the founder of the *gens Memmia* (cf. 5.117), the juxtaposition of their names underscores the quasi-civil nature of the war. **Epulonem:** literally 'banqueter'; perhaps a dig at the supposed Etruscan fondness for lavish feasts, but possibly alluding to the priests of Iuppiter Epulo (so M. Scarsi, *EV* 2.345).

460 cadit ipse Tolumnius augur: as with A.'s wound, no warrior is credited with Tolumnius' death; the effect here is to focus attention on the rightness of the retribution rather than on the identity of the slayer.

461 An almost exact reprise of 258 *primusque Tolumnius augur* and 266 *aduersos telum contorsit in hostis*.

462 tollitur in caelum clamor: an Ennian phrase (*Ann.* 428 Sk.), found also at 11.745, and with variations elsewhere; cf. 409 above. Paschalis (1997) 386 sees in *tollitur* a play on Tolumnius. **uersique uicissim:** while A. was out of the fight the Trojans were scattered by T. (368 *conuersaeque ruunt acies*); now the Latins are 'thrown back in their turn'.

463 puluerulenta fuga: same line opening at 4.155, of hunted stags. **puluerulenta:** 'adjectives in *-lentus* are in essence archaic and vulgar, and this is the only one used by V.' (Thomas on *G.* 1.66). The other instances are 4.154–5 (previous n.) and 7.625.

464 ipse: again the absence of A.'s name gives him greater prominence.

464–5 neque auersos . . . nec pede congressos . . . nec tela ferentis: the three categories comprehend all potential opponents. The distribution of verbs couples *auersos* and *congressos* – a natural pair of opposites – as objects of *sternere*, setting *tela ferentis* apart since they require pursuit (*insequitur*); but *pede congressos* and *tela ferentis* are another opposed pair, distinguishing those who fight at close quarters from those who hurl weapons from a distance (*comminus* versus *eminus*).

464 dignatur: more pointed than, e.g., *non curat*; A. regards all enemies except T. as unworthy of his notice. Very similar is 10.732–3 (of Mezentius) *fugientem haud est dignatus Oroden | sternere*, but whereas Mezentius wants to meet his opponent face to face (734 *obuius aduersoque occurrit*), A. disdains to kill even those who confront him openly. In *Il.* 16.731–2 Hector spares the other Greeks and singles out Patroclus to attack. **sternere morti:** cf. 8.566 *leto sternendus erat*. *morti* is probably to be understood as a dative analogous to that in, e.g., *dare* or *mittere morti* (cf. 513–14 below *neci . . . mittit*) rather than as an archaic ablative. For such expressions see Waszink (1966) 249–53.

465 congressos 'those who confront him'; the participle has virtually no perfect force. **pede . . . aequo:** normally 'on an even footing', cf. *Bellaniense Hispaniense* 38.6 *ut aequo pede cum aduersariis congredi posset*, but that sense does not seem applicable here. A reference to both parties being on foot – as opposed to the *pugna iniqua* of 10.889 where A. on foot fights the mounted Mezentius – would require a combination of literal and figurative senses (as in Fagles's rendering,

'those who fight him fairly, toe-to-toe'). There might be a hint of expressions such as *haeret pes pede* (10.361) describing hand-to-hand combat. Some comms. adopt a later manuscript reading, *nec equo* for *aequo* (reflected in Mandelbaum's translation, 'those who meet him now | on foot or horse or flinging darts'), but introducing another category of fighter confuses the picture, and *congressos equo* is an unlikely combination. **tela ferentis:** *arma* or *tela ferre* usually means 'make war' or 'bear arms' (*OLD* s.v. *fero* 8b, cf. e.g. 9.133–4 *tot milia gentes arma tulerunt | Italiae*); here, however, the contrast with other classes of fighters requires a more specific reference to casting spears.

466 insequitur: combining the senses 'pursue' and 'attack', cf. 1.240–1 *eadem fortuna uiros tot casibus actos | insequitur*, 8.146–7 *gens eadem, quae te, crudeli Daunia bello | insequitur* (in both cases with strong enjambment, as here).

466–7 solum . . . solum: the repetition mirrors A.'s single-minded pursuit and almost certainly recalls T.'s words before meeting Pallas, 10.442–3 *solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas | debetur.* **densa in caligine:** the dust of battle, also mentioned in 443 and 463, helps to account for A.'s difficulty in tracking down T.

467 uestigat lustrans: the heavy syllables reflect A.'s methodical search. **uestigat:** a *Leitmotiv* of this section, cf. 482, 557, and in a simile at 588. **lustrans:** *OLD* creates a separate subhead (6) for the sense 'look around for, seek', but the meaning 'scour' (3) seems equally appropriate; there may be a significant echo of 8.228–9 (Hercules searching for Cacus) *furens animis aderat Tirynthius omnemque | accessum lustrans*, the only other appearance of the form *lustrans* in V. Sil. 10.43 has *lustrans* of Paulus looking for Hannibal, where the sense 'seek' is clear. **in certamina poscit** 'challenges him to the fight'; *poscit* also implies demanding something to which one is entitled. The phrase restates a claim made several times previously; cf. 8.613–14 (Venus) *ne . . . dubites in proelia poscere Turnum*, 10.661 *illum autem Aeneas absentem in proelia poscit*, 11.221 (Drances) *solum posci in certamina Turnum*, 434 (Turnus) *quod si me solum Teucri in certamina poscunt*. See also on 2 above *sua . . . promissa reposci.*

468–72 Juturna's intervention is modelled on *Il.* 5.835–41, where Athena pushes aside Diomedes' charioteer Sthenelus and drives his chariot herself.

468 Hoc . . . metu: = *metu huius rei*, i.e. that T. would meet A. For the condensed expression cf. Fordyce and Horsfall on 7.595 *has . . . poenas*. It is often applied to words denoting fear, such as *terror*; cf. 8.705 *eo terrore*, Livy 10.13.5, 25.39.11 *hic terror*, Tac. *Hist.* 3.21.1, *Ann.* 11.19.1 *is terror.* **concussa:** precisely balances 411, where Venus is *concussa* by A.'s suffering. The strong word fits Juturna's general state of distress (cf. 449 *tremefacta*, 160 *turbatam*, her tears at 154–5) and can signify an excessive emotional reaction (as at 4.498), but it is used without negative overtones of A. in 5.700 *casu concussus acerbo*, 869 *casuque animum concussus amici.* **mentem:** for the acc. cf. 3.47 *ancipiti mentem formidine pressus*, 5.869 (previous n.), *G.* 4.357 *percussa . . . mentem*, 599 below *mentem turbata.* These are often labelled accs. of respect but are probably best explained as 'retained' acc.

after a passive participle, perhaps an extension of the acc. following participles with middle force (for which cf. n. on 64–5 above); cf. Courtney (2003–4) 427–8. Prose instances such as *Bell. Africum* 78.10 *caput ictus*, 85.7 *brachium gladio percussus*, Livy 21.7.10 *femur tegula grauiter ictus* do not suggest imitation of Greek usage; cf. Coleman (1975) 124. **uirago:** the epithet (used only here in V.) underscores Juturna's boldness and defiance of danger; in the corresponding Homeric passage Athena is called 'raging goddess' (*Il.* 5.838 ἐμμεμαυῖα θεά), and Ovid, *Met.* 2.765 describes Minerva as *belli metuenda uirago*. A difficult line of Ennius (*Ann.* 220 Sk.) applies *uirago* to a hellish personification of discord. Servius alleges that a *uirago* is a woman who carries out the function of a man ('mulier quae uirile implet officium'), a description that would literally apply to Juturna as she takes the place of Metiscus, but the actual etymology is unclear. See further my n. on Sen. *Agam.* 668.

469 A build-up line to create suspense. **media inter lora** 'as he was holding | plying the reins' (= *inter lora gerenda*), cf. *G.* 2.383 *inter pocula* <*bibenda*>, Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.185 *media inter carmina* <*dicenda*>; *media* emphasizes that the action was in progress at the time, cf. 318 above *has inter uoces, media inter talia uerba*. Many comms. take *inter lora* to mean 'as he was standing with the reins wrapped around him', but that would make it more difficult for Juturna to dislodge him. **Metiscum:** named here for the first time.

470 excutit: of flinging someone from a horse or chariot, cf. 10.590 *excussus curru*, of a helmsman thrown overboard 1.115–16 *excutitur pronusque magister* | *uoluitur in caput*. **longe . . . relinquit** 'she leaves him far behind, fallen from the chariot'. *temone* stands by synecdoche for *curru*. The MSS divide (as often) between *relinquit* and *reliquit*; the present seems to cohere better with the surrounding verbs, although in a similar situation in *G.* 3.519 Mynors opts for *reliquit* on the grounds that 'it is more like V. to vary the tenses'.

471 subit 'takes over', cf. 5.176 *ipse gubernaclo rector subit*, Ovid, *Met.* 3.648–9 *subit ipse meumque* | *explet opus*. **undantis:** a grand adjective, used figuratively of objects making wave-like motions, such as fluttering reins (also 5.146), billowing smoke (2.609), a seething cauldron (7.463); cf. 673 below *undabat*. It may be significant that a watery epithet is used just as Juturna takes control of the chariot; Paschalis (1997) 384–5.

472 cuncta: looks forward to the specific attributes to follow, cf. 4.558–9 *omnia Mercurio similis, uocemque coloremque* | *et crinis . . . et membra*. **gerens:** cf. 1.315 (Venus in disguise) *uirginis os habitumque gerens*, more generally of 'bearing' an appearance, Lucr. 4.51 *quod speciem ac formam similem gerit eius imago*. See *OLD* 4 to 'wear' an expression, e.g. Livy 42.62.11 *in aduersis . . . uoltum secundae fortunae gerere*.

473–80 No Homeric model has been cited for this simile, but in *Il.* 9.323–7 Achilles compares himself to a mother bird looking for food for its young. The focus there is on the bird's selflessness; V. emphasizes the effort and motion involved in her search. Because the simile's setting and details are remote from the battlefield situation, many comms. treat it as a contrasting interlude; Williams,

for example, says that it 'takes us away momentarily from the battle to a scene of peace and normality'. But the image of a bird tirelessly searching for food to feed its young clearly parallels Juturna's frantic efforts to keep T. from harm. Also noteworthy, though harder to interpret, are several points of contact with previous and subsequent actions of A.: 474 *lustrat* ~ 467 *lustrans*, 475 *legens* ~ 481 *legit* (both words used in somewhat different senses), 478 *obit* ~ 481 *obuius*, 478 *uolans*, 480 *uolat* ~ 450 *uolat*, 455 *uolant*, perhaps 473 *nigra* ~ 450 *atrum*.

Other discussion of the simile: Thomas (1998) 289–90. Lyne (1987) 139–44 sees an allusion to the myth of Procne and her son Itys, in one version of which the mourning mother is transformed into a swallow; the resulting connotations of death and grief would foreshadow the coming death of T. and Juturna's endless sorrow (cf. 872–81 below).

The simile has charmed generations of British bird-lovers. WF, for example, writes 'I have been assured by Mr. John Sargeaunt, of Westminster School, that the bird of this most beautiful and original simile is not a swallow, but a swift, which he has seen occupied in exactly this way at an Italian farmhouse' (95).

473–4 nigra . . . hirundo: the hyperbaton of adjective and noun may suggest the large spaces traversed by the bird, an impression heightened by the magnifying phrases *magnas . . . aedes*, *domini . . . diuitis*, *alta atria*. The tiny bird moving within a vast space implies a similar comparison of scale for visualizing Juturna on the battlefield. For a similar hyperbaton cf. *G.* 4.457–8 *illa . . . puella*, with Thomas's n.

473 nigra: Tib. Cl. Donatus took the colour of the bird to represent grief or mourning ('nigram hirundinem pro dolentis persona, etiam lugentis posuit'), a possible point in favour of Lyne's reading of the simile (n. on 473–80). **domini . . . diuitis:** cf. *Il.* 11.68 (reapers in the fields) ἀνδρὸς μάκαρος, more immediately Catull. 61.87–8 *in . . . diuitis domini hortulo.*

474 peruolat 'flies through', with *aedes* as object; cf. *G.* 1.377 (quoted from Varro of Atax) *arguta lacus circumuolitauit hirundo.* **lustrat** 'circles' (*OLD* 2), cf. 9.57–8 (T. trying to breach the walls of the Trojan camp) *huc turbidus atque huc | lustrat equo muros*, for which Hardie compares 8.231 *lustrat Auentini montem.*

475 legens 'gathering'. **nidisque loquacibus:** the pl. *nidi* in V. seems always to refer to birds in the nest, cf. Mynors on *G.* 2.210. The picture closely resembles *G.* 4.17 *ore ferunt dulcem nidis immitibus escam.* Later evocations include Julius Montanus quoted in Sen. *Epist.* 122.11 *iam tristis hirundo | argutis reditura cibos immittere nidis | incipit* (replacing *loquacibus* with *argutis* from *G.* 1.377 and alluding to *immitibus* in *immittere*) and, applied to children, Juv. 5.143–4 *ipse loquaci | gaudebit nido.*

476 porticibus: the colonnade surrounding an outside courtyard, or peristyle. According to Vitruvius (6.5.2), the houses of *nobiles* required such courtyards on a grand scale: *faciunda sunt uestibula regalia alta, atria et peristylia amplissima.* For an example, see the plan of the Villa dei Papiri in Herculaneum in McKay

(1975) 112. **uacuis:** possibly implying that Juturna keeps to unpopulated parts of the battlefield, a detail made explicit at 663 *tu currum deserto in gramine uersas.*

477 stagna: a generic term that could apply to fishponds (*piscinae* in Varro, *Rust.* 3.17) or to man-made pools providing drinking water for farm animals (*cisternae* in Varro, *Rust* 1.11.2, *piscinae* in Columella 1.5.2); cf. *G.* 3.329–30 *ad puteos aut alta greges ad stagna iubebo | currentem ilignis potare canalibus undam.* **sonat:** the bird's shrill cry is specifically mentioned in *G.* 1.377 *arguta.* **similis:** adj. with adverbial force ('in a similar way'), the only case in V. of *similis* used to lead out from a simile.

477–8 medios . . . curru: cf. Wills (1996) 349 on the complex interplay of these lines with 5.219 and 369–70 above.

478 fertur: middle voice, often used with verbs of motion, cf. 5.215 *fertur in arua uolans*, 346 above; there is no need to suppose that Juturna is borne along helplessly, like the charioteer in *G.* 1.513–14 *frustra retinacula tendens | fertur equis auriga.* The entirely dactylic line conveys a sense of breathless speed. **obit omnia:** also at 10.447, where it refers to surveying with the eyes; Harrison ad loc. suggests that the visual use (like the similar use of *lustrare*) derives from the physical sense of covering ground seen here.

479 iamque hic . . . iamque hic: corresponds to the bird's flight, *nunc porticibus, nunc . . . circum stagna.* **ostentat** 'shows him off, displays him'; the verb does not usually have a frequentative sense, but that sense would be appropriate here. The variant *ostendit* (M[ac]) is an obvious banalization. **ouantem:** in this context T.'s exultation is grossly ill-founded. In an earlier episode T. exulted at the belt he had taken from Pallas (10.500 *ouat spolio*), prompting V.'s grim reflection on the *nescia mens hominum fati.* V. several times uses *ouare* of premature or excessive rejoicing, see 5.331, 6.589, 10.690, 11.758; note also Nisus' ill-fated wish, 9.208–9 *non ita me referat tibi magnus ouantem Iuppiter.*

480 conferre manum: see on 345 above, 678 below. **auia:** fem. sing., to be taken with *longe*, 'far out of the way'.

481 haud minus 'no less <keenly>' or the like; A.'s zeal in pursuit is equal to Juturna's determination to avoid him. *haud minus*, a more elevated variation of *nec minus* (cf. on 107 above), appears elsewhere in V. at 3.561 and 11.755; it is popular with Livy and Tacitus (more than 20 occurrences in each). **tortos legit . . . orbis:** A. 'traces' the winding tracks of T.'s chariot; cf. 9.392–3 *uestigia retro | obseruata legit*, 2.753–4 (with *sequor* for *legit*). *tortos* is echoed by *retorsit* in 485. **obuius:** elliptical, 'in an effort to confront him' = *ut ei obuiam fieret. obuius* responds to *auia* directly above.

482 uirum: = *eum* (cf. 319 above n.), but also forming a powerful alliteration with *uestigat* and the following *uoce uocat.* **disiecta per agmina:** the combination appears in V. only here and 689, where T. rushes back to face A. **magna:** with *uoce*, in strong enjambment; for the combination cf. 6.506 *magna . . . ter uoce uocaui*, 10.873.

483 uoce uocat: this *figura etymologica* (cf. 457 above n.) is Ennian (*Ann.* 49 Sk. *blanda uoce uocabam*) and Lucretian (4.711 *clara . . . uoce uocare*), see further Wills (1996) 247–8, Oakley on Livy 7.15.2. Its appearance here is balanced by 638–9 below *uidi . . . me uoce uocantem | Murranum.*

483–5 quotiens oculos coniecit . . . totiens currus Iuturna retorsit: the only instance of *quotiens . . . totiens* in the poem; it recalls Achilles' pursuit of Hector in *Il.* 22.194–8 (ὁσσάκι . . . τοσσάκι) and makes A.'s vain attempt to catch T. here anticipate the pursuit in 746–65. See Di Benedetto (1996a) 295–6.

483–4 quotiens . . . equorum: the first phrase is relatively plain, the second more elaborate in both diction and framing word order, as A. passes from catching sight of T. to giving chase.

483 oculos coniecit: a marked usage; elsewhere in V. *conicere* refers literally to hurling weapons or other objects. In oratory and historiography *oculos conicere* is a quasi-formula used in situations where the eyes of a group are fixed on an individual, cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.28 *omnes oculos in Antonium coniecerunt*, *Ad Brut.* 1.9.2 *cum in te . . . omnium ciuium . . . coniecti oculi sint*, Livy 35.10.4 *omnium oculi in Quinctium Corneliumque coniecti*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.17.1 *intuentibus et mox coniectis in eum omnium oculis.* V. focuses the intensity of that universal gaze into A.'s concentration on T.

484 alipedum: for the swiftness of T.'s horses cf. 84 above. *alipes* is high diction, cf. Lucr. 6.765 *alipedes . . . cerui*, 7.277 (horses given by Latinus to the Trojans). **fugam cursu temptauit:** A. on foot 'tested' the flight of the horses, i.e. attempted to equal or surpass their speed; I cannot cite an exact parallel for this use of *temptare.* There might be a hint of the sense 'brave, try to overcome' an obstacle or danger (*OLD* 11), e.g. Lucr. 5.1299 *curru belli temptare pericla.* At 11.718–19 Camilla on foot overtakes a mounted Ligurian, *pernicibus . . . plantis | transit equum cursu.*

485 auersos . . . retorsit 'turned aside so that they were facing away', *auersos* pred. adj. It may be significant that the only other occurrence of the form *retorsit* is in 841 below, of Juno, *mentem laetata retorsit*, since Juno's action nullifies any further effort on Juturna's part to save T.

486 heu, quid agat?: the same phrase at 4.283 describes A.'s uncertainty as he plans to leave Dido. Although such moments blur the distinction between narrator and character, this exclamation (unlike *heu, miseris* in 452 above) seems more an expression of A.'s frustration than a show of sympathy from the narrator.

486–7 uario . . . curae: the source of A.'s vexation is obvious, but the nature of the conflicting *curae* is not made plain (as it is in 665–8 below).

486 nequiquam: i.e. without reaching any clear result or decision. **fluctuat aestu:** of Dido 4.532 *magnoque irarum f. a.*, of A. 8.19 *magno curarum f. a.* (like Catullus' Ariadne, *magnis curarum f. undis* (64.62)). The echo in Val. Fl. 3.637 *pius ingenti Telamon iam fluctuat ira* signals its origin by means of characteristic Virgilian vocabulary (*pius* and *ingens*). **aestu:** *aestus* of mental turmoil is found before V. in Cicero (*Diu. Caec.* 45) and Lucretius (3.173); *uario aestu* is echoed by Stat. *Theb.*

3.18–19 *u. . . . turbidus a.* | *angitur*, cf. also Val. Fl. 3.365 *aegra adsiduo mens carpitur a.* For the similar metaphorical use of the verb *aestuare* cf. n. on 666 below.

487 diuersaeque . . . curae: the separation of adj. and noun mirrors the internal division described. **diuersaeque:** La Cerda cited the close parallel in ps.-Tib. 3.4.59 *diuersas . . . agitat mens impia curas.* **uocant:** possibly an ironic echo of *uoce uocat* in 484; A. calls to T. in vain, and he is himself called in different directions. **in contraria:** cf. 2.39 *scinditur incertum studia in contraria uulgus*, though *contraria* here is n. pl. used as a noun, as in Ovid, *Met.* 2.314 *saltu in contraria facto.*

488–93 A.'s defensive tactic may be based on *Il.* 13.402–9, where Idomeneus avoids a spear thrown by Deiphobus by gathering himself behind his shield.

488 huic: with *derigit*; the wide separation and accumulation of intervening details build suspense. **uti . . . forte gerebat** 'who happened to be carrying'; on *forte* see n. on 270 above, and for the line ending *forte gerebat* cf. 11.552, 206 above.

489 lenta 'pliable', cf. 773 below, 7.164–5 (cited on 490). **leuis cursu:** of Messapus, 'lightly running', but very oddly placed in the sentence. **praefixa hastilia ferro:** same line ending at 5.557, cf. also 10.479 *ferro praefixum robur acuto.* Harrison ad loc. compares *Il.* 10.135 ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ἀκαχμένον ὀξέϊ χαλκῷ.

490 A heavily spondaic line (SSSS). The rhythm slows as Messapus takes careful aim and casts his spear. **certo . . . ictu** 'with a sure thrust'; cf. 732 below (*ensis*) *in medioque ardentem deserit ictu.* **contorquens:** (*con*)*torquere* refers to casting spears with a thong to produce a rotating motion, cf. Harrison on 10.333–4; with target specified, cf. 7.164–5 *lenta lacertis* | *spicula contorquent*, 10.585 *iaculum nam torquet in hostis*, 536 and 901 below, Ovid, *Met.* 12.323 *in iuuenem torsit iaculum.*

491 substitit Aeneas: same line beginning at 11.95. *subsisto* ('come to a halt') is frequent in Caesar and Livy and may have a military flavour, cf. 11.608–9 *intra iactum teli progressus uterque* [sc. *exercitus*] | *substiterat*, with Horsfall's n. **se collegit in arma** 'gathered himself within his arms', specifically his shield, cf. 10.412 *seque in sua colligit arma* (somewhat less aptly used of Halaesus as he goes on the offensive), Stat. *Theb.* 11.545 *in clipeum turbatus colligit artus. in* more often refers to the shape into which a body, etc. is gathered, cf. *G.* 2.154 *in spiram . . . se colligit anguis*, 862 below *alitis in paruae subitam collecta figuram.*

491–2 apicem . . . cristas: alliteration of *t* and *c* suggests rapid movement. Several of the same terms occur at 10.270–1 *ardet apex capiti cristisque a uertice flamma* | *funditur* (though text and interpretation are disputed, and Harrison reads *tristisque* for *cristisque*). **tamen:** i.e. although A.'s body was protected from injury, the spear nonetheless clipped off the top of his helmet.

493 tulit: = *abstulit*, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 173–4 Sk. *induuolans secum abstulit hasta* | *insigne.* For the simple verb in place of the compound see on 3 above *signari.*

494–9 A critical moment in the narrative, as A.'s anger builds and is finally released. V. characteristically combines different responses, not questioning the

justification for A.'s anger but viewing with horror the way in which A. consents to it.

The unhurried movement of the passage mirrors the steady build-up of A.'s wrath: four of the six lines have three successive spondees. The enjambment of 497–8 and 498–9, coming after three lines with strongly marked sense-pauses, powerfully depicts the ultimate removal of all restraint.

494 tum uero: a favourite Virgilian connective (24 instances), often marking a climactic moment of high drama or emotion; elsewhere in this book at 257, 756, 776. **adsurgunt irae:** closely resembling 10.813–14 (A. angered by Lausus' defiance) *altius irae | Dardanio surgunt ductori.* Harrison ad loc. suggests that the underlying metaphor is of rising water. References to *ira* frame the passage, cf. 499 *irarum . . . effundit habenas.* **insidiis . . . subactus** 'compelled by their treachery'. A., still abiding by the terms of the violated truce, had refrained from engaging any opponent except T., and therefore regards an attack on him by any other than T. as treachery. The narrator's language does not challenge that reading of the situation, but *sensit* and *testatus* remind us that we are seeing things through A.'s eyes. For *subactus* cf. 8.112–13 *quae causa subegit | ignotas temptare uias?*, 10.65–6 *Aenean hominum quisquam diuumque subegit | bella sequi . . . ?*

495 diuersos 'in the opposite direction', cf. *G.* 4.500 *fugit diuersa*, 742 below (T. in flight) *diuersa fuga petit aequora T.*

496 multa: adverbial acc., almost = *saepe*; cf. 294 above. **Iouem . . . aras:** there may be a significant echo of 7.593 (Latinus) *multa deos aurasque pater testatus inanis*, cf. on 499 below. Might Livy have had this passage in mind at 21.10.3, *per deos foederum arbitros obtestans ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarint bellum*? **laesi . . . foederis aras:** recalled by Sil. 6.692 *pollutas foederis aras* (in a set of tableaux of the First Punic War), expressing Roman disgust at Punic perfidy; cf. Fowler (2000) 102–4. **testatus:** the gods are often invoked to witness the truth of a statement, cf. Livy 9.31.10 *Iouem Martemque atque alios testatur deos se nullam suam gloriam . . . quaerentem in eum locum deuenisse*, 28.8.2 *testatus deos hominesque se nullo loco nec tempore defuisse*; at 7.593 (previous n.) Latinus calls upon the gods to vouch for the speech beginning *frangimur heu fatis* (594–9). We could understand here a thought such as *me iure ac recte agere*, but it is simpler to take *testatus* in the sense 'invoke in support of a cause/action' (*OLD* 1c), cf. Livy 37.56.8 *testante foedera Antipatro.*

497 medios 'the middle of the enemy' rather than 'those between him and T.' A. heads for where the enemy is most thickly massed. **Marte secundo:** probably 'with Mars favouring him' rather than 'successful in battle' (which would anticipate events not yet related); elsewhere 10.21–2 (Venus describing T.) *tumidus . . . secundo | Marte ruat* ('swollen by the favouring tide of war' Harrison), 11.899–900 *Marte secundo | omnia corripuisse* ('with Mars' favour have mastered everything' Horsfall).

498 terribilis: again of A. at 946–7 below *ira | terribilis.* Those are the only examples in V. of *terribilis* describing a character as opposed to an aspect or

attribute, as, e.g., at 6.299 *terribili squalore Charon.* **nullo discrimine:** the obvious distinction is between T. and all others, but the actions that follow suggest that another sense is also involved, i.e. between leading fighters and those of lesser stature. In 770 below *nullo discrimine* again describes Trojan action.

498–9 caedem | suscitat: *suscitare* is often used of rousing oneself or others for battle, cf. 108 above, 9.463, 11.728, but the larger scope of *caedem suscitare* may recall the combination *bellum suscitare* found in prose texts, cf. Coelius, *Hist.* fr. 5 *bellum suscitare conari*, Cic. *Fam.* 11.3.3 (Brutus and Cassius) *nos si alia hortarentur ut bellum ciuile suscitare uellemus*, Livy 21.10.3 (quoted on 496 above).

499 irarumque . . . habenas: Servius compared Enn. *Ann.* 534 Sk. *irarum effunde quadrigas*, which employs a different image, of the barriers removed at the start of a race (recalled by V. in *G.* 1.512 *cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae*). For the *habenae* of anger cf. Varro, *Sat. Men.* 177 *neque irato mihi habenas dedi umquam*, and for *effundere habenas*, 'to loosen the reins', 5.818 *manibusque omnis effundit habenas* (which also illustrates the use of *omnis* in a quasi-adverbial sense, 'entirely'), Livy 37.20.10 *quam potuit effusissimis habenis . . . inuadit* (a possible echo).

Unlike Latinus in 7.600, who lets go of the reins of control (*rerum . . . reliquit habenas*), or the charioteer of *G.* 1.512–14, who cannot prevent his horses from sweeping him along (*fertur equis auriga neque currus audit habenas*), A. chooses to unleash his anger; compare 104 above *se suscitat ira*, with n.

500–553 Turnus and Aeneas deal slaughter all around them

The Homeric episode most often evoked is the *aristeia* of Achilles in book 20, after his return to the field and before his encounter with Hector. In place of the exploits of a single warrior, V. presents a unique double *aristeia* of A. and T. For analysis see Willcock (1983) 93–5, Mazzocchini (2000) 273–314.

The bipartite structure of the section is signalled at the outset by the parallel naming of A. and T. (502) and the phrase *in . . . uicem*, 'in turn'. Both the narrative focus and V.'s mode of reference alternate strictly between the two leaders: *Aeneas* 505 ~ *Turnus* 509, *ille* 513 ~ *hic* 516, paired again in 526 *Aeneas Turnusque*, *hic* 529 ~ *ille* 535, *nec . . . Turno* 538–9 ~ *nec Aenea ueniente* 539–40. The final lines of the section mention neither A. nor T., but present two contrasting views of the fighting, a eulogy for a single fallen Trojan (542–7) followed by a scene of massed combatants (548–53).

A. and T. are formally juxtaposed and treated on equal terms, and many recent interpreters have stressed their similarities; e.g. Thomas (1998) 277 'through narrative and simile . . . Vergil has blended Aeneas and Turnus so that they have become doublets of each other'. But a number of details of the narrative contrast them in ways that direct the reader's sympathies away from T. and his allies; see notes on 511–12, 516–20, 529–30, 539–40.

500–6 This is the last of V.'s personal interventions in the narrative, and in some ways the most significant. Although related to the appeal to a Muse for

assistance in carrying forward the story (for which cf. 7.37–44, 641–6, 9.77–8, 525–8, 10.163–5), the passage's tone suggests the impossibility of fully comprehending the events to be related; the question addressed to Jupiter, *tanton placuit concurrere motu . . . aeterna gentes in pace futuras?*, encapsulates a central theme of the second half of the poem, as the question posed at the outset, *tantaene animis caelestibus irae?* (1.11), states another fundamental motif of the epic. The prominent first-person statement by the narrator at the outset anticipates his close involvement later in the episode, especially at 538–47.

500 Quis . . . deus, quis: *deus* is to be understood with the second *quis*, as in *G.* 4.315 *quis deus hanc, Musae, quis nobis extudit artem?* The broken syntax of *quis mihi nunc tot acerba deus* may suggest inarticulacy, reflecting the difficulty of which the narrator speaks. **mihi:** either dat. of reference/advantage with *expediat* ('for me') or a more loosely attached 'ethic' dat. ('I wonder'). **acerba:** n. pl. as noun, 'bitter events', specified in *caedes diuersas obitumque ducum.* **carmine:** a rare explicit reference to the poem itself; cf. 7.7.33 *nec tu carminibus nostris indictus abibis*, 9.446 *si quid mea carmina possunt.* In those passages V. takes responsibility for the poem, but here it is spoken of as if the work of another; similarly *expediam* in 7.40, announcing V.'s theme in the latter six books, is replaced by the third-person potential subj. *expediat.* **carmine caedes:** I have found no parallel for this combination, but V. is fond of the alliterative pairings *carmina curae/curas/curat* (3.451, *Ecl.* 2.6, 3.61, 8.103).

501 diuersas: here 'committed on both sides', cf. Ovid, *Rem. am.* 50 *diuersis partibus arma damus* (i.e. to both men and women). *diuersus* has recently appeared in 487 and 495 and will return in 521 and 621; although the sense varies, the clustering may in itself be significant (as is arguably the case with *a(d)uersus* earlier, see on 446–7) and may contribute to the motif of duality that runs through the section. **obitumque:** collective sg.; contrast 4.694, pl. *obitus* of Dido's death. Lyne (1989) 108–11, argues that *obitus* was too prosaic a term for death to figure prominently in V.'s language. If so, its appearance here may contribute to the historiographical flavour of the passage; see nn. on *expediam* and *motu.* **aequore** 'plain', cf. 333 above.

502 agit 'drives before him' (*OLD* 15), an item of military vocabulary; cf. Caes. *B ciu.* 3.46.5 *praecipites Pompeianos egerunt et terga uertere coegerunt*, *TLL* 1.1368.45–66. **Troius heros:** also at 6.451, 8.530, 10.584, 886, here probably chosen for its similarity in sound to *Turnus*; A. is also styled *Laomedontius heros* (8.18), cf. Moskalew (1982) 82. *heros* is only twice used of T., at 723 and 902 below (the latter at his last moment of heroic action).

503 expediat 'unfold', a lofty verb, often used of speaking with authority or of dealing with a difficult or complex subject, cf. 6.759 (Anchises), 11.315 (Latinus, coupled with *docebo*), in a programmatic context 7.40. It is popular with Lucretius (cf. e.g. 2.62–6 *nunc age . . . expediam*) and also appears in formal historiographical prose; cf. Sall. *Iug.* 5.3 *prius quam huiusce modi rei initium expedio*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.51.1

nunc initia causasque motus Vitelliani expediam, where imitation of our passage seems possible, cf. N. P. Miller (1987) 97.

503–4 tanton . . . futuras?: since the war between Trojans and Latins is a sort of civil war, it is a war that ought not to have been fought; V. is grappling with the notion that this 'wrong' war was divinely willed and therefore necessary. The question raised by *placuit* – 'was it your will?' – is one that a reader of the *Aeneid* might also ask, since Jupiter in 1.261–4 foretells to Venus the war A. will fight in Latium, while in 10.6–10 he asserts that he had forbidden that same war.

503 tanton: = *tantone*. The shortened form is often found in colloquial speech (cf. Soubiran (1966) 153), but apart from 6.776 *uiden ut . . . ?*, which does have the flavour of excited conversation, V. reserves it for anguished or indignant questions; cf. 3.319 (A. to Andromache) *Pyrrhin conubia seruas?*, 10.668–9 (T. to Jupiter) *tanton me crimine dignum | duxisti . . . ?*, 797, 874 below. **motu** 'upheaval', applied to both civil and foreign wars (for the latter cf. e.g. Sil. 1.20 *magni repetam primordia motus*), but conspicuously used of Rome's civil war by Horace in the ode to Pollio, *Carm.* 2.1.1 *motum ex Metello consule ciuicum* (which may echo the opening of Pollio's history); cf. also Augustus, *RG* 10.2 *quod sacerdotium . . . eo* [sc. *Lepido*] *mortuo qui ciuilis motus occasione occupauerat.*

504 aeterna gentis in pace futuras: *futurus* 'destined to be'. The extension of the poem's perspective beyond the end of the narrative adds another dimension to V.'s question; from the standpoint of the narrative the war is a terrible present reality, but the peace that is destined to follow is no less real. **aeterna:** a term often optimistically applied to treaties and alliances or their expected effects; cf. 4.99–100 (Juno to Venus) *quin potius pacem aeternam . . . | exercemus?*, 11.356 *pacem hanc aeterno foedere iungas*, 191 above, Cic. *Balb.* 35 *nihil est enim aliud in foedere nisi ut* PIA ET AETERNA PAX SIT. For *in pace esse*, cf. Livy 31.29.6 *nunc uos in pace esse cum Philippo prohibent*, 38.33.2 *ciuitatem in pace futuram, si id fecisset, pollicentis.* Here 'with each other' is understood.

505–12 The equality posited between A. and T. in 502 immediately begins to unravel: A. treats his opponent as an obstacle to be removed with maximum efficiency (*haud multa morantem, qua fata celerrima*), while T. makes a display of his slain enemies' heads.

505–6 ea . . . ruentis 'that was the first encounter that halted the onrushing Trojans'; *ruere* of attacking forces, cf. 535 below. *loco statuit* (*OLD* s.v. *statuo* 5) 'made them stop in their position', like *stare loco* (*OLD* s.v. *locus* 4b), cf. *G.* 3.84 *stare loco nescit.*

506 multa: adv. acc., here almost 'for a long time'. **morantem:** transitive, with *Aenean* or *Teucros* as implied object; Sucro (who appears only here) did not hold him/them up for long.

507 excipit in latus 'receives him with a blow to the side'; *excipere* of meeting an enemy attack (*OLD* 11), cf. Caes. *B ciu.* 3.93.2 *tela missa exceperunt*, rather than 'catch' or 'intercept', as in 10.10.386–7 *incautum . . . excipit.* **qua fata**

celerrima: looks forward to the next line: the sword penetrates the rib cage and presumably pierces the heart. For the motif cf. *Il.* 8.84, 22.325, Ovid, *Met.* 8.399 *qua . . . est uia proxima leto* (in a parody of epic combat).

507–8 crudum . . . ensem: the hyperbaton enacts verbally the progress of the sword blade through the body; the effect is less marked in 10.682 *crudum per costas exigat ensem.*

507 crudum: the primary sense is probably 'cruel', as in the Homeric νηλέϊ χαλκῷ, but the meaning 'bloody' (which would here be proleptic) is also likely; both senses are present in *crudo . . . caestu*, 5.69, *G.* 3.20. Harrison on 10.682 compares ὠμός, 'raw' and 'savage'.

508 transadigit costas: cf. 276 above n.; here the verb governs a double acc., *ensem* and *costas*: 'he makes the sword pass through the ribs'. Traina more specifically interprets *ensem* as the object of *adigit* and *costas* as object of the prefix *trans-*. **cratis pectoris** 'the lattice-work of the chest', a striking image first attested here; imitated by Ovid, *Met.* 12.370 *laterum cratem perrumpit*, Apul. *Met.* 4.12 *perfracta . . . crate costarum* and often in Christian authors (cf. Freund (2000) 299). *et* is epexegetical (equivalent to 'i.e.'): it identifies *cratis* as equivalent to *costas* rather than as a new item.

509–11 deiectum . . . congressus . . . ferit: a good example of Latin's fondness for describing consecutive actions (*deicit, congreditur, ferit*) by means of temporally nested participles; similarly 511–12 *abscisa . . . suspendit* = *abscindit et suspendit*, and see nn. on 98 and 369 above, 537 and 870 below. The effect (well illustrated by this passage) is to focus attention on the most significant action by making it the finite verb.

509 Amycum . . . Dioren: Amycus is a name borne by several Trojans (cf. 1.221, 9.772, 10.704); Diores is presumably the son of Priam who competed in the foot race of book 5 (297 etc.).

510–11 hunc . . . hunc: corresponding to *Il.* 20.462 τὸν μὲν δουρὶ βαλών, τὸν δὲ σχεδὸν ἄορι τύψας ('one with a spearcast, one with a stroke of the sword from close up'), where Achilles similarly kills two mounted Trojan brothers, one at a distance and the other at close quarters; cf. 342 above n. for the *comminus* – *eminus* distinction.

510 uenientem 'coming up to attack', as in 540 below.

512 rorantia . . . portat: T. makes an exhibition of his gruesome trophies; *portat* may hint at the combination *praedam portare*, as in Livy 1.15.2, 24.16.14, and for similar barbaric displays cf. Livy 10.26.11 *Gallorum equites pectoribus equorum suspensa gestantes capita et lanceis infixa*, 42.60.2 (Thracians) *superfixa <hastis> capita hostium portantes redierunt.* Quinn (1968) 439 oddly thought that the brevity of V.'s description was meant to underplay the barbarity of T.'s action; at the other extreme of response, T.'s behaviour here moved Willcock (1983) 94 to remark 'how anyone can feel a strong sympathy for Turnus in his weakness at the end of Book 12 escapes me. The man is a thug.' **rorantia sanguine:** cf. 338 above, 8.645 *rorabant sanguine uepres*, 11.8 *rorantis s. cristas*, with Horsfall's n.

513–20 In the second pair of encounters V. more obviously manipulates the reader's reactions. A. again kills swiftly and impersonally (*tris uno congressu*), and the details provided about one of his victims (515) do not overtly elicit sympathy (in contrast to, e.g., 10.817–19). T., on the other hand, dispatches the peace-loving Arcadian Menoetes, whose former life is recalled in a touching vignette.

513–14 Talon Tanaimque . . . Cethegum . . . Oniten: none of the four Rutulians is otherwise mentioned; their names combine the exotic-sounding (Tanais, cf. Osiris in 458 above) and the quintessentially Roman (Cethegus, the name of an orator coupled with Cato as a figure redolent of old Rome in Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.117, but perhaps most familiar to V.'s audience as the name of one of Catiline's co-conspirators). **neci . . . mittit:** a variation on *dare morti* and similar expressions; see on 465 above *sternere morti*, also 362 above.

514 maestum: Onites is understandably saddened by his own death; cf. 10.819–20 (the death of Lausus) *uita per auras* | *concessit maesta ad Manis*. Traina notes that V. is fond of placing *maestus* in alliterative combinations; cf. 110 above *maestique metum*, 6.340 *multa maestum*, 10.191, 11.226, 454.

515 nomen Echionium 'a Theban name' (Echion was the legendary founder of Thebes), in apposition to 'Onites' understood as a name, whereas *genus* refers to Onites the person; cf. 6.763 *Siluius nomen Albanum*, 1.288 *Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo*. **genus:** an elevated term for 'offspring' (*OLD* 2). **Peridiae:** perhaps implicitly a person of importance, since mothers of warriors are seldom identified; mentioning a mother potentially adds pathos, but V.'s language does not seem designed to do so. The Greek quadrisyllable has a closural effect.

516 fratres Lycia missos: T.'s next victims are also brothers (as in 509), and the family connection is strengthened by *missos*, suggesting the parent(s) who sent them from home; indeed, as Traina notes, Lycia here functions as a quasi-parental figure: compare 7.762 *quem mater Aricia misit* with 7.715–16 *quos frigida misit* | *Nursia*. Many comms. identify the *fratres* as Clarus and Thaemon, the brothers of Sarpedon mentioned at 10.126. In 10.575–600 A. killed the brothers Liger and Lucagus. **et Apollinis agris:** Apollo had an important cult centre at Patara in Lycia (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.64 *Patareus Apollo*, Ovid, *Met.* 1.515–16 *mihi . . . Patarea . . . regia seruit*); the reference here is, however, probably generic, to Lycia as 'the land of Apollo' (with *et* nearly epexegetical).

517–20 This glimpse of a simple rustic existence is reminiscent of the *Georgics*, although with touches of realism absent from that poem (see n. on *conducta* 520).

517 iuuenem exosum nequiquam bella: an extraordinary character to find in the midst of an epic battle. Some comms. take *iuuenem* as implying a contrast with the present (he had detested war in his youth, i.e. long ago), but the pathos of the description is thereby compromised. Pacifists are thin on the ground in classical literature (with the notable exception of Latin elegy): Ovid, *Met.* 11.297–8 contrasts the peace-loving Ceyx with his brother Daedalion, *culta mihi pax est, pacis mihi cura tenendae* | *coniugiique fuit, fratri fera bella placebant*, and *Met.*

5.90–1, echoing our passage, describes a character who vainly pursued neutrality in the fight between Perseus and Phineus, *Idan | expertem frustra belli et neutra arma secutum.* **exosum:** a strong word, suggesting loathing or detestation; there is a pointed echo in 818 below (Juno speaking) *pugnas . . . exosa relinquo*; cf. also 5.687, 11.436. Norden on 6.435 suggests that V. coined *exosus* on the analogy of *perosus* (also found first in V.). Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.483 (Daphne) *uelut crimen taedas exosa iugales*, Flor. *Epit.* 2.21 (= 4.11.1), describing Mark Antony, *cum . . . exosus arma in otio ageret.*

518 Arcada: Menoetes had presumably come to Italy with Evander's Arcadians; the term also evokes the idyllic associations of Arcadia. **piscosae:** placed in emphatic position to suggest the nature of Menoetes' *ars*. Epic poets needed to be careful in their handling of 'low' material and occupations; compare Ovid's delightfully overblown salutation to a fisherman, *Met.* 8.855–6 *o qui pendentia paruo | aera cibo celas, moderator harundinis*, also n. on 519. **Lernae:** located in neighbouring Argolis, a swampy area most famous for harbouring the hydra, cf. 6.287, 803, 8.300.

519 ars fuerat pauperque domus: Ovid in *Met.* 3.582–91 fleshes out V.'s brief reference, presenting Acoetes (Bacchus in disguise) as the son of a poor fisherman; *pauper et ipse fuit linoque solebat et hamis | decipere et calamo salientes ducere pisces. | ars illi sua census erat.*

519–20 nec nota potentum | munera: Menoetes displays the same enviable unfamiliarity with wealth and power as the *agricola* in *G.* 2.493–515.

519 potentum: a loaded term in late Republican and imperial contexts, cf. 6.621 *uendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem | imposuit*, Sall. *Cat.* 20.7 *postquam res publica in paucorum potentium dicionem concessit*, Tac. *Dial.* 2.1 *cum offendisse potentium animos diceretur.*

520 munera: probably the gifts distributed by the wealthy to their dependants; Servius took it to refer to the services owed by the lowly to the great (*obsequia*). Some comms. accept M's *limina*, referring to the thresholds of the wealthy, for which cf. *G.* 2.504 (*alii*) *penetrant aulas et limina regum*, Hor. *Epod.* 2.7–8 *superba ciuium | potentiorum limina*, but that detail seems too specifically urban to fit Menoetes' circumstances. *munera* also coheres with *conducta . . . tellure* to create an impression of financial independence. **conductaque . . . serebat:** the reference to rented land is a remarkable anachronism, and a recognition of a socio-economic reality missing from the countryside of the *Georgics*. For this use of *conducere* cf. Plin. *HN* 19.39 *publicani qui pascua conducunt*, *TLL* 4.160.38–47. As Clausen (1976) 185–6 noted, V.'s line underlies Juvenal's picture of the noble M. Valerius Messala Corvinus reduced to tending rented sheep (in the same fields where the present battle is taking place), 1.107–8 *Laurenti custodit in agro | conductas Coruinus oues.* **pater:** some comms. identify *pater* as Menoetes himself (e.g. M. 'he farmed rented land . . . and brought up a family on it'), but that would undercut the force of *iuuenem* above. Ovid's expansion (cf. 519n.) suggests that he understood *pater* to refer to Menoetes' father. **serebat:** perhaps implying that Menoetes' father did the sowing himself, a detail that would enhance the positive

force of the picture; compare the story of C. Atilius Regulus, nicknamed Serranus because he had been sowing on his farm when summoned to the consulship in 257 BCE (6.844 *te sulco, Serrane, serentem*).

521–6 The simile is carefully constructed to reflect the dual focus of the preceding lines (restated in 525–6 *ambo* | *Aeneas Turnusque ruunt per proelia*): both of its components describe evenly matched destructive forces, each moving in its own sphere (the fire is set *diuersis partibus*, the rivers *currunt* | *quisque suum populatus iter*). It incorporates details from several Iliadic models: 4.452–6 the clash of armies compared to a river in spate (water rushing down from the mountains, noise heard far off); 16.384–93 the noise of the Trojan horses compared to rivers swollen by rain (water rushing down from the mountains, destructive effects); 20.490–502 a double simile, comparing a forest fire (490–4) and the crushing of barley (495–502) to Achilles sweeping the Trojans before him. Some additional details were suggested by Apollonius Rhodius' comparison of clashing weapons to fire descending on dry brush (1.1026–8). The closest parallel, however, is V.'s own comparison in 2.304–7 of the Greeks sacking Troy to fire and water: *in segetem ueluti cum flamma furentibus Austris* | *incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens* | *sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores* | *praecipitisque trahit siluas.*

The description of Tempe in Ovid, *Met.* 1.568–73 contains several echoes of this simile. Ovid radically reinterprets V.'s details to create a *locus amoenus*: cf. *Met.* 1.569–70 *Peneos . . . spumosis uoluitur undis* ~ *spumosi amnes*, 569–70 *ab alto . . . effusus Pindo* ~ *de montibus altis*, 571 *deiectu . . . graui* ~ *decursu rapido*, 573 *sonitu* ~ *sonitum.*

521 immissi . . . ignes: fires set to clear out dead wood and to stimulate new growth; a closely similar picture in 10.405–11, esp. 406 *dispersa* (~ *diuersis partibus*) *immittit siluis incendia pastor. immissi* also has the apt military sense of 'sending in' troops (*OLD* 2). WF cites the echo in Sil. 7.364–6 *quam multa uidet, feruoribus atris* | *cum Calabros urunt ad pinguia pabula saltus,* | *uertice Gargani residens incendia pastor.*

522 arentem . . . sonantia: the dry wood burns rapidly and the brittle bay leaves crackle in the fire; for the latter detail cf. Lucr. 6.153–4 *nec res ulla magis quam Phoebi Delphica laurus* | *terribili sonitu flamma crepitante crematur*, Tib. 2.5.81 *succensa sacris crepitet bene laurea flammis*. Elsewhere *sonantia* has the gentler sense of 'rustling', cf. 3.442 *Auerna sonantia siluis* and 6.704 *seclusum nemus et uirgulta sonantia siluae.* **sonantia:** cf. *sonitum* 524. Noise is present in the Homeric models (*Il.* 4.455, 16.391) and in 2.308 *accipiens sonitum saxi de uertice pastor*, but is not specified as a comparandum; for a possible ironic echo, see on *sonantem* in 529 below. **lauro:** for the abl. see on 43 above *res bello uarias.*

523 decursu . . . altis: recalling Lucr. 1.283 *montibus ex altis magnus decursus aquai* (and 288 *dat sonitu magno stragem*).

524 aequora: probably the sea rather than the plain, although *aequore toto* in 501 has the latter sense.

525 populatus: a strikingly violent word, perhaps corresponding to ἀποτ-μήγουσι in *Il.* 16.390, and clearly evoking the devastation produced by A. and T. on the field. The verb usually describes the actions of generals or armies, and

I know of no other place where it is used of a river; of fire, cf. Sen. *Agam.* 603 *hostica muros populante flamma* (the burning of Troy). **non segnius:** a frequent transitional formula after a simile, cf. 4.149, 7.383, 8.414, 10.657.

526–8 nunc, nunc . . . nunc: the echo of 502 rounds off this section of the narrative, but the excited repetition of *nunc* also suggests the war fervour of the combatants. Wills (1996) 108 remarks that 'the mood is indicative, but the repetitive syntax is exhortative', and compares 5.189–92 *nunc, nunc insurgite remis . . . nunc illas promite uiris, | nunc animos* and the echo of both passages in Ovid, *Met.* 10.657–8 *nunc, nunc incumbere tempus, | Hippomene, propera! Nunc uiribus utere totis!*

526 nunc: the placement of *nunc* at the end of the line creates strong enjambment with the following line; cf. 3.695 and 4.224.

527 fluctuat: the language of the simile bleeds into the narrative. See also on 486 above. **rumpuntur:** their chests 'are bursting', either with anger, or the unconquerable fighting spirit implied by *nescia uinci*; cf. Lucr. 3.296–8 *uis est uiolenta leonum, | pectora qui fremitu rumpunt. rumpor* of an uncontrollable urge or emotion (*OLD* 2b) more often appears in less elevated contexts; cf. *Ecl.* 7.26 *inuidia rumpantur ut ilia Codro*, Prop. 1.8.27 *rumpantur iniqui!* C–N interpret *rumpuntur . . . pectora* literally of wounds suffered by their opponents, but that would spoil the concentration on A. and T. **nescia uinci:** stronger than, e.g., *inuicta*; *nescius* + inf. implies 'that does not have it in its nature to do x', cf. *G.* 4.470 *nescia . . . humanis precibus mansuescere corda*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.6.6 of Achilles, *Pelidae . . . cedere nescii*, Ovid, *Pont.* 2.9.45 *Marte ferox et uinci nescius armis*, Oakley on Livy 9.3.12. Ovid takes a cooler view of the determination of both sides to carry on the fight at this point: *Met.* 14.571–2 *uicisse petunt deponendique pudore | bella gerunt.*

528 in uulnera uiribus itur: alliteration and syntax have an archaic feel; cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 234 (in a parody of the high style) *cadunt uolnerum ui uiri.* If the phrase contains an Ennian echo (or a pastiche), it would balance the undoubted Ennian line ending *summa nituntur opum ui* at the end of the section (552, see n.). For *ire in* 'proceed or resort to' (*OLD* s.v. *eo* 14), cf. 4.413 *ire in lacrimas*, Ovid, *Met.* 5.668 *ibimus in poenas.* The impersonal *itur* is elsewhere used of literal motion, cf. 6.179 *itur in antiquam siluam*, 9.641 *sic itur ad astra.*

529–34 The fate of Murranus resembles that of Hector's charioteer Cebriones in *Il.* 16.739–50, who is hit by a stone thrown by Patroclus and hurled from his chariot. The mockery that Patroclus directs at his fallen opponent (744–50) is matched here by the irony with which the narrator treats Murranus' excessive family pride. Murranus' death is recalled in very different terms by T. in 638–40 below.

529–30 Murranus is allowed to boast for two lines before being struck; the unobtrusive placement of *hic* perhaps suggests A. biding his time before attacking. **atauos et auorum antiqua . . . nomina:** the expansive phrasing suggests sarcasm. The line is echoed in Mart. 5.17.1 *dum proauos atauosque refers et nomina magna.* In 7.56 T. himself is *auis atauisque potens.*

529 sonantem: *sonare* often describes a high-poetic manner (cf. *G.* 3.294 *magno nunc ore sonandum*, Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.43–4 *os magna sonaturum*) or the way such poetry celebrates its subject, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.13.26–8 (Alcaeus) *sonantem plenius aureo . . . plectro dura nauis, | dura fugae mala, dura belli*, Ovid, *Ars am.* 1.206 *magno nobis ore sonandus eris* (to Gaius Caesar), Mart. 6.19.7–8 *Sullas Mariosque Muciosque | magna uoce sonas*. Murranus may be trying to usurp V.'s poetic prerogative, which could account for the sharpness with which V. rebuffs him; the irony in *sonantem* may also draw on the distaste that Roman Callimacheans often express for panegyric. The imitation in Val. Fl. 3.198–200 (noted by La Cerda) includes the separation of object and verb, *Ophelten uana sonantem . . . ferit*.

530 per . . . Latinos 'his entire ancestry traced through the Latin kings'. *agere* is here used like *ducere* in 5.568 *genus unde Atii duxere Latini*, 801 *unde genus ducis*.

531 praecipitem: the first indication that Murranus is in a chariot rather than on foot. **scopulo . . . saxi:** Homer's plain λίθος (*Il.* 16.740) has grown into a boulder-sized projectile; *scopulum* and *ingens saxum* refer to the same object, while *turbine* specifies that the stone was hurled with a spinning motion, cf. 320 above, 855 below. *turbine saxi* abstract for concrete = *saxum turbine impulsum*. For the violence of the action compare 6.594 (Salmoneus hurled into Tartarus) *praecipitem . . . immani turbine adegit*.

532 excutit effunditque solo: cf. 380 above *impulit e. s.* (also with *praecipitem* in the previous line). V. describes Murranus' trampling by his own horses with graphic details and marked visual cues (*subter*, *super*, *prouoluere*, *proculcat*).

532 lora et iuga subter 'beneath the reins and the yoke' (*subter* is prep.), i.e. on the ground.

533 prouoluere rotae: instead of passing over Murranus, the wheels of the chariot 'rolled him forward', under the hooves of the horses. **ungula:** collective sg. (the pl. *ungulae* cannot be fitted into hexameter verse).

534 incita 'swift', but also suggesting the violence of the horses' onrush, cf. 492 above; *incita* by hypallage for the more logical, but metrically intractable, *incitorum* (see next n.). **nec:** the connective is most neatly explained (with Traina) as linking *incita* (for the implied *incitorum*) and *memorum*: 'the horses, rushing swiftly and unmindful of their master'. **nec domini memorum:** a final sneer: Murranus, who was exaggeratedly mindful of his ancestors, is entirely forgotten by his own horses.

535–7 T.'s encounter with Hyllus is modelled on *Il.* 20.395–400, where Achilles' spear pierces the helmet of Demoleon.

535–6 ruenti . . . frementi | occurrit: for the doubled participle followed by the verb in strong enjambment see n. on 297 above.

535 Hyllo animisque: hiatus after the long syllable *in arsi*, here in the third foot, at 31 above in the fourth foot (see n.). About three-quarters of V.'s uses of hiatus are in lines with Greek rhythm or vocabulary (here *Hyllo*); cf. Trappes-Lomax (2004). **immane:** adverbial with *frementi*, 'raging hugely' ('with enormous

wrath' Mandelbaum), cf. 7.510 *-e spirans* ('monstrously, uncontrollably' Horsfall), 10.726 *hians -e*; analogous to Homeric μέγα.

536 occurrit telum . . . tempora torquet: prominent alliteration of *t*. **aurata ad tempora:** in *Il.* 20.398 the helmet is of bronze. Although T.'s own armour is golden (cf. 9.50, 87 above), 'gilded temples' sound more decorative than formidable. Livy 9.40.3–5 contrasts the gold- and silver-plated armour of the Samnites (called *auratis militibus*) with the utilitarian weapons of the Romans, *docti . . . a ducibus . . . horridum militem esse debere, non caelatum auro et argento sed ferro et animis fretum.* **torquet:** see on 490 above *contorquens.*

537 olli: see on 18 above. **fixo . . . cerebro:** another example of consecutive actions described by a temporally subordinate participle; the weapon 'pierced the brain and stuck fast'; see nn. on 98, 369, 509–11 above, 870 below. *fixo . . . cerebro* is restrained in comparison with *Il.* 20.398–400.

538–41 V. picks up the tempo, retaining the alternation of A. and T. (in chiastic order relative to the preceding pair) but with apostrophe adding a touch of closer involvement.

538 te: though not as emotional as the lines addressed to Aeolus (542–7), the apostrophe is more than just a variation in narrative focus: together with the hyperbolic vocative *fortissime*, it conveys sympathy for the doomed warrior. Apostrophe addressed to a deceased person evokes the language of sepulchral epigram; for apostrophe of this kind in the battle scenes of books 10–12 cf. G. W. Williams (1983) 191–6, and for the '*tu quoque*' formula in epitaphs cf. Horsfall on 7.1. On apostrophe in V. more generally there is useful material in Austin on 1.555 and Harrison on 10.139. **Graium:** the form *Graius* is preferred by V. and other poets to the prosaic *Graecus*; see Fordyce on 8.135. **Cretheu:** presumably one of Evander's Arcadians. Another Cretheus killed by T. is the poet eulogized in 9.774–7.

539 eripuit: an emotive verb; cf. 6.110–11 (A. speaking of Anchises) *illum ego per flammas et mille sequentia tela | eripui his umeris.* In 947–8 below A. refuses to let T. be 'snatched away' from him, *tune . . . eripiare mihi?* There may also be a hint of another use, in which the dead are snatched away from the living, cf. 6.341–2 *quis te . . . Palinure, deorum | eripuit nobis . . . ?*, Catull. 68.105–7 *quo tibi tum casu . . . ereptum est uita dulcius atque anima | coniugium.*

539–40 nec . . . sui: the *nec . . . nec* construction implies symmetry, but the shift from *tua dextera* to the third-person *di . . . sui* produces a cooler view of Cupencus' death. Servius thought the juxtaposition was meant to favour A., since Cretheus could not be saved by his own valour, Cupencus not even by his gods.

539 texere: perhaps just 'protect' (e.g. by covering with a shield), but there may be a wry allusion to the concealment that A. enjoyed thanks to his mother Venus; cf. 52–3 above, *longe illi dea mater erit, quae nube fugacem | feminea tegat. di . . . sui* would then be sarcastic, and the deferral of *sui* would gain in point. **Cupencum:** Sabine for 'priest', according to Servius; Servius Auctus specifies a priest

of Hercules. Possible, but perhaps an *ad hoc* invention to explain the reference to *di . . . sui*. If Cupencus' priestly status mattered, one might have expected V. to highlight it, as he does with Haemonides in 10.537 and Chloreus in 11.768.

540 ueniente: of the approach of a more formidable opponent, cf. *Ecl.* 9.13 *aquila ueniente*.

541 clipei mora 'the delay produced by the shield'; i.e. C.'s shield could slow but not prevent his death. *clipei* is subjective gen., cf. Woodcock (1959) 52; the gen. with *mora* is more often objective, as in Sen. *Epist.* 7.4, on noonday gladiatorial combats, *quo munimenta? quo artes? omnia ista mortis morae sunt* ('delays of death'). **profuit:** lamenting that a virtue or quality of the deceased did them no good in the face of death is a frequent motif in funerary rhetoric; cf. 11.843–4 (Opis after the death of Camilla) *nec tibi desertae in dumis coluisse Dianam* | *profuit aut nostras umero gessisse pharetras*. See Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.28.4, McKeown on Ovid, *Am.* 2.6.17–20. V. may deflate the idea somewhat by applying it to C.'s shield rather than to something intrinsic to him. **aerei:** scanned as a disyllable with synizesis of *-ei*; cf. 87 above *anteirent*. All MSS read *aeris*, and *aerei* is first attested in the Aldine edition of 1501; *aeris* would be a second genitive with *clipei*, 'the delay of the shield of bronze', which is not impossible (cf. 10.336 *clipei transuerberat aera*), but which seems less likely than that *aerei* was replaced by the more common form.

542–7 V.'s most elaborate obituary notice for a fallen fighter, almost a funeral lament in miniature. (For the motif see on 343–5 above.) Traina identifies Aeolus with the father of Misenus (called *Aeolides* in 6.164), but the pathos of his death is greater if he is a younger man, and the extravagance of V.'s rhetoric is all the more striking if its object is an otherwise unknown figure: as the last Trojan whose death is recorded in the poem, Aeolus stands for all who escaped death at Troy only to find it in Italy. Thomas (1998) 278–80 connects Aeolus' home city, Lyrnessus, and his escape from Achilles with the escape of Aeneas from Achilles at Lyrnessus (*Il.* 20.89–96, 188–94) and suggests that Aeolus represents the Homeric Aeneas, killed by T., the Latin Achilles.

542–3 The lines are marked by assonance of *-te- and -ter-*, culminating in *terram consternere tergo*.

542 te quoque: the combination is frequent in apostrophes, cf. 7.1, 10.139 (next n.). **Laurentes uiderunt . . . campi:** the personification of the fields contributes to the high tone of the passage; in 10.139 *te quoque magnanimae uiderunt, Ismare, gentes* | *uulnera derigere*, the witnesses are at least human. The pathetic fallacy is even more strongly marked in 7.759–60 *te nemus Angitae, uitrea te Fucinus unda,* | *te liquidi fleuere lacus* (on the bucolic background of those lines see Horsfall ad loc.).

543 oppetere: the intransitive use seems to be V.'s variation on *mortem oppetere* (found in Ennius but also in classical prose), yielding a high-sounding equivalent for *mori*; cf. 640 below, 9.654, 11.268. Here it echoes A.'s envious address to those fortunate to have died at Troy, 1.95–6 *quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis* | *contigit oppetere*. **late . . . terram:** Homeric-style emphasis on physical bulk, cf.

e.g. *Il.* 7.156 πολλὸς γάρ τις ἔκειτο παρήορος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ('for he sprawled in his great bulk this way and that way'). Livy similarly emphasizes the size of the Gaul in 7.10.10 *in spatium ingens ruentem porrexit hostem*, with Oakley's n. **terram consternere:** the verb implies covering a large stretch of ground, cf. Lucr. 5.1332–3, of horses, *uideres | concidere atque graui t. c. casu*; in a very different context, of fallen leaves and branches, 4.444 *consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes*.

544 occidis: strongly marked at the beginning of the line; cf. 660, 828 below. V. does not specify who killed Aeolus or from what sort of wound he died; it is the fact of his death that matters, not its agent or circumstances. Cf. also *Il.* 20.389 κεῖσαι (and n. on 546–7).

544–5 quem . . . Achilles: an unmistakable echo of A.'s words at 2.196–8 *captique dolis lacrimisque coactis | quos neque Tydides nec Larisaeus Achilles, | non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae*. The reference strengthens the sense that Aeolus represents all the Trojans lost in Italy, while also bringing out the funerary undertone of the earlier passage.

544 non potuere: stronger than *non domuere* in 2.198, since it implies that the Greeks and Achilles tried and failed to kill Aeolus. V. uses a milder form of the idea in an apostrophe at 10.430 *et uos, o Grais imperdita corpora, Teucri*. There may be an echo of Ennius *Ann.* 344 Sk. (*pergama*) *quae neque Dardaniis campis potuere perire*, a passage more overtly recalled in 7.294, though here given a pathetic twist. **phalanges:** for a grand effect, as at 6.489 *Danaum proceres Agamemnoniaeque phalanges*.

545 euersor: corresponding to the Homeric πτολίπορθος (of Achilles, e.g. *Il.* 15.77), the noun appears only here in V.; recalled by Stat. *Ach.* 1.530 *euersorem Asiae*, and cf. Sen. *Constant.* 6.4 of Demetrius Poliorcetes, *sub isto tot ciuitatium euersore*; *euertere* is often used of the overthrow of Troy, cf. 2.746 *quid in euersa uidi crudelius urbe*, 3.1–2 *postquam res Asias Priamique euertere gentem | . . . uisum superis*, 10.45, perhaps alluded to in 9.532–3 (*turris quam*) *expugnare Itali summaque euertere opum ui | certabant*. The flatness of 2.571–3 [Helen] *sibi infestos euersa ob Pergama Teucros . . . praemetuens* is one more indication of that passage's non-Virgilian authorship.

546–7 The inspiration for the lines comes from Achilles' words to Iphition in *Il.* 20.390–1 'here is your death, but your generation was by the lake waters | of Gyge' (ἐνθάδε τοι θάνατος, γενεὴ δέ τοί ἐστ' ἐπὶ λίμνῃ | Γυγαίῃ); V. has turned Achilles' taunt into a moving evocation of mortality. The narrator's apostrophe of the deceased also recalls the Homeric narrator's words to Patroclus in *Il.* 16.787, 'there, Patroklos, the end of your life was shown forth' (ἔνθ' ἄρα τοι Πάτροκλε φάνη βιότοιο τελευτή). Some funerary inscriptions mention burial far from home for pathetic effect, e.g. *quam genuit tellus Maurusia quamque coercens | detinet ignoto tristis harena solo* (from Egypt, cited by Lattimore (1962b) 202, who gives other examples of the motif); cf. also 9.485–6 (Euryalus' mother) *terra ignota . . . iaces*, with Hardie's n.

546 mortis . . . metae: *meta*, literally the turning-post in a racetrack, figuratively denotes a terminus or limit. It is natural to call death an endpoint, as

in the Homeric τέλος θανάτοιο or 10.471–2 *sua Turnum | fata uocant metasque dati peruenit ad aeui*, Sen. *Tro.* 397 *mors . . . uelocis spatii meta nouissima*, but here the plural suggests instead an image of the start and end of life's course; that idea could be logically expressed by *metae uitae* or *metae uitae et mortis*, but *metae mortis* hints at a progress from non-existence to non-existence. For Mackail 'this is one of those passages . . . which make one worship Virgil'.

546–7 domus alta . . . domus alta: repetition of this kind (epanalepsis) is saved by V. for moments of high drama or pathos; for a similar instance cf. 10.778–9 *egregium Antoren latus inter et ilia figit, | Herculis Antoren comitem*, and in general see Fordyce on 7.586ff. Wills (1996) 145 notes the reversal of Catull. 68b.88–9 *coeperat ad sese Troia ciere uiros, | Troia (nefas!) commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque*, where the repeated *Troia* laments the fate of those who left home and died at Troy. There is a formal parallel in *Il.* 20.371–2, just before the passage on which V. has drawn for these lines: εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικεν, | εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικε ('though his hands are like flame, | though his hands are like flame'). V.'s lines were themselves echoed by formal means, in Ovid, *Fast.* 4.79–81 *ab Ida | a quo Sulmonis moenia nomen habent, | Sulmonis gelidi*, Sen. *Tro.* 73–4 *decies niuibus canuit Ide, | Ide nostris nudata rogis*, *Culex* 311–12 *ipsa iugis namque Ida potens feritatis, ab ipsa | Ida*; see Wills (1996) 152, 164 n., 169.

547 Lyrnesi . . . Laurente: the place names sound evocatively alike, and *Laurente* recalls *Laurentes* in 542 to frame the passage. *Lyrnesi* is locative, the only example in V. of its use with the name of a town.

548–53 The section ends with a scene of mass conflict, in which A. and T. are temporarily lost from sight.

548 totae adeo conuersae acies: V. begins with an unspecific image, then adds more detail. *adeo* reinforces *totae.* **conuersae:** here 'turned toward each other', as in 172 and 377 above, 716 below, and unlike 369 above, where it describes the opposite motion. Of the 17 occurrences of *conuersus* in V., six are in this book.

549–51 These lines contain several reminiscences of earlier battle scenes, perhaps to suggest the resumption of full-scale fighting: 549 *Mnestheus acerque Serestus* = 9.780; 550 *Messapus . . . Asilas* ~ 127–8 above *et fortis Asilas | et Messapus equum domitor*; 551 cf. 11.93 *Tyrrhenique omnes et uersis Arcades armis*, 835 *Tyrrhenique duces Euandrique Arcades alae*, 281 above *Troes Agyllinique et pictis Arcades armis.*

551 alae: Roman military term for a unit of cavalry, cf. 11.604, 730, 835, 868.

552 pro se quisque 'every one doing his best' (C–N), displaying the spirit prized by Roman generals, cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 2.25.3 *cum pro se quisque in conspectu imperatoris etiam extremis suis rebus operam nauare cuperet.* **summa nituntur opum ui:** an Ennian line ending (*Ann.* 151 Sk.; *opum ui* also in *Ann.* 405), from a description of siege warfare, also echoed in 9.532; Skutsch on *Ann.* 151 explains the phrase as a combination of *summa ope niti* and *summa ui niti.* This is one of two lines in the book ending in a single monosyllable, which entails conflict between ictus and accent in the sixth foot; cf. 851, also 10.2 with Harrison's n.

553 Might 552 have made a stronger end to the section? **nec mora nec requies:** a line-initial phrase in Lucr. 4.227, 6.933; used as here, with *est* or *datur* understood, cf. 5.458, *G.* 3.110. **uasto certamine:** apparently a unique combination. The closest analogy may be *ingens certamen*, which appears several times in Livy (6.42.9, 25.5.3, 26.51.8, 39.39.13) and is taken up by later writers; cf. Kraus on Livy 6.42.9. **uasto:** the adj. appears 46 times in *Aen.* and is often used to imbue events with epic grandeur; cf. P. Pinotti in *EV* 5.454–6. In this summarizing description of the two armies fully engaged, it suggests the scale of the action as well, probably, as its destructive aspect (so also Traina); similar is Hor. *Carm.* 4.14.29–30 *ut barbarorum Claudius agmina | ferrata uasto diruit impetu.* **tendunt** 'they struggle' (= *contendunt*), cf. 5.21-2 *nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum | sufficimus*, Sall. *Cat.* 60.5 *ubi uidit Catilinam . . . magna ui tendere.*

554–613 Venus prompts Aeneas to attack Latinus' city; the besieged inhabitants panic, and Amata commits suicide

Comms. generally treat 554–92 and 593–611 as separate segments of the narrative, but for several reasons it seems preferable to see them as forming a single unit in two movements, focusing on Latinus' city as it is first attacked by the Trojans and then shaken by the death of its queen. Links between the two parts include frequent reference to the *urbs* (555, 558, 567, 584, 594, 608, 610), the motifs of suddenness (556 *subita clade*, 566 *subitum inceptum*, 576 *subitus ignis*, 599 *subito dolore*), disaster (*clades* 556, 604), and turmoil (556 *turbaret*, 599 *turbata*), and a brief, inglorious appearance by Latinus (580, 609–11). Another connecting element is Amata, who almost embodies the city (compare A.'s references to *causam belli* 567 and *caput* 572 with 600 *se causam clamat crimenque caputque dolorem*), making her death a symbolic destruction.

A.'s plan to attack Latinus' city is an especially grim inversion of the Troy story: it is suggested to him by his mother, Venus (554), recalling Venus' appearance to A. amid the burning destruction of Troy (2.589), and this assault, like the earlier one, is to be with fire (573). For other echoes see nn. on 569, 577, 579, 584, 617–21. The attack on the city also recalls the siege of the Trojan camp in book 9, which is itself described in terms that evoke the Greek siege of Troy; for connections among these three episodes see Hardie's edition (Introduction 10–14), Rossi (2004) 171–96, esp. 181–3. Also noteworthy are several parallels with other authors' accounts of the Punic Wars (see nn. on 565, 568, 572, 584).

The object of the attack is not clear. A. himself gives contradictory indications, in 568 speaking of forcing complete surrender, in 573 of demanding restoration of the treaty. The most accurate description is probably the first, 556 *subita turbaret clade Latinos*; the sudden assault does indeed spread panic and dissent among the citizens. V. does not overtly comment on A.'s action, but the overheated rhetoric of A.'s speech in 565–73 and the implications of the bee simile in 587–92 imply an awareness of the trumped-up nature of the attack and sympathy for the trapped

inhabitants. A. had referred earlier to marching on the city, 11.17 *nunc iter ad regem nobis murosque Latinos*; but that was before the treaty and single combat were agreed on.

554–60 In a clear example of double motivation, V. first (554–6) describes Venus suggesting the attack to A., then (557–60) shows it occurring to A. as if spontaneously. Servius thought Venus' intervention was needed because it would be unlikely (*incongruum*) for A. to think of the attack on the city while concentrating on the battle, but 557–60 explain A.'s thinking perfectly well, which makes Venus' appearance all the more conspicuous. (Such issues are not raised at 10.439, where T.'s sister advises him to aid Lausus.) Venus' role introduces the 'reversal of Troy' motif (see n. above), and may also be intended to lessen A.'s responsibility for a cruel manoeuvre.

554 Hic: temporal, 'at this point'. **mentem** 'intention, plan' (compare 'to have a mind to do something'), cf. 8.400 *si bellare paras atque haec tibi mens est*, 4.318–19 *istam . . . exue mentem*, 37 above. Livy 6.18.9 has Camillus distinguish between a god preventing an outcome and giving mortals a mind to do so: *'di prohibebunt haec'; sed numquam propter me de caelo descendent. uobis dent mentem oportet ut prohibeatis* (and see Oakley ad loc. on *dare mentem*). **pulcherrima:** of Venus also at 4.227, but more than a conventional epithet, and more than simply ironic (although that as well); the gods never lose their lustre, even when they cause suffering for humans. **misit:** comms. compare Homeric ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε, cf. *Il.* 1.55, where it also describes a divine stimulus.

555–6 The plan is expressed in an ascending tricolon, each member of which is more specific than the last, as the details take shape in A.'s mind.

555 urbique aduerteret agmen: for the dative cf. 7.35 *terrae . . . aduertere proras*, *G.* 4.117 *terris aduertere proram.*

556 ocius: strictly a comparative, 'sooner', but here used with positive force, 'immediately' (*OLD* 2b), a use frequent in early Latin drama; cf. 661 below, 10.786 (where Harrison compares θᾶσσον, as in *Il.* 2.440). **subita . . . Latinos:** assonance of *a* in metrically stressed syllables, *subit*<u>*a*</u> *turb*<u>*a*</u>*ret cl*<u>*a*</u>*de* (continued in a less marked form in 557–9).

557 uestigans: recalling 482 above *uestigatque uirum* – an echo that almost elides the intervening section of indiscriminate fighting – and recalled in turn by 588 below. **diuersa:** usually taken to mean 'in all directions' (connected to *huc atque huc*); the meaning 'opposing/of the enemy' would also be apt, see *TLL* 5^{1}.1576.69–80, Prop. 1.10.15 *diuersos . . . coniungere amantes*, Luc. 6.783 *diuersi duces.*

558 acies circumtulit: a poetic equivalent of *oculos circumferre* (for which cf. Livy 21.44.1, Val. Max. 7.2 ext. 2); for *acies* pl. = *oculi* cf. 6.788 *huc geminas nunc flecte acies*, n. on 731 below.

559 immunem . . . belli 'having no share in the war', but perhaps suggesting the technical sense of *immunis*, 'excused from military service'; C–N cite Ovid, *Am.* 2.14.1 *immunes belli . . . puellas*, on which McKeown refers to Livy 7.7.5,

Tac. *Ann.* 1.36.3. **impune quietam:** clearly focalized from A.'s point of view; he believes that the city deserves to be punished for the violation of the truce. Another viewpoint would regard the peacefulness of the city as a reason not to attack it.

560 accendit: one of V.'s favourite words to describe stirring up anger, war fervour, etc. It can have either positive or negative connotations: compare 8.501 *merita . . . accendit Mezentius ira* and 7.550 (Allecto) *accendam . . . animos insano Martis amore.* Here it seems studiously neutral, although it may be noteworthy that A. is inflamed by an intangible *imago.* See also on 946 below, *furiis accensus.* The metaphorical reference to fire anticipates A.'s use of fire to attack the city. **imago:** the phrase resembles 8.557 *maior Martis iam apparet imago* ('war is conceived of as a spectre which haunts the imagination' C–N); in both passages *imago* denotes a mental image rather than something seen. Compare also *poenae . . . in imagine tota est* ('she is entirely taken up by the vision of vengeance') in Ovid, *Met.* 6.586 (Procne) and 13.546 (Hecuba), *TLL* 7^1.409.23–75. See on 665 below. Manzoni (2002) 11–17 plausibly suggests that the 'greater battle' alludes to the sack of Troy, which this episode recalls at several points.

561 = 4.288, where A. begins planning his departure from Carthage; an anticipation of the many echoes of Dido's death in this section.

562–3 capit . . . cetera Teucrum | concurrit: the alliteration may suggest the clank of armour.

563 legio: see on 121 above.

563–4 nec . . . deponunt: Traina compares 9.229, where the Trojans take counsel *longis adnixi hastis et scuta tenentes*; La Cerda cites Claud. *De bello Gildonico* 425–6 *circumfusa iuuentus | nixa hastis* and Amm. Marc. 20.5.1 *princeps . . . signis aquilisque circumdatus et uexillis.* Contrast 707 below, when A. and T. face each other and all the rest lift the armour from their shoulders (*arma . . . deposuere umeris*).

564 celso . . . fatur: cf. 5.44 *tumuli . . . ex aggere fatur.* **medius** 'in their midst'.

565–73 The last of four speeches by A. encouraging or rallying his men, cf. 1.198–207, 2.348–54, 11.14–28. None is a formal *cohortatio* of a general to his troops (for which compare T.'s elaborate speech 9.128–58), although 11.14–28 comes closest to the usual themes of that genre. The present speech is atypical in that there is no opposing army to be engaged or any resistance to be overcome; partly for that reason A. seems more concerned to express his indignation than to rouse the spirits of his soldiers.

A.'s speech is called 'brusque and cruel' by W., 'bleak' and 'authoritative' by Nisbet (1978–80) 58 (= Harrison (1990) 388) (the tones 'of a real *imperator*'); such descriptions underplay the elements of incoherence and pique that signal A.'s fury, although Nisbet does note that A. 'is not talking here of Mezentius or even Turnus but of kind, bumbling Latinus'. Quinn (1968) 20 finds the tone of the speech 'disagreeably righteous'.

On the *cohortatio* see Keitel (1987), Hansen (1993); Highet (1972) 82–9.

565–6 esto . . . ito: the future imperatives convey an especially authoritative tone; compare the doubled imperatives in the exhortation of T., 10.280–2 *nunc coniugis esto | quisque suae tectique memor, nunc magna referto | facta, patrum laudes.*

565 ne . . . mora 'let there be no delay in carrying out my orders'; cf. 11.19–21 *ne qua mora ignaros . . . impediat.* **dictis:** cf. 3.189 *dicto paremus*, 7.433 (cited on 569 below), Caes. *B Gall.* 1.39.7 *nonnulli etiam Caesari nuntiabant . . . non fore dicto audientes milites.* **Iuppiter hac stat** 'Jupiter is on our side', a stronger equivalent of the divine approval referred to in 11.19–20 *ubi primum uellere signa | adnuerint superi.* The phrase is Ennian (*Ann.* 232 Sk.); Skutsch thought that the speaker in Ennius was Hannibal. Comms. explain that A. is thinking of Jupiter as protector of oaths, but his words may reflect a more general confidence of enjoying divine favour. The assertion of divine support is a frequent motif of the *cohortatio*; cf. Keitel (1987) 75. Jupiter had previously declared himself neutral (10.112 *rex Iuppiter omnibus idem*), but his actions in the concluding scenes of the poem bear out A.'s statement here. **hac** 'on this side', cf. Ovid, *Am.* 1.3.11–12 *Phoebus comitesque nouem uitisque repertor | hac faciunt*, with McKeown's n.

566 ob inceptum subitum 'because of the suddenness of the undertaking'; another instance of the Latin preference for concrete over abstract terms, see on 219, 242–3 above. **mihi:** the so-called 'ethic' dat., marking the speaker's personal involvement in the statement made ('let no one, I ask, respond more slowly'); with a negative command, cf. 7.438 (T. to Allecto) *ne tantos mihi finge metus.* **segnior:** cf. 11.19–21 *ne qua . . . segnis . . . metu sententia tardet.* The comparative probably = 'with insufficient vigour' rather than literally 'less vigorously' (i.e. than normally).

567 The broken syntax and lack of connectives suggest an outpouring of rage. **hodie:** not literal, but underscoring the seriousness of A.'s threat; *hodie* is often found in threats in Republican drama, cf. Naev. *trag.* 14–15 *numquam h. effugies quin mea moriaris manu* (echoed in *Ecl.* 3.49, cf. 2.670 *numquam omnes h. moremur inulti*), Plaut. *Amph.* 348, Ter. *Eun.* 803, later in Sen. *Agam.* 971 *morieris hodie* (with my n.). The effect may be to suggest the speech of an *iratus.* **causam belli:** C–N sensibly remark that 'the city was not responsible for the hesitation of Turnus to meet his antagonist, and there was therefore no reason for attacking it now which did not exist before'. The illogicality of A.'s statement is another indication of his emotional state.

568 ni . . . fatentur: a contradiction of A.'s earlier pledge to maintain equality of Latins and Trojans, 189 *non ego . . . Teucris Italos parere iubebo.* Depending on one's overall view of A., these words could be taken as a temporary aberration caused by anger and vexation, or as a glimpse into a side of him normally kept hidden. **frenum accipere:** the metaphor may seem harsh, but it often describes curbing unruly people or forces, cf. 1.522–3 (Ilioneus to Dido) *o regina . . . cui condere Iuppiter urbem | iustitiaque dedit gentis frenare superbas*, Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.9–11 (*Augustus*) *ordinem | rectum euaganti frena licentiae | iniecit*; compare *habenae*, as in 499 above. Sil. 10.480 speaks of Rome refusing the bit of Carthage, *quae Libycos*

renuit frenos . . . Roma. **uicti parere fatentur:** *fateor* here 'agree, consent' (with *accipere* and *parere*); a significant echo of 7.432 (Allecto to T., speaking of Latinus) *ni dare coniugium et dicto parere fatetur.* The present inf. is often used instead of the logically required future with verbs of agreeing, promising, etc.; cf. Fordyce ad loc. (who, however, believes that in both passages *fateor* has its usual sense, so here 'unless they admit that they are accepting the bit and obeying'). In our passage *uicti . . . fatentur* also alludes to the admission of defeat by the vanquished that, according to Ennius, is needed for true victory: *qui uincit non est uictor nisi uictus fatetur* (*Ann.* 513 Sk.); cf. also Livy 4.10.3 *fatentes uictos esse sese et imperio parere*, 30.35.11 (Hannibal) *fassus in curia est non proelio modo se sed bello uictum*, Oakley on 6.4.8. As Traina notes, A. will receive such an admission from T., cf. 936 below. **frenum accipere . . . parere fatentur:** the alliteration reappears in an even stronger form in 573.

569 eruam . . . ponam: strongly reminiscent of the destruction of Troy as shown to A. by Venus, 2.603 *sternit . . . a culmine Troiam*, 609 *mixto . . . undantem puluere fumum*, 611–12 *totam . . . a sedibus urbem | eruit*; for *fumantia*, cf. also 3.3 *omnis humo fumat . . . Troia*, 10.45–6 *per euersae . . . fumantia Troiae | excidia.* The enclosing word order *eruam . . . ponam* is echoed in 577 *discurrunt . . . trucidant*, as A.'s men carry out his orders with ruthless efficiency. **aequa solo . . . ponam:** a more elevated equivalent of the normal idiom for levelling cities, etc., *solo aequare*, see *OLD* s.v. *aequo* 3b. Servius notes that A. speaks as though there were no longer a war to be fought, but only a siege ('confidenter, quasi iam non bellum sit, sed expugnatio').

570–1 It is conventional in a *cohortatio* to disparage the military prowess of the opposing commander, cf. Dio Cass. 50.18.3 (Antony ~ Octavian), Lucan 2.568-74 (Pompey ~ Caesar), Tac. *Hist.* 1.37.3 (Otho ~ Galba). A. focuses on T.'s reluctance to face him; his sarcasm matches the tone in which T. had earlier spoken of A., cf. 15, 52–3 above.

570 scilicet: ironic, as often in speeches, cf. 4.379 (Dido) *scilicet is superis labor est*, 11.371–3 (Drances) *scilicet ut Turno contingat regia coniunx . . . sternamur campis.* Our passage may have been imitated by the author of the Helen episode, 2.577–8 *scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenas | aspiciet . . . ?* **libeat** 'until it should please him', cf. Juv. 10.162 *dum libeat . . . uigilare tyranno.*

570–1 proelia . . . nostra = *proelia cum nobis*, cf. *ea pugna* 505 above; the expression is echoed by Sil. 15.751 (Hannibal speaking) *passae mea proelia gentes.* **pati:** sarcastic; T. might be willing to 'put up with' fighting A., as one might endure a tiresome or distasteful meeting; see *OLD* 5 (though the examples cited are not as similar as one would like). The normal force of the phrase is illustrated by 7.806–7, of Camilla: *proelia uirgo | dura pati* (sc. *adsueta*).

571 uictus 'persuaded, overcome' (i.e. by pressure from others), as in Jupiter's later statement, 833 *me uictusque uolensque remitto.* For this interpretation see Jacobson (2004) 636. The traditional view has A. describe T. as 'already defeated' by virtue of having fled, but this seems highly strained. *rursus* is to be taken with *uelit*

concurrere, recalling the opening of the book, where T. proclaimed his eagerness to meet A.

572 hoc . . . haec: anaphora of *hic* (usually in varying forms) gives crispness to summarizing statements; cf. 4.236 *haec summa est, hic nostri nuntius esto*, 6.129 *hoc opus, hic labor est.* **caput:** cf. 11.361 (Drances of T.) *o Latio caput horum et causa malorum. caput* can mean 'ringleader' with regard to rebellions or conspiracies (see *OLD* 13), but more closely similar are Livian references to Rome or Italy as seen by Hannibal or the Carthaginians, 26.7.3 *multa secum . . . uoluenti subiit animum impetus caput ipsum belli Romam petendi*, 27.20.6 *in Italiam, ubi belli caput rerumque summa esset.* **o ciues:** the strangeness of this address has not been noted. Apart from the deliberative use of (*o*) *ciues* in the Latin assembly (11.243, 305, 459), the vocative is mostly used to rally the Trojans against a threat to their community: 2.42 (Laocoon warning the Trojans against the Horse), 5.671 (Iulus to the women burning the ships), 9.36 and 783 (Caicus/Mnestheus to the Trojans defending their 'city'-camp), in a lighter vein 5.196 (Mnestheus appealing to the solidarity of his crew in the boat race). For A. so to address his troops as they prepare to attack civilians casts doubt on his rhetoric and the strategy it supports. There is also perhaps a suggestion that the Trojans are being urged to treat as enemies those who should be their fellow-citizens; cf. 504 above, 583 below. **summa** 'decisive point, crux', a piece of military-historical language, cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 7.21.3 *quod paene in eo . . . summam uictoriae constare intellegebant*, Livy 3.61.13 *quid . . . in multa proelia paruaque carperent summam unius belli*, 29.4.3 *summae belli molem adhuc in Sicilia esse.* In 10.70 *summa belli* appears to mean 'the highest administration of the war' (so Harrison ad loc.). **nefandi:** a powerful word, with religious overtones; compare Latinus' reference to the war as *arma impia*, 31 above. A.'s characterization of the war is endorsed by Jupiter; cf. 804 below, *infandum . . . bellum.*

573 f̲erte f̲aces p̲rop̲ere f̲oedusque rep̲oscite f̲lammis: the prominent alliteration recalls 568, and the alliteration of *f* echoes A.'s earlier pledge, 316–17 *foedera faxo | firma manu.* There may also be an echo of 4.594 *ferte citi flammas*, where Dido calls for fire to be directed at A.'s departing ships. **propere:** *propere* with commands may have an archaic flavour; cf. Accius 301 R² *eloquere propere*, *inc. inc. fab.* 138 R² *tela famuli tela propere ferte*, Sen. *Agam.* 300 *facesse propere*, with my n. In its other appearances (6.236, 9.801) the word seems unmarked. See also on 85 above *properi* (which is here a variant in a ninth-century MS). **foedusque reposcite flammis:** some comms. take A.'s words literally (e.g. W.: 'they are to require the restoration of the broken treaty by fire and sword'), but it is difficult to see how the besieged inhabitants could bring about that result, and in 584–6 they show no awareness of that possibility. (Servius' explanation, that the *flammae* here are to rekindle those that marked the making of the treaty, is rightly called 'perversely ingenious' by C–N.) A. is being bitterly ironic: his way of demanding the return of the treaty is to burn the city to the ground. For *reposcite* cf. also 2 above, *promissa reposci.*

574 pariter certantibus omnes: A.'s men throw themselves into the operation wholeheartedly, 'competing equally' with one another in their enthusiasm.

575 dant cuneum: there appears to be no exact parallel, but the sense of *dare* ('produce') is close to that in 2.482 *ingentem lato dedit ore fenestram*, see *TLL* 5¹.1685.58–82. On V.'s fondness for expressions with *dare* see on 69, 328, 383, 437 above. **mole:** the thickly grouped soldiers form a solid mass; *moles* of a large armed force, cf. Livy 3.2.13 *multas passim manus quam magnam molem unius exercitus rectius bella gerere*, 5.8.7 *Etruriam omnen . . . magna mole adesse.*

576 scalae: sc. *apparuerunt*; the verb suggests the suddenness with which the ladders and fire appear, as if from nowhere (see following n.). **improuiso subitusque . . . ignis:** the absence of warning is essential to the plan, cf. 556 *subita turbaret clade Latinos.*

577–8 discurrunt . . . trucidant . . . torquent . . . obumbrant: the accumulation of strong verbs creates a vivid sense of the soldiers' activity; the verbs are carefully disposed, the first two at the ends of the line and the second pair placed near the centre.

577 primosque trucidant: same line ending at 2.494, where the Greeks led by Pyrrhus storm Priam's palace; see also on 579. There is probably an echo of 2.334–5 *uix primi proelia temptant | portarum uigiles.* **trucidant:** an unpoetic word; the defenders are butchered like animals, cf. Lyne (1989) 125–6.

578 obumbrant aethera: the verb appears in V. only here and 11.223 (T. shaded, i.e. protected, by the name of Amata); Horsfall ad loc. thinks it a likely Virgilian coinage. For the hyperbole cf. 11.611 *caelum . . . obtexitur umbra*, describing weapons thrown on both sides; comms. compare Herodotus 7.226, where the Persian threatens the Spartans at Thermopylae, translated by Cicero in *Tusc.* 1.101 *solem prae iaculorum multitudine et sagittarum non videbitis.*

579 ipse inter primos: same line opening in 2.479 (Pyrrhus attacking Priam's palace). **dextram . . . tendit:** Traina interprets A.'s gesture in a ritual sense, as accompanying his appeal to the gods in 581 *testatur . . . deos*; compare 196 above (of Latinus) *suspiciens caelum, tenditque ad sidera dextram.* If that reading is correct, it complicates the echoes of the bloodthirsty Pyrrhus.

580 incusat: there may be an echo of Latinus' words at 11.312 *nec quemquam incuso*, more probably of the description of Latinus at 11.471–2 *multa . . . se incusat qui non acceperit ultro | Dardanium Aenean.*

581 testatur . . . deos: cf. 496 above *multa Iouem et laesi testatus foederis aras*; A. has no doubt as to the rightness of his cause.

581–2 iterum . . . bis . . . altera: A. insists on the fact that agreements have now been broken twice, in book 7 and earlier in this book. The emphasis on doubled betrayal forms a rhetorical counterpart to the jibe of Numanus Remus at the *bis capti Phryges* (9.599, with *iterum* in 598) and the taunt of T. in 9.136–9 (comparing himself to the Atreidae avenging the theft of Helen by Paris). For other variants of the 'twice' or 'again' motif in relation to the Trojans, cf. 6.93–4, 7.322, 10.26, 61.

582 haec . . . rumpi 'that this was the second treaty to be broken' (*haec* referring to the nearer, more recent, truce).

583–6 The attack sets the inhabitants of Latinus' city against one another in a quasi-civil war: *discordia ciuis* (583) explicitly refers to Rome's civil wars at *Ecl.* 1.71–2 *en quo discordia ciuis | produxit miseros.* Earlier A. tried to prevent *discordia* from breaking out (313); now he foments it. **trepidos inter:** the postponement of the preposition is largely, though not exclusively, a poetic construction; cf. Pease on 4.256.

584–6 alii . . . alii: a pointed contrast with the same phrasing in 577–8: in the earlier scene it represents the sharing of tasks within a coordinated effort, while here it depicts the collapse of united purpose. Given the following comparison of the besieged Latins to bees, there may be (as Richard Thomas suggests to me) an echo of *G.* 4.158–65 *aliae . . . pars . . . aliae . . . aliae . . . sunt quibus* (note also *alii . . . alii* in 170–1).

584 reserare: *Dardanidis* is probably to be taken with *reserare* as well as with *pandere*; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 7.2 *reserare . . . exteris gentibus Italiam.* Sil. 1.14–15 speaks of Scipio (*Dardanus ductor*) 'opening' Carthage, *reserauit Dardanus arces | ductor Agenoreas.* **pandere portas:** almost certainly a recollection of 2.234, where the Trojans take the Horse into the city, *diuidimus muros et moenia pandimus urbis.*

585 trahunt: many comms. follow Servius in taking *trahunt* to mean *trahere uolunt* ('they are for dragging L. to the walls'), presumably because the literal meaning would involve unthinkably rough treatment for a king. But the text gives no hint of the weaker sense, and certainly not of Servius Auctus' notion that *trahunt* means 'rend with their criticisms' ('dilacerant . . . rumoribus suis'); *ipsum* suggests that L. is physically hustled to the walls, as Priam is dragged to the altar by Pyrrhus (2.550–1 *altaria ad ipsa trementem | traxit*).

587–92 The source of the simile is Ap. Rhod. 2.130–6, 'and as shepherds or beekeepers smoke out an enormous | swarm of bees in a rock, and they to begin with | buzz around in great confusion in their hive, | but very soon, suffocated by the smudge-black | smoke coils, fly out all together, so the Bebrykians | no longer held firm, or resisted, but fled in all directions' (trans. P. Green) (ὡς δὲ μελισσάων σμῆνος μέγα μηλοβοτῆρες | ἠὲ μελισσοκόμοι πέτρῃ ἔνι καπνιόωσιν, | αἱ δ' ἤτοι τείως μὲν ἀολλέες ᾧ ἐνὶ σίμβλῳ | βομβηδὸν κλονέονται, ἐπιπρὸ δὲ λιγνυόεντι | καπνῷ τυφόμεναι πέτρης ἑκὰς ἀίσσουσιν – | ὣς οἵγ' οὐκέτι δὴν μένον ἔμπεδον ἀλλὰ κέδασθεν | εἴσω Βεβρυκίης). V. has altered the point of the simile to make it match the circumstances more closely: instead of flying out of the rock, like the scattered Bebrycians, the bees appear to be trapped inside (*inclusas* is a key word, placed first), as the inhabitants of L.'s city are not being driven out but threatened with fire within their walls.

Anderson (1968) points out that the three similes in which A. is compared to a *pastor* (2.304–8, 4.69–73, and the present passage) describe 'an ever-increasing loss of pastoral innocence . . . from the guiltless spectator of nature-caused destruction, to the unwitting cause of a poor deer's agony, and finally to the conscious

and deliberate contriver of discord in the bee-city' (11; he less convincingly argues that 'within that compromised person lives an affection for pastoral values that makes the recapture of *Saturnia regna* at least a remote possibility' 17). Johnson (1976) 92–4 offers a characteristically dark reading of the simile.

Bees appear four times in the *Aeneid*, three times in similes; see 1.430–6, 6.707–9, 7.59–67, and see Briggs (1980) 68–81. The most relevant passage is 1.430–6, where the Carthaginians building their city are compared to industrious bees – a painful contrast to the present scene of panic and confusion, and a reminder that Carthage suffered a symbolic capture when its queen committed suicide (see on 594 below); the simile thus implicitly foreshadows Amata's death.

V. refers briefly to smoking out bees from their hive in *G.* 4.228–30; see further Vian on Ap. Rhod 2.130–6. Lycophron, *Alex.* 293–4 compares the Greeks caught in the burning of their ships (as related in *Il.* 15) to bees confused by smoke. In *Fast.* 3.555–6 Ovid compares the Carthaginians scattering after the death of Dido to bees bereft of their queen: *diffugiunt Tyrii quo quemque agit error, ut olim | amisso dubiae rege uagantur apes*; the comparison may recall and combine elements of *Aen.* 1.430–6 and the present passage.

Carter (2002) ingeniously suggests that 587–8 contain an encrypted reference to V.'s full name (***PVMICE*** ... ***VESTIGAVIT*** ... ***AMARO***), together with allusions to the *Eclogues* (*pastor*) and *Georgics* (*apes*).

587 latebroso in pumice: the same phrase in 5.214 of a dove's nest, of a beehive *G.* 4.44 *pumicibus ... cauis* (with *latebris* in 42); W. renders *latebrosus* as 'crannied'. *Il.* 2.88 refers to bees emerging from their nest in a hollow rock (πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς).

588 uestigauit apes: the word has previously been linked to A.'s pursuit of T. alone (cf. 467, 482, 557); its reappearance here shows that the citizens have been made the scapegoats for the failure of that pursuit. **impleuit:** either with *pumicem* understood as object, or, if with *apes*, in a somewhat different sense ('enveloped' W.). **amaro** 'acrid', of a smell cf. Prop. 2.33b.30 *amarus odor*, Plin. *HN* 21.38 *flores triti ... amariores quam intacti*; on the interchange of words relating to smell and taste see Catrein (2003) 94–9.

589 trepidae rerum 'anxious for their situation' (or, if *res* has its frequent negative connotation, 'their plight'). It seems best to take *rerum* as an extension of the objective gen., rather than as gen. of respect (so *OLD* s.v. *trepidus* 1); for *trepidus rerum* cf. Livy 5.11.4, 36.31.5, similarly Ovid, *Met.* 1.623 *anxia furti*. Somewhat freer is 1.178 *fessi rerum* ('weary of their sufferings'), which Sil. 2.234 echoes in combination with our passage, *trepidi rerum fessique salutis*. *trepidae* ~ *trepidos* 583. **per cerea castra:** V. has *cerea regna* of the beehive in *G.* 4.202, and *castra* in *G.* 4.108; the alliterative combination seems to highlight the unreality of the image, i.e. *cerea castra* are not real *castra*. It may also be relevant that the city is not actually a *castrum* (which would be a more legitimate target of attack).

590 discurrunt: ~ 577, where it describes the attacking Trojans. **acuunt ... iras:** cf. 108 above (A.) *acuit martem et se suscitat ira*, 9.463 (T. rousing his

troops) *uariis . . . acuit rumoribus iras*; of bees, cf. *G.* 4.71 *spicula . . . exacuunt rostris*. For the anger of bees when disturbed cf. *G.* 4.236 *illis ira modum supra est.* **stridoribus:** *stridor* and *stridere* often describe bees' buzzing, cf. 7.65 *stridore ingenti*, *G.* 4.310 *stridentia pennis*, 555–6 *toto | stridere apes utero.*

591–2 After the close-up description of 589–90, the viewpoint pulls back to that of the *pastor* and the reader's vision is directed out of the dark enclosed space into the open air; hence what was loud buzzing becomes a muffled noise, *murmur caecum*. This might be a way to signal the disparity of scale in humanizing bee-descriptions; it is also possible that V. chose this 'light' ending for the simile to ensure a swift transition to Amata's death.

591 ater odor . . . murmure caeco: the 'violent catachreses' (Johnson (1976) 94) convey the blurring of sense-perception on the part of the bees/citizens; see also Catrein (2003) 70–4. **tectis:** the link of hive and city is maintained by language more appropriate to the city; cf. in particular 596 *ignis ad tecta uolare*.

592 ad auras: V. often uses *ad/in auras*, describing objects (less often persons) moving through or dispersing in air, as a closural device; for smoke and fire cf. 7.466 *uolat uapor ater ad auras*, 2.759 *exsuperant flammae, furit aestus ad auras*, in a comparison 5.740 *tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras* (varying *G.* 499–500 *ceu fumus in auras | . . . fugit*). The submotif of words, etc. carried through the air is prominent in book 4; cf. 226, 270, 378.

593–611 The account of Amata's suicide has some details reminiscent of Greek tragedy (see nn. on 593, 603), but a much closer precursor and model is the death of Dido; in both cases the suicide of the Queen produces a symbolic destruction of her city (see nn. on 594, 608). Amata, however, is a far less complex character than Dido, and her death does not match Dido's in its impact on the reader, in part because of the narrator's unsympathetic view of the event.

In realistic terms Amata's suicide would more naturally follow T.'s death than precede it (cf. 61–2 above, n. on 600 below); that sequence of events may be depicted on a set of Etrusco-Roman funerary urns from Volterra, which have been interpreted (though not without controversy) as showing the aftermath of the duel between A. and T.; cf. J. P. Small (1974), *LIMC* 1.585 (text), 1.439 (plate). Amata's premature death underscores her lack of rational control and foreshadows the outcome she so passionately dreads.

593 Accidit haec . . . etiam fortuna: the motif of 'disaster coming upon disaster' is found in tragic messenger-speeches, cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 1427, Sen. *Agam.* 528 *ecce alia clades* with my n., also Luc. 1.673–4 *terruerant satis haec pauidam praesagia plebem, | sed maiora premunt*, Tac. *Ann.* 4.50.1 (of besieged Germans) *rebusque turbatis malum extremum discordia accessit.* **fessis:** probably the weariness caused by the Latins' recent reverses, rather than specifically the siege; cf. 11.335 *rebus fessis*, earlier of A.'s men, *fessi rerum* 1.178, and, in Sinon's account, the Greeks at Troy, 2.109 *longo fessi . . . bello.* **fortuna** 'misfortune' (*OLD* 10), a sense frequent in prose, cf. Caes. *B ciu.* 2.14.3 *repentina fortuna permoti.*

594 The assonance of *u* is probably meant to suggest the sounds of mourning. **totam . . . funditus:** the hyperbolic language sets the tone for the section, and *totam . . . urbem* serves as a frame, reappearing in 608. *concussit*: cf. 4.666 *concussam . . . per urbem*. **funditus:** with *concussit*, meant figuratively (Traina compares Lucr. 3.38, the fear of death *funditus humanam qui uitam turbat ab imo*), but inevitably suggesting the literal sense of razing to the ground.

595 regina: the first of many terms associated with Dido, cf. also 54 above. **tectis:** probably with *prospicit*; Amata sees the enemy coming from her position on the walls, as Dido sees the Trojans depart from her watching place (*regina e speculis ut . . . uidit* 4.586–7).

596–7 The shifting syntax (acc. with inf. preceded by object with participle and followed by simple object) and lack of connectives depict Amata's quickly moving gaze and her growing anxiety.

596 uolare: of smoke and flames, cf. Lucr. 6.104 *fumi . . . uolantes* and 1.1094 *uolucri ritu flammarum* (perhaps combined in *G.* 2.217 *fumos . . . uolucres*), *Aen.* 7.466 *uolat uapor ater ad auras*.

597 contra 'fighting back, opposing them', perhaps elliptically for *contra pugnare*, as in *Bell. Alexandrinum* 31.2 *nostris contra militibus acerrime pugnantibus*, but cf. 9.802–3 *nec contra uiris audet Saturnia Iuno | sufficere*.

598 infelix: another *Leitmotiv* connected with Dido, cf. 1.749, 4.450, 596; at 6.456 it appears in conjunction with *exstinctam* (A.'s true report of Dido's death, in contrast to Amata's false belief of T.'s death). Amata has been called *infelix* in 7.376 and has used the term of herself in 7.401. V. is particularly fond of the metrically useful nominative form, which appears more than 50 times, as against five instances of *infelicis* and three of *infelicem*. See also on 870, 941 below. Its appearance in 608 is another framing device. **pugnae . . . in certamine:** cf. 11.780 *ex omni c. pugnae*, Lucr. 4.843 *certamina pugnae*, a variant of *certamina belli* 10.146, Lucr. 1.475, which is probably Ennian; see Harrison on 10.146. There is a probable echo of 61 above, where Amata said that T.'s fate in the combat with A. (*isto certamine*) would also be hers.

599 exstinctum: another echo of the opening scene, cf. on 38 above; the verb is also linked to Dido (4.682, 6.456–7). **subito . . . dolore:** cf. 4.697 *subito . . . accensa furore*, of the state of mind in which Dido killed herself. There may also be an echo of 160 above, of Juturna *tristi turbatam uulnere mentis*. **mentem:** retained acc. with the passive part. *turbata*; cf. on 468 above *concussa . . . mentem*.

600–11 The emotional level of these lines is raised by sustained alliteration: 600 *c*, 601–2 *m*, 602–3 *ct*, 604–5 *m*, 604–8 *a*, 609–10 *c/m/t*, 611 *m/p*, in addition to combinations such as 601 *effata furorem*, 606 *cetera circum*.

600 Amata earlier vowed to kill herself if T. was defeated, to avoid seeing A. as her son-in-law (62–3). Now she views her suicide in a different light, as just retribution for opposing A.'s marriage to Lavinia. Her self-description as *causa* and *caput malorum* makes her nearly an embodiment of her city, called *causa* and *caput belli* by A., 567, 572; it also recalls Drances' description of T. as *caput . . . et*

causa malorum in 11.361. Amata's admission of guilt parallels Latinus' rueful self-criticism at 11.471–2 (quoted on 580 above). **causam clamat crimenque caputque:** the incessant alliteration of *c* is offset by metrical *variatio*, heterodyne (*causám, clamát*) succeeded by homodyne (*criménque capútque*). **crimen** 'object of blame or reproach' (*OLD* 2b, *TLL* 4.1195.5–34), cf. Prop. 3.19.15 *crimen et illa fuit* (sc. Myrrha for her incestuous desire), Ovid, *Am.* 3.7.4 *iacui pigro crimen onusque toro.* The genitive in such cases usually specifies to whom the blame or reproach relates, as in Prop. 1.11.30 *Baiae . . . crimen amoris*, *Dirae* 82 *praetorum crimen agelli*, but here the juxtaposition of *causa* and *caput* requires the sense 'the one responsible for the sufferings'. (In 7.339 *crimina belli* is different, 'accusations that lead to war', Horsfall.) Ovid's reworking in *Met.* 2.614–15 (cited by C–N) restores *crimen* to its normal sense of 'grounds for blame', *crimen causamque dolendi* | *scire coactus erat.*

601 If 'Amata . . . cannot hide the fact that she is, whatever else she is, a mezzo-soprano' (Johnson (1976) 55), she is one compelled to die without a final aria. 'An inferior artist would have given Amata's speech' (C–N), but V. is not simply displaying artistic tact; he is distancing himself from Amata's self-dramatizing. Quoted last words can dignify a death, as is notably the case with Dido (4.651–8, 660–2); here V.'s authorial characterization of Amata's words as ravings (*multa . . . demens effata*) has the opposite effect, heightened by Amata's obvious aspiration to be a second Dido. **per maestum . . . furorem** 'in her sad frenzy' (Fitzgerald); *per* describing the manner in which an action is done (*OLD* 16), as *per iocum* Plaut. *Amph.* 920, *per silentium* Ter. *Haut.* 36, *per lacrimas* Ovid (?) *Her.* 12.58. **maestum . . . furorem:** an unparalleled combination, suggesting a kind of emotional synaesthesia; V. similarly couples *maestus* with other emotions in 1.202–3 *maestum . . . timorem* | *mittite*, 10.191 *maestum Musa solatur amorem.* **demens:** of Dido 4.78, 374, 469. **furorem:** another trait shared by Dido (4.91, 101, 433, 501, 697) and Amata (7.350, 375, 377, 386, 406). Amata's *furor* communicates itself to others, as it did in book 7, cf. 606–7 *cetera circum* | *turba furit.*

602 purpureos . . . amictus: it is probably too subtle to see an allusion to the *purpurea uestis* worn by Dido on her hunt with A., 4.139. **moritura:** cf. 55 above; the word is now used with full appropriateness.

603 Hanging was a dishonourable form of suicide in both Greek and Roman culture; in Greek tragedy in particular it is a woman's way of death, chosen in extreme shame and despair, as in the case of Sophocles' Jocasta (already in *Od.* 11.278) and Phaedra (Eur. *Hipp.* 802); see Loraux (1987) 7–30. Some comms. attribute Amata's choice of hanging to her 'wild and uncontrollable character' (W.), but it is her feelings of guilt that drive her to a shameful death; similarly, Ovid's Myrrha attempts to hang herself because she is appalled by her incestuous desire for her father (*Met.* 10.378–81). Servius alleges that in Fabius Pictor Amata starved herself to death; V. preferred a more dramatic and more humiliating end for her. Cf. Thaniel (1976). **nodum informis leti** 'a noose that brings about an ugly death'; for the gen. (a kind of result) C–N compare Cic. *Clut.* 11 *exhausto*

illo poculo mortis. **informis:** literally 'shapeless', from which comes the sense 'unshapely'. This is its only use in V. with a moral rather than a purely physical meaning; a likely echo in Tac. *Ann.* 6.49 *Sex. Papinius . . . repentinum et informem exitum delegit, iacto in praeceps corpore. informis* corresponds exactly to ἀσχήμων, used of hanging nooses in Eur. *Hel.* 299; that line seems to be an early interpolation, and was probably in V.'s text of Euripides. **trabe . . . ab alta:** cf. *Od.* 11.278 ἀφ' ὑψηλοῖο μελάθρου.

604–8 Alliteration of *a* runs throughout the lines, becoming most prominent in 606 *roseas laniata genas* (metrically stressed syllables underlined). The vowel has more emotive potential than non-Latin speakers might suppose; compare, e.g., Cicero's snarling *quem ad finem sese effrenata iactabit audacia?* (*Cat.* 1.1).

605 filia prima: the prominence given to Lavinia as principal mourner highlights her devotion to an impossible mother; it may also contribute to the impression of Latinus as overwhelmed by the event. V.'s picture of Lavinia leading the lament may lie behind Juvenal's description in 10.261–2 of the funeral Priam could have had if he had died while Troy still flourished, *ut primos edere planctus | Cassandra inciperet scissaque Polyxena palla.* **flauos:** a difficult but not particularly interesting textual crux. All MSS read *flauos*, but Servius states that the near-synonym *floros* was the 'antiqua lectio', calling it an item of Ennian diction, while the fuller note in Servius Auctus cites Valerius Probus to the effect that *flauos* was 'neotericum' and that *floros* was the better reading, because of the following *roseas . . . genas*; examples of *floros* are then given from Pacuvius and Accius. Probus apparently cited no manuscript, and *floros* could have been his own conjecture; its archaic flavour has no obvious function in the context, while *flauos* coheres well in both sound and image with its surroundings. If *floros* were found in at least one ancient manuscript its claims would be stronger, but the indirect Virgil tradition is not authoritative enough to tip the balance. Further discussion: in favour of *floros*, Timpanaro (1986) 99–112, Delvigo (1987) 81–96, arguing on the basis of a tragic colouring for the episode; cautiously in favour of *flauos*, Giancotti (1993) 123–47, but Giancotti (2006) 27–8 argues for suspending judgment.

605–6 crinis . . . genas: accs. after the middle participle *laniata*; see n. on 64–5 above (also describing Lavinia).

606 roseas: describing their natural state; cf. 65 above *ardentis . . . genas*, of Lavinia's blush. *roseus* suggests youthful beauty; cf. Catull. 55.12 *in roseis . . . papillis*, Hor. *Carm.* 1.13.2 *roseam ceruicem*. In 1.408 and 2.593 it is applied to Venus.

606–7 cetera . . . turba: either the rest of Amata's personal entourage, or more generally the women of the palace. *turba* is strictly speaking just a 'throng', but *furit* may activate the etymological link to ideas of turmoil or disturbance (see *OLD* 1).

607 resonant . . . aedes: the words carry a double backward reference, to the interior of Priam's palace as the Greeks break in (2.487–8), *penitus . . . cauae plangoribus aedes | femineis ululant*, and to Carthage reeling from the death of Dido

(4.667–8), *lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu* | *tecta fremunt, resonant magnis plangoribus aether.*

608–9 The slow rhythm of successive spondee-heavy lines (SSSS) reinforces the sense of shock and grief. See Introduction, pp. 40–1.

608 Also reminiscent of Carthage (4.666), *concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.* **infelix . . . fama** 'report of misfortune'; for the adjective in place of the gen. of the thing reported, cf. 3.246 *infelix uates*, 294 *incredibilis rerum fama*, 11.896–7 *saeuissimus . . . nuntius.*

609 demittunt mentes: a more expressive variant of the common *demittere animum/-os* (*OLD* s.v. *demitto* 11). The surrounding physical details may suggest that their faces as well as their spirits are downcast, a link Ovid makes explicit in *Met.* 7.133 *demisere metu uultumque animumque Pelasgi.* **it scissa ueste Latinus:** the picture is more pathetic than showing Latinus in the act of rending his garments; compare 5.685–6, of A. at the burning of his ships, *tum pius Aeneas umeris abscindere uestem* | *auxilioque uocare deos et tendere palmas.* The unemphatic *it* throws emphasis onto the manner of Latinus' action (*scissa ueste*); cf. 6.159 *it comes.*

610 coniugis . . . fatis urbisque ruina: a concluding summary of the narrative from 554 onward. **attonitus** 'stunned, dumbstruck'. Horsfall on 7.580 notes that the word often describes a response to divine intervention; Latinus may see his calamities as beyond human reckoning. **ruina:** V.'s narrative does not specify how far the attack on the city had progressed; the extreme view implied here expresses Latinus' outlook, as well as evoking memories of Troy (2.310, 465, 631).

611 For this gesture of mourning cf. 10.844 *canitiem multo deformat puluere* (Mezentius) with Harrison's n.; the ultimate model is Achilles mourning Patroclus in *Il.* 18.23–4. Here the wording emphasizes Latinus' complete degradation (*immundo, turpans*). Ovid had our passage in mind when describing Oeneus after the suicide of his wife Althaea, *Met.* 8.529–30 *puluere canitiem genitor uultusque seniles* | *foedat humi fusus* (~ *perfusam*). **perfusam . . . turpans:** = *canitiem turpat puluerem perfundendo*; cf. Catull. 64.224 *canitiem terra atque infuso puluere foedans.* **turpans:** elsewhere in V. only 10.832, of Lausus *sanguine turpantem comptos de more capillos.* The verb is stronger than the more common *foedans*: in Enn. *Sc.* 94 J. and Lucr. 1.85 it refers to the pollution of an altar; for its distribution see Williams on Stat. *Theb.* 10.437. Its effect is heightened by its final position in the sentence. Our passage is echoed in *Ciris* 284 *multo deturpat puluere crines.*

612–13 After 611, some ninth-century MSS insert 11.471–2 (Latinus) *multaque se incusat, qui non acceperit ultro* | *Dardanium Aenean generumque ascinerit urbi* (replacing *ultro* with *ante* and *urbi* with *ultro*); the lines were so printed in early editions and thus found their way into the conventional numbering system, but they are rightly excised by modern editors. Mackail suggests that they may have been added to avoid ending the sentence with the participle *turpans*; Servius on 3.300 says that ending a line with a participle is rare in Latin, and 'uitiosissimum' in Greek.

614–696 Turnus rejects Juturna's efforts to protect him; learning of the city's plight, he rushes to meet Aeneas

In this crucial passage, as at the beginning of the book, the focus is fully on T. The structure of the section is once again bipartite (614–49, 650–96), and in each half T. is addressed and responds. More specifically, in each half T. becomes aware of the danger to the city, and resolves to return. Saces' report answers the questions posed by T. in 620–1 and increases the pressure on him to come to the relief of the city. But since even before Saces appears we have seen T. make the essential choice to die well, his decision appears truly his and not simply a concession to the demands of others. The section contains T.'s noblest moment in the poem; as he recognizes and embraces his destiny, he attains – if only for a time – the stature of a genuinely tragic hero; cf. 632–49, 680 with nn.

Although T. remains at the centre of the narrative, three mentions of A. track the progress of the episode: he is named at 628 in Juturna's false reading of the situation and in 654 in Saces' true account, and then by T. himself at 678, when he plainly states his intention *stat conferre manum Aeneae*. By the end of the section the *foedus* has been effectively reinstated (695) and the duel between A. and T. can take place.

The scene parallels the opening of *Iliad* 18, where Achilles infers from the rout of the Achaeans that Patroclus has died, and Antilochus then arrives to announce the fact. Patroclus' fatal intervention was prompted by the Trojans' attacking the Greek ships with fire (*Il.* 16.112–29), which has its counterpart in the Trojan assault with fire on Latinus' city.

614–16 The initial picture of T. is almost cruel in depicting his paltry efforts on a remote corner of the field. Although presumably it is Juturna who keeps T. away from the centre of action, she is not mentioned until 623, when the episode is well under way. T. thus seems responsible for his present situation, as well as for the decision to change course.

614 extremo . . . in aequore: matched by 664 below *deserto . . . in gramine.* **bellator:** the word has an archaic flavour, probably Ennian, as suggested by Horsfall on 11.553. Livy uses it only in the first decade, see Oakley on 6.23.5. Here its grandiloquent tone is heavily ironic.

615 palantis . . . paucos: compare Ovid's Paris in *Met.* 12.600–1, whom Apollo sees *rara per ignotos spargentem . . . Achiuos | tela.* **palantis:** grander than *errantis*, 'perhaps Ennian' (Horsfall on 11.734), and a Livian favourite (65 appearances); V., like Lucretius, uses only the participle. Another elevated term used to mock T.'s actions. **segnior:** contrast A.'s orders to his men, 566 above *neu quis . . . segnior ito*; here the comparative is used literally, to contrast T.'s present torpor with his former energy. Slackness (*segnitia*) is disgraceful in a soldier (cf. 2.373–4), even more so in a commander; cf. Damon on Tac. *Hist.* 1.33.1.

615–16 atque | iam minus atque minus: the near-juxtaposition of instances of unelided *atque* is unique in V. and perhaps in all of Latin poetry;

the unusual rhythm may suggest T.'s flagging spirits. For *atque* at line end see on 355 above.

616 minus . . . equorum: the wording and the overall focus of the passage suggest that the emphasis is on T.'s deriving less pleasure from his horses' performance than usual rather than on the horses giving him less reason for satisfaction.

617–21 Several words in these lines recall details from the earlier narrative, forming a verbal equivalent of the faint echo of fighting that T. hears: 617 *caecis* ~ 591 *caeco*; 618 *clamorem* ~ 600 *clamat* (also 607 *plangoribus*); 619 *sonus* ~ 592 *sonant*, 607 *resonant*; *murmur* ~ 591 *murmure*; 620 *turbantur* ~ 556 *turbaret*, 599 *turbata*; *moenia* ~ 579, 585; *luctu* ~ 594; 621 *clamor*, as in 618.

A more remote echo is produced by several details that parallel 2.298–317, when the sounds of the sack of Troy reach A.'s ears: 618/621 *clamorem/clamor* ~ 313 *clamor*; *arrectas . . . aures* ~ 303 *arrectis auribus*; 619 *confusae sonus urbis* ~ 301 *clarescunt sonitus*; 620 *turbantur moenia luctu* ~ 298 *miscentur m. l.*; 622 *amens* ~ 314.

617 hunc 'the one recently mentioned'; the usage seemed sufficiently odd to prompt the variant *huc* in some later MSS, but *huc* would be redundant with *illi*. The juxtaposition *hunc illi* mirrors the meeting of the sound and T. **caecis terroribus** 'terrors with no clear cause'; for *terror* as that which causes fear, cf. Lucr. 5.1307 *discordia . . . belli terroribus addidit augmen*. For the sense of *caecus* (*OLD* 10) cf. Columella 1.5.6 *caeci morbi, quorum causas ne medici quidem perspicere queunt*.

618–19 arrectasque impulit auris . . . sonus: *arrectae aures*, perhaps introduced by V. into high poetry, usually describes straining to hear a distant or indistinct sound, as in 1.152, 2.303; here, for greater intensity, V. combines it with the violent *impulit*, for which cf. *G.* 4.349 *maternas i. aures* | *luctus Aristaei*, Stat. *Theb.* 5.554–5 *Argolicas ululatus flebilis aures* | *i.* The use of vigorous language to describe sound striking the ears goes back to Plautus' *tundere* and *obtundere*; Ennius introduced *increpare*, Lucretius may have added *adficere* and *lacessere*, and Virgil *impellere* (perhaps based on Lucr. 1.303 [heat and cold] *sensus impellere possunt*), *occupare*, and *uulnerare*; see *TLL* 2.1511.17–1512.67.

619 inlaetabile: grand, and enhanced by litotes; in V. only here and 3.707 *inlaetabilis ora* (A. recalling the place of Anchises' death), possibly coined by him. The positive form *laetabilis* appears first in Cicero (several times in *Tusc.*) and then in Ovid (*Met.* 9.255). Stat. *Theb.* 3.706 *inlaetabile munus* points back to our passage by its use of a similar-sounding noun.

620 The absence of an introductory speech formula speeds up the tempo and underscores the immediacy of T.'s reaction. **turbantur moenia luctu:** cf. 2.298, as the noise of Troy's sack reaches A., *diuerso* (~ *diuersa* 621) *interea miscentur moenia luctu* (note also 301 *armorum . . . ingruit horror* ~ 628 *ingruit Aeneas*).

621 ruit . . . clamor: cf. 9.474 *nuntia Fama ruit*, 11.448 (*nuntius*) *ruit* with Horsfall's n. **diuersa** 'far off' (*OLD* 4), cf. *Bell. Alexandrinum* 42.4 *diversissima parte orbis terrarum*, Ovid, *Tr.* 1.3.19 *nata procul Libycis aberat diuersa sub oris*. Servius Auctus took *diuersa* as either a hypallage for *diuersus clamor* or as denoting

noise coming from different parts of the city, but neither interpretation seems likely.

622 adductisque . . . habenis 'pulling short the reins' (*OLD* s.v. *adduco* 11b), cf. Livy 9.10.7 *quin tu . . . adduces lorum?*, figuratively Cic. *Amic.* 45 *commodissimum esse quam laxissimas habenas habere amicitiae, quas uel adducas, cum uelis, uel remittas.* Comms. explain that T. is seizing the reins from Juturna, but the absence of a clearer indication is remarkable. **amens:** a surprisingly strong reaction. The word is used several times of T.: 7.460 (maddened by Allecto), 10.681 (contemplating suicide), 742, 776 below (fear). In earlier books it described A., at Troy (2.314, 745) and Carthage (4.279, when ordered to depart).

623 huic . . . ut: the structure of the sentence resembles 488 above, but with *ut* postponed well into its clause.

624 currumque et equos et lora: the expansion and polysyndeton may suggest Juturna's control of the chariot's progress.

625 occurrit 'counters' him (*OLD* 6), cf. Cic. *De fato* 41 *illi rationi, quam paulo ante conclusi, sic occurrit* [sc. Chrysippus]: Juturna argues against the thought implicit in T.'s action, namely, that they should return to the city. Traina, following *TLL* 9.2.399.65, takes *occurrit* to mean 'anticipates' him.

625–30 The weakness of Juturna's argument is reflected in the flatness of her rhetoric (cf. 627, 629) and in the unconsciously ironic overtones of her language (see nn. on *Troiugenas* and *uiam . . . pandit* 626, *ingruit* 628, *recedes* 630).

625 hac: adverbial, 'this way, in this direction', explained by *qua* in 626. **sequamur:** *sequor* of hostile pursuit, cf. 354, 380 above.

626 Troiugenas: the elevated term is elsewhere used by A. in an honorific address to Helenus (3.359) and in a formal introduction to Evander (8.117). In Lucr. 1.464–5 *bello . . . subactas | Troiugenas gentis* and Catull. 64.355 *Troiugenum infesto prosternet corpora ferro* (Achilles) it appears in contexts where the Trojans are defeated; is Juturna trying to relive those past victories through allusion? **qua . . . pandit:** the thought appears to be that they have already enjoyed success in this part of the battlefield and should therefore continue to exploit that advantage, but the expression falls short in clarity and vigour. **prima:** quasi-adverbial. **uiam . . . pandit:** cf. 6.96–7 *uia prima salutis . . . Graia pandetur ab urbe*; there may be an unconscious echo of *pandere portas* in 584 above.

627 For the thought cf. *Il.* 13.312, where Idomeneus assures Meriones that there are others able to defend the ships against Hector's attack. Juturna's assertion is false, as Saces' report will reveal (see 661–4), and her words are noticeably lacking in colour. **manu:** = *fortiter*, again in 629, see Sen. *Agam.* 355, 515 with my nn. 'The colourful addition of *manu* to emphasize personal effort is a mannerism of Virgil's which amounts to a cliché, especially in the second half of the poem' (Fordyce on 7.621); even so, its appearance twice in three lines is probably an indication of rhetorical failure on Juturna's part.

628–9 Juturna's suggestion that T. wage a campaign parallel to that of A. is more clearly conveyed by a colon or semicolon after *miscet* than by the comma of the OCT and Teubner texts.

628 ingruit Aeneas: see n. on 284 above. *ingruere* of a single warrior rather than a body of soldiers is rare, cf. Tac. *Hist.* 3.34.1 *ingruente . . . Hannibale*, *Ann.* 15.3.1 *ingruente Vologaese* (both perhaps indebted to our passage); the possible implication – one not intended by Juturna – is that A. alone is as formidable as an army. For that motif in an explicit form, cf. 7.707 *agmen agens Clausus magnique ipse agminis instar.* **miscet:** *proelia miscere* is elsewhere in V. used with a plural subject and has the sense 'to join battle'; cf. 10.23, *G.* 2.282–3, 3.220, and compare *uulnera miscent* 720 below, where the sense 'exchange' is prominent. With a singular subject, as here, the sense is probably 'to stir up battle'; cf. Tib. 1.3.64 *assidue proelia miscet Amor*, Livy 41.19.4 *miscente Perseo inter Dardanos Bastarnasque certamina*, Ovid, *Met.* 5.156 *renouata . . . proelia miscet*. In Silius, *proelia* (*pugnas*, *certamina*) *miscere* becomes a cliché for 'fight'; see 1.69, 4.253, 5.302, 9.330, 12.394.

629 mittamus 'inflict' (~*inferre*), see *TLL* 8.1170.66–1171.3, where our passage is not cited. C–N compare *G.* 4.534 *exitium misere apibus*, cf. also Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.2–3 *satis terris niuis atque dirae | grandinis misit pater*, Sil. 4.78–9 *scire libet, noua nunc nobis atque altera bellum | Carthago, anne eadem mittat, quae* etc.

630 'When you are done, your score of killings and | your glory will match his' (Mandelbaum). *inferior* is to be taken with both *numero* and *honore*, and with *numero* understand either *funerum* from *funera* in the previous line, or more generally 'victims, conquests'. Juturna aims to present A. and T. as equals, but her use of the double negative *nec inferior* allows the combination *inferior pugnae* to be felt as an ironic subtext. **pugnae . . . honore:** 'battle honors' (Fagles); the gen. specifies the sphere within which the honour is won; compare, e.g., *gloria belli* in Livy (e.g. 1.31.8, 2.43.11) and Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.27.1). The phrase *honos pugnae* also occurs in 5.365, where *honos* has the sense 'prize' and *pugna* refers to a boxing match. **recedes:** Juturna means the word as a synonym for *discedes*, to depart at the end of an engagement or a day's fighting, but the ironies that dog her speech suggest the more common meaning 'retreat', following a reverse, cf. 11.653 *si quando in tergum pulsa recessit*, Livy 6.28.4 *hostes a moenibus recessere.*

631 The only unquestionably incomplete line in the book; see on 218 above for another possible case. Several other incomplete lines are found immediately before or after a speech; the closest parallel is 10.580 *cui Liger*, cf. also 3.527, 5.653, 8.469, 9.295, 10.17, 490. In such cases V. had probably worked out the previous and following sections, leaving the transition in a rudimentary form. On incomplete lines in general see Austin on 6.94, Fordyce on 7.129 (both with earlier bibliography). A completion for this line (*humili respondet talia uoce*) was cited by Heinsius from a Leiden MS; on other ancient and medieval supplements for incomplete lines see Sparrow (1931) 46–9.

Metrically this represents the third most common form of incomplete line, breaking off after the arsis of the second foot (13 examples); the most frequent stopping-points are after the arsis of the third foot (18 examples) and after the arsis of the fourth foot (17 examples), corresponding to the two main caesurae of the hexameter; cf. Sparrow (1931) 27 (who includes 218 above, see n.).

632–49 T.'s speech marks a crucial stage in his presentation as a character. V.'s handling of the scene bears the hallmarks of Greek tragedy as analysed by Aristotle in the *Poetics*: T.'s recognition of Juturna (a literal ἀναγνώρισις, cf. *agnoui* 632) leads to an equally literal change of direction (περιπέτεια). The speech also shows careful attention to the Aristotelian category of ἦθος or character.

The central section of the speech (especially 634–45) displays the excited, self-dramatizing tone typical of T.'s rhetoric; compare in particular 10.668–79 (T. in a previous moment of crisis, also precipitated by a divine intervention to keep him safe). T.'s opening and closing lines show a markedly greater degree of self-possession and self-awareness. For rhetorical question(s) followed by *uidi*, Di Benedetto (1995) 58–9 compares the soliloquy of Andromache in Ennius' tragedy of that name (*Sc.* 81–94 J.); that parallel would cohere nicely with the previous alignment of T. with A. as he becomes aware of the sack of Troy (617–21).

632–4 T.'s first words are calm, almost gentle; as C–N remark of 635, 'T. speaks with the tenderness of a brother'.

632 o soror: previous addresses to a *soror* have a doom-laden character, cf. 4.682 (Anna to Dido), 11.823 (Camilla to Acca, not an actual sister), and a similar tone can be heard in T.'s words. **et dudum agnoui:** a remarkable admission, and a sign that T. is taking responsibility for his actions. **agnoui:** the verb suggests recognition of a specifically tragic type; see Hardie on 9.734–5. In this book cf. also 449, 869 for Juturna's recognition of A. returning to the battle and the approach of the Dira.

There is an echo of *Il.* 5.815 (Diomedes to Athena, whose displacement of the charioteer Sthenelos is the model for Juturna's action in 468–72 above), but Athena is not in disguise. Gods who appear to mortals are often recognized only on their departure (e.g. Venus in 1.405–6, Iris in 9.16), so T.'s ability to recognize Juturna may suggest the closeness of their bond. **prima:** adverbial, in contrast with *nunc*; some comms. take it with *foedera*, but that gives an undesirable emphasis. **per artem** 'through a trick' (*OLD* 3); see Horsfall on 7.477 for *ars* as a near-synonym for *dolus*.

633 teque . . . dedisti: cf. 227 *in medias dat sese acies*; the close verbal correspondence supports T.'s claim to have recognized Juturna at that time.

634 fallis dea 'you <try to> conceal your divinity', lit. 'you <try to> escape my notice as being a goddess', based on the Greek use of λανθάνω with a participle (= λανθάνεις θεὸς οὖσα); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.16.32 *fallit sorte beatior* with Nisbet–Rudd's n., and for *fallere* meaning 'escape the notice of' cf. 7.350 *fallit . . . furentem* with Horsfall's n.

634–5 sed . . . labores?: T.'s question is a more personal counterpart to V.'s own questions about the gods' purposes and motives. The echo of the first such passage in the poem, 1.9–11 *quid . . . dolens regina deum . . . | insignem pietate uirum tot adire labores | impulerit?*, supplies an implicit answer to T.'s question.

636 Traina compares *Il.* 1.202–3 (Achilles to Athena) 'why have you come now . . . ? Is it that you may see the outrageousness of the son of Atreus Agamemnon?' (τίπτ' αὖτ' . . . εἰλήλουθας; | ἦ ἵνα ὕβριν ἴδῃ Ἀγαμέμνονος Ἀτρεΐδαο;). For *an* introducing an indignant answer to a previous question, see *OLD* 2; the closest parallel in the poem is 4.325–6 (Dido) *quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater | destruat?* T. is ostensibly expressing concern for Juturna, but his rhetoric focuses attention on his own sorry state.

637 quid ago?: the indic. is a more vivid substitute for the deliberative subjunctive *agam*; cf. 4.534–5 (Dido) *en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores | experiar . . . ?*, 10.675-6 (T.) *quid ago? aut quae iam satis ima dehiscat | terra mihi?*, and for other examples cf. Fordyce on 7.359. Alternatively, *quid ago?* could be taken to mean 'what am I accomplishing?', but that sense does not cohere well with the questions that follow. **quae . . . salutem?:** a hypallage for *quam salutem iam Fortuna spondet?* Or should *quae Fortuna* be taken literally, referring, e.g., to T.'s personal Fortuna (as in 6.95–6 *contra audentior ito, | qua tua te Fortuna sinet*)? **spondet . . . salutem:** a variant of such expressions as 2.387–8 *Fortuna salutis | monstrat iter*, 11.128 *si qua uiam dederit Fortuna*, with Horsfall's n. **spondet:** stronger than, e.g., *praebet*; there may be something paradoxical in the notion of fickle Fortuna guaranteeing T.'s safety.

638–40 The death of Murranus was recounted in very different terms in 529–34, with no suggestion that T. was present. Servius thought that T. might be hallucinating as death approached, as happened with Dido (cf. 4.460–1 *hinc exaudiri uoces et uerba uocantis | uisa uiri*); that explanation seems improbable, but it calls attention to a real issue. Either the narrator presented an edited account that T. here corrects from first-hand knowledge, or – as seems more likely – T. is describing the event as he believes it must or should have happened; in particular having Murranus invoke T. as he dies would flatter T.'s sense of importance and add to his consciousness of failure.

638 The accumulation of first-person referents places emphasis on T. rather than Murranus.

638–9 me uoce uocantem | Murranum: for the *figura etymologica* in *uoce uocantem* see on 483 above. The pathetic image is recalled and inverted in 759, where T. calls on each of the Rutulians by name pleading for assistance (*nomine quemque uocans*).

639 quo . . . alter 'than whom no one alive is dearer to me'. V. is fond of comparisons in this form; cf. 1.544–5 *quo iustior alter | nec pietate fuit*, 6.164 *quo non praestantior alter*, 7.649 and 9.179 *quo pulchrior alter | non fuit*, 772 *quo non felicior alter*. Here *superat* for *est* introduces a more pathetic tone. T. does not elsewhere speak so warmly of another person; his words recall Achilles' lament for Patroclus

(*Il.* 18.81): 'Patroclus, whom I loved above all other companions' (Πάτροκλος, τὸν ἐγὼ περὶ πάντων τῖον ἑταίρων).

640 oppetere: cf. 543 above, in the eulogy for Aeolus. T. appropriates the elevated term to dignify Murranus' death. **ingentem atque ingenti uulnere uictum:** corresponding to the Homeric κεῖτο μέγας μεγαλωστί (*Il.* 16.776), of Cebriones, whose death is the model for that of Murranus (see on 529–34 above). T. is restoring to Murranus the stature denied him by the narrator. The phrase previously appeared in 10.842, referring to Lausus; cf. also 11.641 *ingentem . . . animis, ingentem corpore et armis*. **uulnere uictum:** a Lucretian combination, cf. 5.1321 *uulnere uictos*, also at line end.

641–2 The death of Ufens was mentioned at 460 above, with no details. T. does not claim to have been present, but he again interprets the event in a way that directly involves him.

641 infelix: Gehring (2003) proposed *en felix*: Ufens' death was fortunate in that it spared him the sight of Turnus' shame; cf. 11.159 *felix morte tua neque in hunc seruata dolorem*, 416–18 (T. speaking) *ille mihi . . . fortunatus . . . qui, ne quid tale uideret, | procubuit moriens*. But the use of *en* seems strained, and taking *ne . . . aspiceret* as a clause of result is difficult. The illogicality of saying that Ufens died in order not to witness T.'s disgrace (as T. does in general terms in 11.416–18) is perfectly in keeping with T.'s self-absorbed view of events. **nostrum ne:** Traina (1996b) argues persuasively in favour of P's *nostrum ne* (adopted by Conte) against the more commonly attested *ne nostrum*. The greater emphasis placed on *nostrum* is one attraction of P's reading; another is the non-correspondence of ictus and accent in the fourth foot. **dedecus:** in V. only here and in 10.681 (T. again, *ob tantum dedecus amens*), 11.789; the word is archaic in flavour and possibly Ennian. T. is acutely sensitive to being seen as acting uncourageously; see nn. on 679–80 below.

642 Teucri . . . armis: nothing to this effect was said about Ufens, and it would be remarkable if his body alone of the defeated Latins had been seized and despoiled by the Trojans.

643 exscindine: a word with a history within the poem, used of Troy (2.177, 4.425), by Allecto of the peoples of A. and Latinus (7.316), and by T. himself of the Trojans (9.137). T.'s intuition that the city is threatened with destruction is soon confirmed by Saces, see 654–5. **id rebus defuit unum:** ironic use of *deesse* of that which is lacking to produce complete disaster (compare, in a lighter vein, Eng. 'that's all I needed'); possibly colloquial (as is suggested by Ovid, *Met.* 3.268, Juno complaining of Semele's pregnancy, *concipit; id deerat!*), but often found in oratory and rhetorically influenced prose, see *TLL* 5^1.785.37–786.7, Cic. *Verr.* 3.198 *haec deerat iniuria et haec calamitas aratoribus*, Sen. *Controu.* 1.2.2 *id enim deerat, ut templa reciperent quas aut carcer aut lupanar eiecit*, Woodman on Vell. Pat. 2.67.3. Our passage is recalled in Val. Fl. 3.294–5 *exstinguine mea (id fatis defuit unum) | speraui te posse manu?*

644 dextra . . . refellam?: there is a pointed echo of 16 above *solus ferro crimen commune refellam*: T. had earlier vowed to fight on behalf of his people and will soon renew that resolve (694–5), but at the moment he is concerned with his own standing. Alliteration of *d* expresses his scorn for Drances, and the opposition of *dextra* and *dicta* encapsulates T.'s view that Drances is all talk and no action (cf. 11.378–91). C–N noted the similarity to *Il.* 22.100–3, where Hector reflects that withdrawing inside the walls would draw the reproach of Polydamas, who had previously urged retreat.

645 T. widens the scope to take in not only his critic Drances but his whole land. Alliteration of *t* adds bite to his words: Fitzgerald renders *terga dabo* as 'shall I turn tail?' **Turnum fugientem haec terra uidebit?:** the personification recalls its counterpart in 542 above, Aeolus' noble death witnessed by the *Laurentes campi*. T. answers his question in the negative at 679–80 *neque me indecorem, germana, uidebis | amplius*, but later events supply a different response: 758–9 *ille simul fugiens Rutulos simul increpat omnes . . . notumque efflagitat ensem*, cf. also 936–7 *uictum tendere palmas | Ausonii uidere.*

646 usque . . . est? 'is it really so dreadful to die?' With this tremendous question T. breaks out of his melodramatic harangue and, in a moment of recognition, confronts his fear of death. The phrase became a familiar tag: according to Suetonius, one of Nero's entourage quoted it as the surrounded emperor desperately tried to leave Rome (*Nero* 47). There is a clear echo in Lucan 1.366 *usque adeo miserum est ciuili uincere bello?*, Quintilian (*Inst.* 8.5.6) cited it to illustrate the greater power of the interrogative form compared to a declarative *mors misera non est*, and for Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.16.6) it was one of the Virgilian phrases that had attained proverbial status; on its use by Tertullian see Freund (2000) 73–4. Given the other links between T. and Sophocles' Antigone (cf. 19–21, 680), it is perhaps worth citing Antigone's declaration that death has no pain for her, 465–6 οὕτως ἔμοιγε τοῦδε τοῦ μόρου τυχεῖν | παρ' οὐδὲν ἄλγος. **usque adeone:** *usque adeo* elsewhere in V. only in *Ecl.* 1.12, *G.* 4.84; popular with Lucretius (37 uses), but never in a question. **miserum:** stronger than 'pitiable', closer to 'grievous, terrible', cf. *Bell. Alexandrinum* 41.2 *supplicia . . . morte . . . miseriora.* For the combination *mors misera* cf. *inc. inc. trag.* 203 R^2 *mors misera non est, aditus ad mortem est miser.* **uos o:** for *o* postponed after *uos* cf. 1.735, 2.638, 10.676; here the postponement gives greater emphasis to *uos* (= *Manes*), in contrast to the hostile *superi*. Dickey (2002) 225–9 speculates that Ennian practice may help to account for the frequent use of *o* in Latin high-style poetry (107 examples in *Aen.*). **Manes:** the gods of the Underworld, cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.138 *carmine di superi placantur, carmine Manes*; but as WF 116 noted, the *di inferi* of particular interest to T. would be the spirits of his ancestors, the *magni aui* of 649.

647 quoniam . . . auersa: T. takes another step toward full awareness of his situation, the point reached in 895 below *di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis.* **superis:** nearly = gen. *super(or)um.*

648 The line is metrically anomalous: either *anima* has to be scanned with a final long syllable and in hiatus with *atque*, or *istius* has to be scanned as three long syllables, with the final syllable lengthened even though it does not have the metrical ictus. Of those choices the first seems preferable: (a) if the metrical oddity is meant for emphasis, a pause after *sancta ad uos anima* is much more effective than a stressed *istius*; (b) the position of *anima*, before the third-foot caesura, is one where 'irrational' lengthening of short syllables is not uncommon, accounting for more than half of the instances in V. (29 of a possible 57; cf. Fordyce on 7.174 for discussion). Some later MSS read *nescia* for *inscia*, an obvious attempt to repair the metre. Among the proposed conjectural solutions the one most deserving consideration is Housman's *sancta atque istius ad uos anima inscia culpae*, favoured by Trappes-Lomax (2004) 144, but the word order is unconvincing. Conte tentatively suggests *sancta ad uos anima, en, atque istius inscia culpae*, comparing Sil. 2.678–9 *tibi ego haec . . . | ad manes, en, ipsa fero.* **sancta:** emphatic by placement, and defined by *istius inscia culpae*: T.'s spirit is undefiled by the guilt of cowardice. *sanctus* is thus more than an epithet of the honoured dead, for which cf. 5.80, 603, Horsfall on 11.158. Seneca, recalling Cato the Younger's suicide, speaks of *illam sanctissimam animam indignamque quae ferro contaminaretur* (*Prou.* 2.11). **istius . . . culpae:** referring to the behaviour in 643–5; if *istius* carries the implication 'that *culpa* of yours', it would allude to Juturna's role in encouraging T. to avoid A. **inscia:** according to *TLL* 7.1.1843.6, the first use of *inscius* in the sense *innocens*; *inscia* contrasts with *conscia uirtus* in 668.

649 descendam: comms. compare Dido's words at 4.654, *et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.* **haud umquam indignus:** litotes for a stronger effect than, e.g., *semper dignus*; Traina compares 11.441 *haud ulli ueterum uirtute secundus.* The negative form also reflects T.'s need to disprove any charge of lack of valour. **indignus auorum:** V. may have originated the gen. with *indignus* on the basis of its use with *dignus*; the innovation did not catch on, but our passage was echoed by Sil. 8.383–4 *auis pollens nec dextra indignus auorum | Scaeuola.*

T.'s wish to prove himself worthy of his ancestors is a quintessentially Roman trait. Propertius' Cornelia, recently arrived in the Underworld, exhibits a similar concern. Her speech ends with a probable echo of T.'s words (4.11.99–100): *sim digna merendo | cuius honoratis ossa uehantur auis.* (*auis* is Heinsius' emendation for the manuscript readings *aquis* and *equis*; the Virgilian parallel may give it some additional support.) See also Oakley on Livy 7.10.3.

650 Vix ea fatus erat: an accelerating transition formula, found six times in this form and five times in variants (*uix ea f. eram, uix ea dicta, uix ea*). It is usually followed by *cum inuersum* or another connective (e.g. *-que, denique*), but here for greater immediacy the main verb is introduced paratactically with *ecce*; cf. 3.90 *uix ea f. eram: tremere omnia uisa repente*, 319 above.

650–1 medios . . . Saces: rapid rhythm and pounding consonants depict Saces' approach.

650 uolat: perhaps recalling Juturna's speed in keeping T. from harm, 477–8 above *medios Iuturna per hostis | fertur equis rapidoque uolans obit omnia curru.*

651 Saces: this is his only appearance in the poem.

651–2 aduersa . . . ora 'struck full in the face with an arrow'; *aduersa . . . ora* either accusative of respect with *saucius*, or retained acc. with *saucius* understood as equivalent to a perfect pass. part. such as *uulneratus* (cf. on 5 above *saucius . . . pectus*). *aduersa* contrasts with 485 above, of Juturna's evasive tactics, *auersos . . . currus Iuturna retorsit.* **aduersa:** the detail recalls the use of *aduersus* of honourable wounds, received while facing the enemy; see *OLD* 5, Sall. *Cat.* 61.3 *ut cicatrices . . . aspicerent aduerso corpore exceptos.* Saces was actively engaged in the fighting when wounded.

652 ruitque: Saces is the embodiment of the *clamor* that T. has heard (621 *quis . . . ruit . . . clamor ab urbe*), and his speech will cause T. to rush back to the city (682 *ruit*, 690). **implorans nomine Turnum:** to be the focus of attention is both T.'s desire and his greatest fear; cf. nn. on 638–40, 656–7.

652–3 Turnum: | Turne: Wills (1996) 345–6 notes that it is a common Homeric device to name the addressee of a speech in the preceding line and for the speaker to begin with the vocative of the addressee, cf. e.g. *Il.* 12.408–9 κέκλετο . . . Λυκίοισιν· | ὦ Λύκιοι. V. has only two examples, of which the other is much less marked, 5.387–9 *hic grauis Entellum dictis castigat Acestes | . . . | 'Entelle'.* The repetition underscores the urgency of Saces' plea, and also perhaps his bluntness; Servius thought it was remarkable for an inferior to address his superior simply by name.

653–64 Saces' speech is a highly effective composition, unlike Juturna's compromised effort at persuasion. V. alludes to its power in describing T.'s reaction, *uaria confusus imagine rerum* 665: Saces sketches a series of vivid pictures (= *uariae imagines*), shrewdly emphasizing what will have the deepest impact on T. Another reason for Saces' success is that his appeal makes explicit what T. at some level already knows, both about the danger to the city and his own present uselessness. Although his speech is in formal terms a messenger speech, Saces is more direct and more concerned to produce a response than the typical Greek tragic messenger.

Saces' speech is the model for Stat. *Theb.* 9.156–65, where Tisiphone disguised as Halys lures Hippomedon away from defending the body of Tydeus with a false report of danger elsewhere on the battlefield.

653 in te suprema salus: compare Amata's more emotive appeal in 57–9 above. There could be a hint in *suprema* of the word's association with the dying and the mourned dead, cf. 3.689, 6.735, 11.25–6, 61, 76. In narrative terms *suprema* alludes to the approaching end of the poem, cf. 803 *uentum ad supremum est.* **miserere tuorum:** Drances had made the same appeal to T. in 11.365, with a sneering tone; in Saces' mouth it has its full emotional value, but still implies that T. is not showing mercy as he ought (as in Dido's appeal to A., 4.318–19 *miserere domus labentis et istam | . . . exue mentem*). There may be an echo of

Il. 22.82 (μ' ἐλέησον), where Hecuba begs Hector not to meet Achilles. These appeals for mercy culminate in T.'s last speech, 934 below. **tuorum** 'your people', for whom T. ought to feel responsibility; another term that reappears in the final scene, cf. on 947 *meorum*.

654–6 Saces' first vignette is a potent summary of the threat to the city, which accurately conveys A.'s stated intention to destroy it (cf. 567–9) and the hurling of fire at the walls (cf. 596).

654 In word order and in the position of A.'s name, the line balances 628 *ingruit Aeneas . . . miscet*; Saces' use of two verb-framed lines in succession matches the frequency of that pattern in the direct narrative (569, 575, 577). The framing pattern with future participles is rare: this is the only example in the book; it may suggest A.'s repeated threats, given *excisurum urbem minitans* in 762. **fulminat:** used by V. of someone other than Jupiter only here and *G.* 4.560–1 *Caesar* (i.e. Octavian) *dum magnus ad altum | fulminat Euphraten*. The link between A. and Jupiter becomes even stronger in the final scene, cf. e.g. 922–3 below. The use of the verb is a development from *fulmen belli*, of Scipio (Lucr. 3.1042) or the Scipios (*Aen.* 6.842), probably an Ennian inheritance; cf. Skutsch (1968) 145–50.

654–5 summas . . . arces: the phrase recalls the destruction of Troy, cf. 2.615–16 *iam summas arces Tritonia . . . Pallas | insedit*. Its reappearance in 698 below confirms the truth of Saces' report.

655 deiecturum: understand *se*, as in 762 below *excisurum urbem minitans*; the reflexive is often omitted with verbs of promising or threatening, even in formal prose, cf. Livy 6.17.6 *refracturos . . . carcerem minabantur*, and see Fordyce on 8.534. **Italum:** gen. pl., cf. 6.92, 8.513, 10.41, 109; V. does not use the full form *Italorum*. Saces speaks of Latinus' city as if it were a national capital; see next n. 'Italian citadels' might also remind a Roman reader of more recent events, such as the siege of Perusia (see Thomas (1998) 297). **excidioque daturum:** another elevated expression for 'destroy' using *dare*; cf. *dare leto* 328 above, with n. Elsewhere in *Aen.* V. uses *excidium* only of Troy (2.643, 10.46) and Carthage (1.22).

656–7 in te . . . referunt: closely corresponding to T.'s perception in 2–3 above (*uidet*) *sua nunc promissa reposci*, | *se signari oculis*; the echo is reinforced by the doubled phrases in anaphora and the parallelism *in te*, *in te* ~ *sua . . . promissa*, *se* (also perhaps *reposci* and *referunt*). **Latini . . . Latinus:** for repetition of the same or similar words at succcessive line ends cf. Wills (1996) 422; V. has seven examples in *Ecl.* as against eleven in *Aen.* Here the effect does not seem particularly pointed.

657–8 What Saces says about Latinus is not vouched for by the previous narrative, but is not in itself implausible. Any questioning of T.'s status as Latinus' son-in-law would affect him powerfully; cf. 48–53 above.

657 mussat: a colourful verb favoured by Ennius, cf. *Ann.* 168, 327–8, 435 Sk., *Sc.* 372 J.; it appears four times in *Aen.*, in two pairs, 11.345 and 454 (both times of the disgruntled Latins), and here and 718 below in a simile, where it

again refers to the future, there as seen by the prospective subjects of A. or T. In both appearances in this book the verb governs an indirect question, as in Enn. *Ann.* 327–8 *expectans si mussaret* [i.e. the legion] *quae denique pausa | pugnandi fieret*; in each case the meaning is something like 'wonder grumblingly', implying that the answer to the question is unclear or potentially unpleasant. The verb is usually applied to the powerless or the ruled, who lack the ability to complain openly; its use of Latinus – highlighted by the juxtaposition of *mussat* and *rex ipse* – is another sign of his lack of control. Cf. also Lucr. 6.1179 *mussabat medicina*, where medicine is powerless to control the plague, and n. on *mutas* in 397 above.

658 quos . . . generos, quae . . . foedera: strictly speaking, Latinus' choice is between two potential sons-in-law and treaty partners; comms. therefore say that *quos* and *quae* are here used in place of *utrum* ('which of two'); but Latinus has previously used the plural *generi* in similar contexts, cf. 7.98 (quoting the oracle of Faunus) *externi uenient generi*, 270 *generos externis adfore ab oris*; cf. also 11.105, where the Latin ambassadors ask A. to spare the enemy dead, 'once called hosts and fathers-in-law', *hospitibus quondam socerisque uocatis*. A plausible explanation is that, once A. (or T.) married Lavinia, other marriages between the Latins and the groom's people would follow. See also on *conubiis* 821 below. **sese . . . flectat:** the metaphor is probably from steering a chariot, cf. 1.156, 10.577, *OLD* 5, but it hardly suggests firmness of purpose or direction.

659–60 Saces again describes events in terms that will make the strongest impression on T., by stressing Amata's complete reliance on him. His account features the same plangent alliteration of *a* as in 603–8 above.

659 tui fidissima 'who placed all her trust in you'. The gen. is objective; Servius Auctus glossed it as *tui amantissima*, and that sense is confirmed by Amata's statement in 57–8 *spes tu nunc una, senectae | tu requies miserae*. The other possible sense, 'who was most loyal to you' (so *OLD* 1), would not offer the same implicit explanation for her suicide.

659–60 dextra . . . sua: Saces avoids any mention of hanging ('ut laquei absconderet dedecus', Servius Auctus), and instead makes the cause of Amata's death sound like a self-inflicted wound; like T. (see on 640), Saces aims to confer dignity on characters treated unsympathetically by the narrator.

660 lucemque . . . fugit: less self-possessed than, e.g., *lucem relinquere* of Dido (4.452) and Mezentius (10.855), or *lucem abrumpere* of Dido (4.652). Such expressions ultimately derive from the Homeric λείψειν φάος ἠελίοιο, *Il.* 18.11. **exterrita:** recalling Dido (4.450–1), *fatis . . . exterrita Dido | mortem orat.*

661–2 soli . . . acies: the slow rhythm and weighty sounds suggest the strain of the holding action at the gates.

661 Messapus et acer Atinas: Messapus was last seen at 550 above, in the midst of the fighting; *acer Atinas* was named at 11.869, fleeing after the death of Camilla. Some late manuscripts (cited as '*recc.*' by Geymonat) substituted Asilas (Messapus' partner in 550) for Atinas, but there is no reason to doubt the older manuscripts.

662 sustentant: *sustentare aciem/s* can mean 'to hold off the enemy's line' or 'to sustain one's own troops' (e.g. keep them from fleeing); here the emphatic *soli* points toward the first meaning. Compare 11.872–3 *nec quisquam instantis Teucros . . . | sustentare ualet telis* (where *nec quisquam* includes Atinas). Tac. *Ann.* 1.65.6 *Caecina dum sustentat aciem* suggests that he may have understood *sustentant* in our passage in the second sense. If *sustantant* is felt as a frequentative, it throws even more emphasis on the valiant resistance mounted by Messapus and Atinas.

662–4 circum . . . uersas: Saces' description of the fighting builds toward a climax of powerful sounds and images, set against a devastating picture of T. driving his chariot about in a deserted field.

663–4 strictis . . . ferrea: in Homer troops of soldiers 'bristle' with shields and armour, cf. *Il.* 4.281–2 φάλαγγες (~ *phalanges* 662?) . . . ἀσπίσι καὶ κορύθεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσι πεφρικυῖαι, 7.62; Apollonius Rhodius described the field where the sown men sprang up as 'bristling' (3.1355 φρῖξεν), activating the comparison of weapons to waving ears of wheat; Ennius used *horrere* and *horrescere* of weapons, armed soldiers, and the battlefield, cf. *Varia* 14 *sparsis hastis longis campus splendet et horret*, *Ann.* 267 Sk. *horrentia tela*, with Skutsch's n. V. blended those models to produce a series of original variations on the theme; cf. *G.* 2.142 *nec galeis densisque uirum seges horruit hastis*, *Aen.* 345–6 *ferrea . . . telorum seges*, 7.525–6 *atraque late | horrescit strictis seges ensibus*, 11.601–2 *ferreus hastis | horret ager*. See further Nelis (2001) 298–302, Horsfall on 7.525–6, Thomas on *G.* 1.314, Lyne (1989) 142–3.

664 ferrea: for enjambment of this type with verbs, see on 46 above *flectitur*; with other words, cf. 680, 764, 880, 895, 947, 951. Here the strong break after *ferrea* throws added emphasis onto Saces' scornful *tu*. **deserto:** stronger than *extremo* in 614 above, and in literal contradiction with *palantis sequitur paucos* in 615. **uersas:** possibly the first attested use of the verb of driving a vehicle (*OLD* 6), although Prop. 3.5.35 *serus uersare boues et plaustra Bootes* may be slightly earlier. Since *uersare* often describes a circular motion (cf. Catull. 64.314 *tereti uersabat turbine fusum*, Tib. 1.3.74 *uersantur celeri noxia membra rota*), there may be an implication that T. is driving his chariot in circles.

665–71 Since 614 the action has been carried forward by speeches, but at first T. finds himself unable to respond to Saces. Speeches that receive no immediate answer often mark a dramatic moment, cf. 2.287, 376, 9.377. This is clearly a critical juncture for T., but it is not as clear how to interpret his reaction. At one level his thoughts appear to move from confusion to clarity, especially at 669; but in 671 T. is still *turbidus*: he has not reached a resolution, only a sharper focus for his emotions. It is also not obvious how to assess the prior appearance of 666–7 in 10.870–1, describing Mezentius immediately before he confronts A. Some comms. emphasize points of similarity and thus see a foreshadowing of T.'s death, an effect comparable to the evocation of Camilla at T.'s actual death (952 below). But the differences are also noteworthy: Mezentius' feelings are not in conflict in the sense of preventing him from acting; his *pudor*, *insania* and *luctus* are all bound up with Lausus' death and are all motives spurring him to kill A.

In the case of T., V. seems to want to portray a collision of feelings so intense that it temporarily incapacitates him. I tentatively suggest that the lines fit T. better than they do Mezentius, and that other signs of incomplete revision in the book 10 passage make it seem likely that V. had not given it its final form.

665 obstipuit: elsewhere the verb describes a dumbstruck reaction to a speech (2.120, 8.121, 9.197, 11.120) or a sight (1.513, 613, 2.378, 560 *imago*, 774 *imago*, 3.298, 5.90, 404, 8.530, 9.123); here the stimuli are combined, since the product of Saces' speech is *uaria imago rerum*. **confusus:** the only other use in V. of mental confusion is of A. at the loss of Creusa, 2.735–6.

666 obtutu tacito stetit: strongly marked by alliteration and synaesthesia ('silent gaze'). *obtutus*, perhaps with some archaic colour (cf. Pacuvius 395 R^2 *quid med obtutu terres*), lends itself to sound-play, as in 1.495 (A. viewing the murals at Carthage) *haeret obtutuque stupet*; also of Latinus on hearing the Trojans' request to settle in Italy, 7.249–50 *defixa Latinus | obtutu tenet ora soloque immobilis haeret*. T.'s momentary speechlessness recalls his silent advance at the treaty ceremony, 219 *incessu tacito*. **aestuat:** *aestuare* of persons 'seething' with emotion is found in Republican prose (cf. Sall. *Cat.* 23.6 *pleraque nobilitas inuidia aestuabat*), but its application to the emotions themselves is first found in V. **ingens:** adj. with adverbial force.

667 uno in corde: together with *mixto*, the phrase calls attention to the presence of a variety of conflicting emotions, some positive or potentially so (*pudor*, *uirtus*) and others clearly not (*insania*, *furiae*). By contrast, in 7.461–2 T. when inflamed by Allecto experiences several emotions of a similar kind: *saeuit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli, | ira super*.

667 pudor: the shame of a warrior who is absent while his comrades are fighting bravely, cf. 10.397–8 (the retreating Arcadians rallied by Pallas) *Arcadas accensos monitu et praeclara tuentis | facta uiri mixtus dolor et pudor armat in hostis*. In *Il.* 6.441–5 Hector says that he would feel shame before the Trojans (442 αἰδέομαι Τρῶας καὶ Τρῳάδας) if he were to shrink from the fight. **insania:** probably war fervour, cf. 7.461 *insania belli*, 550 *insani Martis amore*, 9.760 *caedis . . . insana cupido*. **mixtoque . . . luctu:** *luctus* is probably T.'s grief at the death of Amata (so Traina); W. less plausibly takes it as 'intense grief . . . arising from the horrible consequences of his failure'. An even less likely explanation is grief at his own impending death, since T. is here reacting to the news brought by Saces.

668 furiis agitatus amor: T.'s love for Lavinia, 'whipped on by frenzy' (Mandelbaum) at the thought that he might lose her to A. (657–8). *Furiae* are often involved in acts of particular horror, like matricide in the case of Orestes (3.331 *scelerum furiis agitatus O.*), or parricide in that of Livy's Tullia (1.48.7) *amens agitantibus furiis sororis ac uiri . . . per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur*; but with T. they seem to denote part of his makeup; cf. 101 above *his agitur furiis*, 679 below. **amor:** the second syllable is lengthened at the arsis of the fourth foot, see on 13 above. **conscia uirtus:** *conscia* is usually explained as *conscia sibi*, 'a courage aware of its own worth' (M.); cf. 5.455 *pudor incendit uiros et conscia*

uirtus (implausibly categorized as 'consciously recognized' by *OLD* 3b). Taken in that way it would mark another stage in T.'s self-recognition; compare 10.907, where Mezentius receives the death blow *haud inscius*. Another possible meaning, which would cohere with T.'s other emotions, is 'guiltily aware', i.e. T.'s valour is aware of his failure to act in accord with it; cf. 10.679, where T. speaks of *conscia fama*, 'rumour that knows my shame'; see further *TLL* 4.373.4–42.

669 A slow-moving line (SSSS), dominated by dark vowels, depicting the gradual clearing of T.'s mind. **discussae umbrae:** a metaphorical application of Lucr. 4.315–16 *lucidus aer* | *qui . . . discutit umbras*, also 341, echoed in its literal sense at *G.* 3.357 *Sol pallentis haud umquam d. u.* The use of *umbra* for emotional disturbance is also Lucretian; cf. 3.303–4 (the calm temperament of oxen is not troubled by anger) *suffundens caecae caliginis umbram*, although *caligo* is more frequent in that sense, cf. Catrein (2003) 123. A similar metaphor may underlie Lucr. 4.997 (dogs dream of chasing stags) *donec discussis redeant erroribus ad se*. Yet another Lucretian link is 1.146–8 *hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necessest* | *non radii solis . . .* | *discutiant, sed naturae species ratioque*; there terror and darkness arise from fear of death, which is just what T. is now trying to dispel. For V.'s use of Lucretian language in relation to T., see n. on 887–918 below.

670–1 Mackail thought the lines might have been intended as alternatives, mainly because he found the juxtaposition of *orbis* and *rotae* unpleasing; whatever the case, the near-repetition *ad moenia – ad urbem* is highly effective in showing the direction T.'s thoughts now take.

670 ardentis . . . orbis: the adj. connotes intense excitement, and when applied to the eyes it often has overtones of the superhuman or the sinister: in Plaut. *Capt.* 594 *ardent oculi* is said of an apparent madman, in Enn. *Sc.* 32 J. and *Aen.* 2.405 of Cassandra, in 5.648 and *G.* 4.451 of divine beings, and in 2.210 *ardentis . . . oculos suffecti sanguine et igni* of the snakes who come for Laocoon and his sons; cf. also 101 above. Livy 7.33.17 depicts the war fervour of the Romans from the viewpoint of the Samnites as tinged with madness: *Samnites . . . oculos sibi Romanorum ardere uisos aiebant uesanosque uultus et furentia ora.* **oculorum orbis:** grand diction dramatizes the moment; La Cerda cites, e.g., Soph. *Ant.* 974 ὀμμάτων κύκλοις, cf. also Lucr. 3.410 *luminis orbem.* **torsit:** the counterpart of Juturna's swerving to keep T. from harm, 485 above *auersos . . . currus Iuturna retorsit.*

671 turbidus: emphatic by its enjambed position, cf. *feruidus* 951 below. The adj. described T. at the start of the book, 10 above, and will soon reappear in the rock simile, 685. **eque rotis:** = *e curru*, cf. 77 above *puniceis inuecta rotis Aurora*, *G.* 3.114 *rapidus . . . rotis insistere uictor*, Prop. 1.2.20 *auecta externis Hippodamia rotis.* **respexit:** literally 'looked back at', but the sense 'consider, have regard for' is also present; cf. 4.274–5 *spes heredis Iuli* | *respice*, 43 above *respice res bello uarias.*

672–5 These lines show the reader what T. sees as he turns back toward the city and suggest the effect the sight has on him: in particular the repetition of

turrim reflects T.'s close attachment to the tower, and the expansion in 674–5 traces his memories of building and outfitting it. 'T. seems to take the destruction of his own handiwork as an omen of coming doom' (C–N).

The tower belongs to the category of movable towers (*turres ambulatoriae*) described by Vegetius in his *Epitoma rei militaris* (4.17), probably written toward the end of the fourth century. The machines described by Vegetius were meant to allow besiegers of a city to approach the walls and attack the defenders from an elevated position, using bridges to cross from the tower into the city; a machine of that kind in the Trojan camp is set on fire by the Rutulians in 9.530–41. T.'s tower, however, must have been located inside the walls and moved to any point in the defences that required reinforcing; in that case the function of the bridges is not obvious. V. may have invented this object to recall the incident in book 9; there are furthermore recollections of the Trojans' attack on a *turris* at Troy (2.460–7). For links among the three episodes see Rossi (2004) 171–96, esp. 181–3. As a hollow wooden structure provided with wheels, the tower also recalls the Trojan Horse (cf. Paschalis (1997) 394–5); its destruction adds another detail to the inverted re-enactment of the Trojan War.

672–3 The word order follows T.'s gaze, with details gradually emerging and coalescing into the thought 'the tower is on fire' (*turrim . . . tenebat*).

672 Ecce autem: a mini-formula, found ten times in *Aen.*, always at the start of the line, and used to describe a sudden interruption or (as here) a surprising or disturbing sight. **tabulata:** the stories or levels of the tower (*OLD* 2), cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 6.29.3 *turrim tabulatorum quattuor*; of the tower at Troy, 2.463–4 *qua summa labantis* | *iuncturas tabulata dabant* ('where the stories at the top afforded joining-points that yielded', Austin ad loc.); *tabulas* in 9.537 are the planks of which the tower is built. In *G.* 2.361 *tabulata* is used of an *arbustum* trained into stories. **uolutus:** perf. part. of *uoluo*, with middle force and virtually present in meaning, 'rolling (itself)'; see Harrison on 10.403.

673 undabat: see on 471 above. **uertex:** a 'whirling column' of fire (*OLD* 1b), cf. Lucr. 6.297–8 *igneus ille* | *uertex quem patrio uocitamus nomine fulmen*, Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.11–12 (a kitchen fire) *sordidum flammae trepidant rotantes* | *uertice fumum*. *uolutus*, *undabat*, and *uertex* all describe a billowing, swirling motion, an effect reproduced by Silius in his imitation, 2.630–1 *qua turbine nigro* | *exundat fumans piceus caligine uertex*. **tenebat** 'was starting to engulf'; there is also perhaps an element of personification, by which the fire is compared to an army gaining possession of a city or position (*OLD* 9).

673–4 turrimque . . . turrim: Wills (1996) 145 registers 37 examples of such epanalepsis in V., 26 in *Aen.*: 'of all authors Greek or Latin it is Virgil who uses expansion most frequently'. This pattern, in which the repeated word occupies the fifth foot of one line and the first foot of the next, seems to have been reserved for pathetic effects, following Catullan precedent: cf. Catull. 64.321–2 *talia diuino fuderunt carmine fata,* | *carmine*, *Aen.* 2.405–6 *ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina frustra,* | *lumina*. Elsewhere in this book cf. 89–91, 546–7, 896–7. The present passage

resembles 89–91 in using expansion to dwell on T.'s close connection with an object, *ensem . . . | ensem quem Dauno ignipotens deus ipse parenti | fecerat.*

674 compactis trabibus: cf. Veg. 4.17.1 *machinamenta . . . ex trabibus tabulatisque compacta.* **eduxerat:** cf. 2.460–1 *turrim in praecipiti stantem summisque sub astris | eductam tectis.*

675 pontisque . . . altos: cf. 9.530 *turris erat uasto suspectu et pontibus altis*; *altus* refers to the position of the bridges on one of the upper stories of the tower. Vegetius 4.17.5 places the bridge *circa mediam . . . partem.* **instrauerat:** from *insterno*, of laying a floor or platform.

676–80 In content T.'s speech resembles that of Hector in *Il.* 22.296–305, who recognizes that death is near and resolves to perform some notable deed before he dies.

This brief speech is T.'s finest moment in the poem. His feeling for Juturna comes through strongly, and he speaks of meeting A. and of the likelihood of death without bitterness and without fear; his exhortation to 'follow where god and fortune call' has the ring of Stoic virtue. It is therefore all the more striking that T. ends by asking to be allowed to 'rage with this madness' (680 *hunc, oro, sine me furere . . . furorem*), which might appear to contradict his previous calm. T.'s final words, however, do not seem to mark a shift in tone. He speaks of *furor* matter-of-factly, aware that what he proposes to do is 'mad' in that it will lead to certain death. (Similarly Mackail: 'T. is conscious that he is doomed to fall, and that his acceptance of the single combat is therefore, if regarded in cold blood, mere madness.') In both sense and phrasing T.'s words recall Sophocles' Antigone, who, when rebuked by her sister Ismene for a senseless pursuit of the impossible, replies 'allow me and the folly that is mine to suffer this dreadful thing' (i.e. death), ἀλλ' ἔα με καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἐμοῦ δυσβουλίαν | παθεῖν τὸ δεινὸν τοῦτο (*Ant.* 95–6). The echo, which seems close enough to be intentional, gives tragic weight to T.'s moment of clearest self-awareness and also redefines the relationship between brother and sister, underscoring T.'s resolution and Juturna's timidity. At one level of explanation Juturna's protection of T. will be terminated by Jupiter and the Dira (cf. 843–86), but at another it ends here, at T.'s insistence.

It is tempting to see 676–80 as T.'s counterpart to A.'s earlier speech at 435–40, each of them the leave-taking of a loved one marked by Sophoclean allusion. If the speeches are so regarded, there can be no doubt as to which character receives the more moving words. T. does not maintain the composure of his lines in the final crisis, but neither does A.

A more sinister reading of T.'s words, in which he embraces *furor* as part of his nature, would make him the precursor of the Senecan *irati* for whom 'following nature' means indulging their passion; cf. Sen. *Med.* 953 *ira, qua ducis sequor* (a motif perhaps already present in Ovid's tragedy *Medea* and echoed in the perhaps non-Ovidian *Her.* 12.209 *quo feret ira sequar*).

676 iam iam: T.'s first words sound the doubling motif that runs through the speech, cf. 677 *quo . . . et quo*, 678 *stat . . . stat*, 680 *furere . . . furorem.* Wills (1996)

107 notes that *iam iam (que)* is particularly frequent in the final part of this book, cf. 754, 875, 940; a feeling of urgency is apt as the time to the conclusion grows shorter. **soror:** T.'s previous speech (632–49) began with the same address to Juturna but soon became self-absorbed; the changed tone of this speech is marked by its constant awareness of her (676 *absiste*, probably 677 *sequamur*, 679 *germana, uidebis*, 680 *oro, sine*). **fata . . . superant** 'the fates have the upper hand' (*OLD* 4), primarily a military usage. T. has been fighting a battle against fate that he now realizes he is losing; later (895) he will identify his opponent as Jupiter. **absiste morari:** formally resembles *absiste moueri* in 6.399, 11.408, but the latter is parenthetical, a dignified equivalent of 'don't get upset'; Vulcan's *absiste . . . indubitare* in 8.403–4 is also semi-colloquial, 'an excited anacolouthon' (Fordyce *ad loc.*). The inf. with *absisto* is first found in Livy 7.25.5; see Oakley ad loc. **morari:** the clarity with which T. speaks of Juturna's delaying tactic marks another moment of recognition for him. The understood object is probably *fata* or 'the workings of fate', less probably *me.*

677 The near-equation of a generalized *deus* and *fortuna*, together with the previous mention of *fata*, has a Stoic colouring: the Stoics saw *fatum* and *fortuna* as the manifestations of divine providence. T.'s *sequamur* alludes to the Stoic view that right living consists in 'following nature' (or fate, or god) in the sense of aligning one's actions with what nature requires; cf. Sen. *Prou.* 5.4 *boni uiri . . . non trahuntur a fortuna, sequuntur illam et aequant gradus*, *De vita beata* 15.5 *sequere deum*, *Epist.* 107.11 (translating Cleanthes) *ducunt uolentem fata, nolentem trahunt*, Edwards (1960). Elsewhere in the *Aeneid* such language is primarily associated with A.; cf. the advice given him by Nautes in 5.709 *quo fata trahunt retrahuntque sequamur*, or Venus' ironic offer to let him fend for himself in 10.49 *quacumque uiam dederit Fortuna sequatur.* Dido, however, before her death claims to have completed the course set by Fortuna, 4.653 *uixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi.* At 11.901 the narrator remarked that T.'s actions were called for by the divine will (*et saeua Iouis sic numina poscunt*); here T. is consciously attempting to conform to that will. **sequamur:** probably a true plural; T. is urging Juturna as well to accept what is fated.

678 stat: with *mihi* understood, 'it is my fixed intent', a construction first found in poetry in V.; see Austin on 2.750 *stat casus renouare omnis.* **conferre manum:** T.'s determination to 'do battle' undoes Juturna's previous efforts, cf. 480 *nec conferre manum patitur.* **Aeneae:** dat. after the compound vb. *conferre*; W. takes it as a 'poetic dative with verbs of fighting against', but that seems unnecessary. This is apparently the only example of a dat. with *conferre manum*; other occurrences of the phrase in poetry are absolute, while the prose idiom for specifying an opponent is *conferre manum cum aliquo.*

678–9 quidquid . . . pati 'to suffer in death all its bitterness' (C–N); *morte* must be understood both as a loose local abl. with *quidquid acerbi est* and as abl. of means with *pati.* (The punctuation of the OCT, with commas setting off *quidquid acerbi est*, is not helpful.) The phrase was found difficult in Antiquity, as is shown by Servius' fumbling explanations: T. is thinking of punishment in the Underworld,

or of possible mutilation of his body, or of something even more bitter than death. But T. need only be thinking of the bitterness of death itself, especially for one so young; cf. 6.429, where *acerbo* = *immaturo*, *OLD* 4. Servius understood *quidquid acerbi est* as defining a specific entity, but *quidquid* with the partitive gen. usually expresses totality, cf. Catull. 31.14 *quidquid est domi cacchinorum* ('all the laughter in the house'), 37.4 *quidquid est puellarum* ('all the girls'). Those examples suggest that the construction is basically colloquial. V.'s use of the humblest words to express the deepest feelings is here immensely powerful.

679–80 neque . . . amplius: the postponed *amplius* creates one of the most moving moments in the poem. Earlier T., in high rhetorical mode, had asked *Turnum fugientem haec terra uidebit?* (645); here he admits to the person dearest to him that he has indeed been acting dishonourably.

679 indecorem: cf. 11.423–4 (T. upbraiding the Latins) *cur indecores in limine primo | deficimus?* T.'s sensitivity to disgrace resembles Hector's, cf. *Il.* 22.304 μὴ μὰν ἀσπουδί γε καὶ ἀκλειῶς ἀπολοίμην ('let me at least not die without a struggle, inglorious'), cf. also n. on 667 *pudor.* **germana:** a term that suggests the closeness of brother and sister, cf. Dickey (2002) 263; elsewhere in contexts where Juturna's concern for T. is prominent, 152, 479 above, 872 below. It is frequent in exchanges between Dido and Anna, especially relating to D.'s death (4.478, 492, 501, 549, 675, 686), and is used to underline the un-fraternal behaviour of Dido's brother Pygmalion (1.341, 351, 356, 4.44); see also on 830 below. At 9.594 a younger sister of T. is mentioned in a remarkably casual way.

680 hunc . . . furorem: both words are given added emphasis by their separation. The sense of *hunc* must be supplied from T.'s previous words, in particular 678 *stat conferre manum Aeneae.* Hector more conventionally wishes to perform some great deed (*Il.* 22.305 μέγα ῥέξας τι) before dying. **oro:** in this paratactic position *oro* lends weight to a solemn plea, cf. 2.143, 4.319, 933 below. The resemblance to 10.905 (Mezentius to A.) *hunc, oro, defende furorem* (i.e. the desecration of his body) cannot be coincidental, and makes T.'s acceptance of *furor* even more remarkable. **furere . . . furorem:** a unique example of this *figura etymologica* (Wills (1996) 245–6); it is probably V.'s own extension of the figure. See n. on 676–80. **ante:** i.e. before I die; T. once again delicately leaves his meaning inexplicit. Cf. 9.315–16, of Nisus and Euryalus, *multis tamen ante futuri | exitio.*

681 e curru . . . aruis: cf. *Il.* 3.29 (Menelaus) αὐτίκα δ' ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἆλτο χαμᾶζε. **saltum dedit:** more elevated than, e.g., *desiluit* (355 above, 10.453); Traina compares 10.870 *cursum . . . dedit* = *cucurrit*, and see Harrison ad loc. for other examples, also 367 above *dant fugam*, with n. **ocius:** cf. 556 above. **aruis:** dat. after a vb. of motion.

682 per . . . hostis, per tela: the repeated *per* suggests speed and urgency. Similar expressions are a recurring motif in the fall of Troy narrative: 2.358, 527 *per tela, per hostis*, 664 *per tela, per ignis*, see Austin on 2.358. See also Livy 8.30.6 *per arma, per uiros late stragem dedere*, 9.39.8 *ad primos ordines peditum per arma, per corpora*

euaserint, with Oakley's n. **ruit:** a thematically important word in this section, cf. 685, 690 (possibly 652 as well).

683 deserit . . . rumpit: in the attack on the city, verb-framed lines are predominantly associated with A. and his men: cf. 569 *eruam . . . ponam*, 575 *dant . . . feruntur*, 577 *discurrunt . . . trucidant*, 654–5 *fulminat . . . minatur | deiecturum . . . daturum*. The use of the pattern here may represent T.'s response to A.'s assault. T.'s resolute action is soon matched by A. in 698–9. **deserit** 'abandons'; the sense is different in 698 below, see n. **media agmina rumpit** 'breaks through the middle of the ranks', as if through a barrier (*OLD* s.v. *rumpo* 3b), resulting in the *disiecta agmina* of 689; cf. Prop. 3.11.62 *at Decius misso proelia rupit equo. media* forms a frame with *medii* in 696, but the sense there is different (see n.).

684–91 The simile is based on *Il.* 13.136–46, where Hector as he leads the attack on the Greek ships is compared to a boulder wrenched from the side of a mountain. The simile is thus part of the process by which T. is aligned with Hector, as A. assumes the role of a new Achilles. V. has altered the point of his Homeric model: Hector's advance is halted by Greek resistance, as the rock loses momentum on reaching level ground, but nothing slows T.'s onrush. Some aspects of the simile conflict with the surface meaning of the narrative and appear to qualify the positive impression of T. given by his speech: e.g. while T. comes to his decision on his own initiative, the simile stresses the external forces that put the rock in motion, corresponding to Saces' appeal and the pressure it exerts on T., and while T. acts to end the wholesale fighting and offers himself as champion for all the Latins, the rock uncaringly (*improbus*) sweeps along everything in its path, which may suggest the continuing presence of *furor* in T.'s actions. The simile therefore suggests a more complex reading of the foregoing narrative, somewhat undermining T.'s self-image as the selfless champion of his people. Finally, some details relate, not to T., but to A. in the following narrative (684 *uertice* ~ 703, 688 *exsultat* ~ 700 *exsultans*, 687 *mons* ~ 701–3 A. compared to mountains).

684 montis . . . de uertice: in Homer the rock appears to come from the side of the mountain, but the rock to which T. is compared tumbles down from the mountaintop (as T. leapt down from his chariot, *e curru saltum dedit* 681), in marked contrast to the upward motion of Appenninus/Aeneas in 703 below, *uertice se attollens*.

M. quotes from the *Daily Telegraph* of 9 July 1952: 'the peak [~ *uertice*] of the 10,000 foot Mt. Rosmin in the Ortler group of the Italian Alps crashed 5,000 ft. today carrying with it large tracts of forest and striking an army camp'.

685 ruit auulsum: the language is Lucretian, cf. 5.313–15 *non* [sc. *uidemus*] *ruere auulsos silices a montibus altis | nec ualidas aeui uiris perferre patique | finiti?* (probably one inspiration for V.'s *uetustas*).

685–6 Word order suggests that wind dislodges the rock after it has been loosened by storms or the passage of time. In Homer the sole cause is a rain-swollen river; V.'s multiplication of factors heightens the sense of the rock's

vulnerability. The imitation in Val. Fl. 2.528–9 (cited by C–N) maintains and varies V.'s three causes: (*scopulos uicinaque saxa*) *quantum uentis adiuta uetustas* | *impulerat pontiue fragor.*

685 turbidus imber: a severe rainstorm; *turbidus* is a link to T. in 671 above. V.'s descriptions of heavy rain give a vivid impression of its destructive force; cf. 5.695–6 *ruit aethere toto* | *turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris*, 9.669 *uerberat imber humum*, 11.548–9 *tantus se nubibus imber* | *ruperat.*

686 annis . . . uetustas 'age has dissolved it, creeping upon it with the years' (*soluit*, like *proluit*, is perfect tense). *sublabor* is not attested before V.; two of its four appearances are in the phrase *sublapsa referri*, 'to ebb away and be carried off' (*G.* 1.200, *Aen.* 2.169), but here and in 7.354–5 *prima lues udo sublapsa ueneno* | *pertemptant sensus* it suggests a stealthy gliding toward or into something; here it produces a striking hypallage for the ordinary *aedificia uetustate sublapsa*, 'buildings collapsing from age', as in Plin. *Epist.* 10.70.1. **uetustas:** cf. Lucr. 6.553 *glaeba uetustate e terra prouoluitur ingens.*

687 in abruptum: = *in praeceps*, *in profundum*, a headlong downward course. For the adj. as noun, cf. 3.421–2 (Charybdis) *uastos* | *sorbet in abruptum fluctus*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.48.4 (Vinius) *Galbae amicitia in abruptum tractus*, with Damon's n. W. on 3.422 quotes Milton, *P.L.* 408–9 'upbourne with indefatigable wings | over the vast abrupt'. *abruptum* looks back to *rumpit* (683). **mons:** for the hyperbole cf. *G.* 3.254 (*flumina*) *conceptos . . . unda torquentia montes.* **improbus:** corresponding to Homer's ἀναιδέος . . . πέτρης, *Il.* 13.139; the suggestion of ruthlessness suits Hector more obviously than it does T. here. For the connotations of *improbus* see nn. on 250, 261 above; here it implies 'reckless indifference to damage caused' (M.). Of a force of nature, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.9.22–3 (quasi-personified) *improbo* | *iracundior Hadria*, Ovid, *Tr.* 1.11.41 *improba pugnat hiems.* **actu:** of movement (*OLD* 5), cf. Lucr. 3.192 *cunctantior actus.*

688 exsultatque 'leaps, bounces' (ὕψι δ' ἀναθρῴσκων, *Il.* 13.140), cf. Lucr. 6.1044–6 *exsultare . . . ferrea uidi* | . . . | . . . *lapis hic Magnes cum subditus esset*, Ovid, *Met.* 1.134 *fluctibus ignotis exsultauere carinae*; the word carries clear overtones of personal enjoyment, which in this context apply literally not to T. but to A., 700 *laetitia exsultans.* Compare the use of *gaudere* of both T. and A. in the parallel arming scenes (82 and 109). **siluas armenta uirosque:** large-scale damage from a rockslide is certainly possible (see n. on 684), but this wording resembles descriptions of cosmic creation or destruction; cf. *G.* 4.223 *hinc pecudes armenta uiros, genus omne ferarum*, Ovid, *Met.* 1.286–7 (the waters of the flood) *cum . . . satis arbusta simul pecudesque uirosque* | *tectaque cumque suis rapiunt penetralia sacris.*

689 disiecta per agmina: the only other occurrence of the phrase is at 482 above, describing A. in search of T.; this is the first of several points at which T.'s actions here recall those of A. earlier in the book.

690–1 plurima . . . madet 'is abundantly steeped' (M.); for the adverbial *plurima* comms. compare *G.* 2.166 *auro plurima fluxit* (*Italia*); see also Thomas on *G.* 1.187.

691 striduntque . . . aurae: hypallage for *stridunt hastilia auris*; for the hissing of spears or arrows in flight cf. 11.799 *missa manu sonitum dedit hasta per auras*, 9.632 *effugit horrendum stridens adducta sagitta*, 319 above, 859, 926 below. Blurring the distinction between the object that creates sound and the surrounding space is natural and easy; compare, e.g., 'the hall was abuzz with rumours'.

692 significatque . . . incipit: doubled verbs framing the line, again in 693 and 696 (see n.). **significatque manu:** the verb appears only here in V. and is mainly prosaic; cf. Sall. *Iug.* 60.4 *monere alii, alii hortari aut manu significare*, Livy 5.7.9 *uoce manibusque significare publicam laetitiam*. T.'s hand gesture parallels that of A. at 311 above *dextram tendebat inermem*. In Claudius Quadrigarius' account of the duel between Manlius Torquatus and the Gallic champion (quoted in Aul. Gell. 9.13), the Gaul signals to both sides for a halt to the fighting: *is maxime proelio commoto atque utrisque summo studio pugnantibus manu significare coepit utrisque, quiescerent.* **magno . . . ore** 'in a loud voice', a more elevated equivalent of *magna uoce*, 6.619; another parallel with A., cf. 482–3 above *magna* | *uoce uocat*, also 312 *suos clamore uocabat.* **incipit:** often used as a speech introduction, cf. 2.348, 6.103, 10.5, *G.* 4.386.

693 C–N compare *Il.* 3.82 (Agamemnon) 'Argives, hold: cast at him no longer, o sons of the Achaians' (ἴσχεσθ' Ἀργεῖοι, μὴ βάλλετε κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν), and La Cerda cites Eur. *Phoen.* 1225–35, where Eteocles calls for a halt in the fighting so that he can meet Polynices alone. **parcite** 'hold off, leave off' (i.e. from fighting); cf. 6.834–5 (Anchises to Julius Caesar) *tu . . . prior, tu parce . . .* | *proice tela manu.* **tela inhibete:** the verb occurs only here in V., and this is the first attestation of its use with weapons; such later examples as Livy 30.10.15 and Tac. *Hist.* 3.31.3 may have been inspired by our passage. The verb was almost certainly chosen to echo A.'s *cohibete iras* in 314 above; Servius in fact glosses it with *cohibete.*

694 fortuna: here 'outcome' (*OLD* 7), a sense most often found in military contexts; see Oakley on Livy 7.32.4, and compare in particular Livy 30.31.10 *armis decernendum esse* (~ *decernere ferro* 695) *habendamque eam fortunam quam di dedissent.* **uerius** 'more fitting, appropriate' (*OLD* 9a), cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 3.73 *praeclarum illud et . . . rectum quoque et uerum, ut eos . . . aeque ac nosmetipsos amemus*, Livy 2.48.2 *uerum esse habere eos quorum sanguine ac sudore partus sit* (*ager*).

694–5 unum | pro uobis: the phrase comes close to defining T.'s act as a *deuotio*, for which see n. on 234 above; the echo of the earlier scene prepares for T.'s reinstatement of the treaty.

695 foedus luere: usually understood, following Servius, as 'to pay the penalty for the violation of the treaty'; *luere* can mean 'expiate' an offence, as in 10.32 *luant peccata*, or with the notion of offence understood, *morte luere*, 11.444, 849. T.'s elliptical formulation, however, allows a second meaning to be felt, 'to pay the price demanded by the treaty', i.e. his death. (Peerlkamp took *foedus luere* to mean 'pay the penalty for the treaty' – i.e. the treaty was an offence calling for expiation – but that seems strained.) Although T. was not personally responsible for the violation of the treaty, here he takes it upon himself to pay the

penalty for that offence; his position parallels that of A. earlier, *mihi ius concurrere soli* (315). **decernere ferro** 'to decide the issue with the sword', an Ennian expression, *Ann.* 132 Sk. V.'s four uses are carefully located: 7.525 (when real fighting breaks out) *ferro ancipiti decernunt*; 11.218 (the Latins to T.) *ipsum armis ipsumque iubent d. f.*; 282 above (after the breaking of the treaty) *omnis amor unus habet d. f.*

696 discessere . . . dedere: the verb-framed line at the end of a section has a closural effect, cf. 130, 410 (n.), 467 above, 949 below. Here that effect is heightened by responsion to T.'s orders *parcite . . . inhibete*; compare Ovid, *Met.* 6.201–2 (Niobe to the Thebans) *infectis propere ite sacris laurumque capillis | ponite. deponunt et sacra infecta relinquunt* (the text, however, is uncertain). **medii** 'those in the middle' (i.e. between T. and A.); the echo of *media agmina* (683) in a different sense indicates that T. has narrowed the distance between himself and A.

697–727 Aeneas and Turnus confront each other

This section is preliminary to the decisive meeting of A. and T.; although they exchange spear casts and sword thrusts, V. views the action from a distance, and through the eyes of the onlookers, who include Jupiter. The two combatants are ostensibly presented on an equal footing (see nn. on 698–9, 708–9, 710–14, 715–22), but both the implications of the simile in 701–3 and the Homeric reminiscence in 725–7 show that A. is the superior fighter and is destined to prevail.

697 pater Aeneas: previously in this book at 166, 440. Here *pater* signals A.'s standing as the champion of his people; there is as well a strong link with *pater Appenninus* in 703, also perhaps an implied comparison to an even greater *pater*, see nn. on 700 *intonat*, 922–3. **Aeneas . . . Turni:** placing both names in a single line textually enacts the meeting about to occur; cf. 723 below *Tros Aeneas et Daunius heros*, framing this opening section as 502 *nunc Turnus . . . nunc Troius heros* and 526 *Aeneas Turnusque ruunt* bracket an earlier portion of narrative. For other such places cf. 11.910 *Aenean agnouit Turnus in armis*, 10.656–7 (T. chasing the phantom A.). V. also juxtaposes the names where the two are being separated, cf. 10.647–8 *Aenean . . . ut cedere Turnus | credidit*, 324 above *Turnus ut Aenean cedentem . . . uidit.* **audito nomine Turni** 'hearing T.'s name' is slightly puzzling, since T.'s name has not figured in the foregoing lines; one might have expected something like 'becoming aware of T.'s approach' or even 'hearing T.'s voice' (i.e. 693–6).

698–9 deserit . . . deserit . . . praecipitatque . . . rumpit: the language recalls T.'s actions in 683 *deserit . . . rumpit*, but the doubling of *deserit* (together with the repetition *moras omnis, opera omnia*) give A.'s actions greater weight; *praecipitat* looks back to *praeceps* in 684, contrasting A.'s controlled action with what the rock simile implies about T.

698 deserit: here of a deliberate withdrawal from a position or operation (*TLL* 5[1].680.57–681.5 glosses it as *discedere ab*); closely similar are 9.694–5

(T., on learning that the Trojans have opened the gates of the camp) *deserit inceptum atque . . . | Dardaniam ruit ad portam* and 11.901 (T., on hearing that the city is under attack) *deserit obsessos collis, nemora aspera linquit*; cf. also Luc. 3.298 (Caesar) *ubi deseruit trepidantis moenia Romae.* **summas . . . arces:** recalling 654–5 above *summas . . . minatur | deiecturum arces.*

699 praecipitatque moras: also at 8.443 (Vulcan to his workers) *praecipitate moras. Praecipitare* is to hurry something along; either *mora* is conceived as being hurried up (and so made shorter) or the expression is elliptical for, e.g., *properare et moram tollere.* The proximity of *rumpit* may also hint at the combination *rumpe moras* (4.569, 9.13, *G.* 3.43). Ovid is probably normalizing V.'s words in *Tr.* 1.3.47 *morae spatium nox praecipitata negabat*, as is Val. Fl. 4.626–7 *socios . . . praecipitat rumpitque moras.* **opera:** here referring specifically to siege works, see *OLD* 10b. **rumpit** 'breaks off, interrupts' (*OLD* 9), cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.27.5 *rumpat et serpens iter institutum.*

700 laetitia exsultans: *laetitia* (a noun applied to A. only here) is linked to *gaudet* in the following simile (703); *gaudet* in turn echoes the double *gaudet* in the arming scenes at the start of the book (82, 109), of which the paired similes 684–91 and 701–3 function as a symbolic re-enactment. *Exsultans* recalls and balances *exsultat* in 688. In 109 above A. rejoiced that the treaty offered an end to the war; his joy here is of a less peaceful nature and resembles his happiness at wounding Mezentius, 10.787 *uiso Tyrrheni sanguine laetus* (cf. also 10.874). **horrendumque intonat armis:** for the action cf. 332 above, of T., *clipeo increpat*, with n.; A.'s performance is markedly more frightening. **horrendumque:** adverbial, cf. 9.731–2 (of T.) *arma | horrendum sonuere.* **intonat** 'thunders'; in view of *fulminat* in 654 above, an implied comparison to Jupiter is very likely, cf. 7.141–2 *pater omnipotens ter caelo clarus ab alto | intonuit.* In a similar way, at *G.* 4.561 *fulminat* applied to Octavian assimilates him to Jupiter.

701–3 The shortest simile in the book is also one of the most densely packed. The comparison of A. to three mountains trumps T.'s likeness to a part of a mountain (684 *montis saxum*). There is a westward geographical progression within the simile, from northern Greece (Athos) to Sicily (Eryx) to Italy (Appenninus), which broadly parallels A.'s journey from Troy to Latium. Within that progression the Greek-sounding Athos and Eryx are mentioned briefly in comparison to the native Appenninus, richly characterized in personified and militarized language that relates it closely to A. (see n. on *coruscis . . . ilicibus* 701–2). The foreign origin of A. (mentioned in 708 and 723) is implicitly undone as he is assimilated to the heart of the Italian landscape; cf. F. Cairns (1989) 109. In 9.679–82 the Trojans Pandarus and Bitias are similarly naturalized by being compared to tall oaks on the banks of the Po or the Adige. Heyne compared Milton, *P.L.* 4.983–4 'dilated stood, | like Teneriffe or Atlas, unremoved' (of Satan).

701 Athos: the *o* is long, as in Greek Ἄθως, cf. Juv. 10.174 *uelificatus Athos*, Claud. *In Rufinum* 1.336 *sollicitatus Athos.* By Servius' time a false belief had arisen that the *o* in *Athos* was short, and Servius accordingly read *Athon*, with long *o.*

Confusion also affected the text of *G.* 1.332, where V. wrote *aut Atho aut Rhodopen* in imitation of Theoc. 7.77 but all MSS have *Athon*, with short *o*; see Mynors ad loc. Athos is on the easternmost promontory of Chalcidice projecting into the Aegean. **Eryx:** modern Erice, at the northwest corner of Sicily, a famous cult location of Venus. Traina notes that the *th* of *Athos* and the *y* of *Eryx* are not native to Latin. **ipse:** the long separation of *ipse* and the postponement of *quantus* create suspense and magnify the final comparison.

701–2 coruscis . . . ilicibus: the connotations of *coruscis* and *fremit* transform Appenninus into an armed warrior resounding with flashing weapons, just like A. Mackail observes of the Gran Sasso, the highest point of the Apennines, that 'seen from the south, its helmet-shaped peak gives the effect of a gigantic warrior striding along the mountain-range'.

701 coruscis: describing the effect of sunlight playing on the leaves of the oak trees, cf. 1.164 *siluis . . . coruscis*. The ilex is often called dark (*opaca* 6.209, 11.851, *nigra* 9.381, *Ecl.* 6.54), but WF 123 notes that 'the two colours of the leaves, white below and grey above . . . produce this coruscation in any breeze' and adds 'I have just been able to verify this in my own garden, where I planted an ilex long ago.' *coruscus* is also often applied to flashing weapons or armour, cf. 2.333 *stat ferri acies mucrone corusco*, 470 (Pyrrhus) *luce coruscus aena*, 552–3. The word reappears prominently at the end of the book, 887 *telum . . . coruscat*, 919 *telum . . . fatale coruscat*, both times of A.

702 fremit 'resounds' with the rustling of the leaves, cf. 10.97–8 *flamina . . . | cum deprensa fremunt siluis*; the combination of a verb of sound and an adj. denoting light (*coruscis*) produces a vivid synaesthetic effect. The *quercus ilex* is an evergreen; its leaves therefore make noise even in winter (*niuali . . . uertice*). (I am grateful to Richard Thomas for the observation.) But *fremere* also describes eagerness for battle, cf. 7.460 (T.) *arma amens fremit*, 11.453 *fremit arma iuuentus*, and it appears in 922 below in a comparison with the spear cast by A.

702–3 gaudetque . . . se attollens = *gaudet se attollere*, for which C–N compare 82 above, of T., *poscit equos gaudetque tuens ante ora frementis*; there may also be an echo of 8.730–1 (A. taking up his new shield), *imagine gaudet | attollens . . . famamque et fata nepotum*. For the syntax of *attollens*, cf. on 6–7 above *gaudet . . . excutiens*.

703 pater: the epithet – an obvious link to A., 697 – connotes veneration and affection and acknowledges Appenninus as pre-eminent among mountains; comms. compare *G.* 4.369 *pater Tiberinus*.

704–9 An elaborate 'reaction shot' that focuses attention on the two contestants. Cf. *Il.* 3.342–3, as Menelaus and Paris prepare to fight: 'and amazement seized the beholders, | Trojans, breakers of horses, and strong-greaved Achaians' (θάμβος δ' ἔχεν εἰσορόωντας | Τρῶάς θ' ἱπποδάμους καὶ ἐϋκνήμιδας Ἀχαιούς) (see next n.). **704–5 Rutuli . . . Troes . . . Itali:** a globalizing figure, extended in 705–6 *quique . . . quique*; in 11.592 *Tros Italusque* has a more antithetical ring, see Horsfall ad loc.

704 certatim: V. is fond of this adverb (13 uses, all but one in *Aen.*); it usually describes competitive activity, although here the stress seems to be on excited collective behaviour, cf. Catull. 64.392 *Delphi tota certatim ex urbe ruentes*, Ovid, *Met.* 12.241 *certatim . . . omnes uno ore loquuntur.*

705 conuertere oculos: earlier in the book T. felt or was told that he was the object of others' gaze (cf. 2–3, 645, 657); now that intense scrutiny is a fact. See n. on 3 *signari oculis.*

706 imos . . . muros 'the lower part of the walls'; the siege tower described by Vegetius 4.17.5 has its battering-ram *in inferioribus* (sc. *partibus*). **ariete:** not mentioned in the earlier account of the assault on the city, but cf. 11.890 *arietat in portas et duros obice postis*, 2.492–3 (Priam's palace) *labat ariete crebro* | *ianua. ariete* is scanned as a dactyl, with consonantal *i*, as also at 2.492, 7.175, where it appears at the same place in the hexameter.

707 deposuere umeris 'took them off their shoulders', in contrast to 563–4 above *nec scuta aut spicula . . .* | *deponunt.*

707–9 The last explicit appearance of Latinus (but see n. on 717–19), now reduced to a powerless spectator (*stupet*); *ipse*, as in 657 above, underlines the indignity of his position.

708–9 A. and T. are depicted as equally matched, a presentation carried through to the end of the simile in 724. La Cerda compared Livy 30.28.8 *erexerant omnium animos Scipio et Hannibal uelut ad supremum certamen comparati duces.* Silius similarly presented the opposing commanders, in language that echoes 708: *stabant educti diuersis orbis in oris* (9.434).

708 ingentis, genitos: the wordplay implicitly points to an ancient etymology of *ingens* (*in* + *genitum*); wordplay is curiously frequent in this passage, see nn. on *congeminant* 714, 718–19. **genitos diuersis partibus orbis** 'sprung from opposing ends of the earth' (Fagles). The emphasis may be meant to point up the wider significance of the combat for the Trojans and Latins.

709 inter se coiisse: in military language *coire inter se* is used both of soldiers on the same side banding together and of opposed forces clashing; for the latter cf. Livy 28.14.3 *priusquam . . . coire inter se mediae acies possent.* In both meanings it applies to groups of soldiers; hence it could suggest that A. and T. are each the equivalent of a multitude (see on 628 above *ingruit*, and on 712 below). **cernere ferro:** a clear recollection of *decernere ferro* in 695. *cernere ferro* is archaic, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 185 Sk. *ferro non auro uitam cernamus*, *Sc.* 166 J. *saeuiter fortuna ferro cernunt de uictoria* (see n. on 714 below). Sen. *Epist.* 58.3 cited our passage to illustrate a use of *cernere* obsolete in his day (*quod nunc 'decernere' dicimus*), and Servius called *cernere* 'uera et antiqua lectio'; but all of V.'s oldest MSS except for the first hand of P read *decernere*, which, as Servius noted, could only scan with an elision of *uiro(s) et* that is inconceivable in V.

710–14 In this first exchange A. and T. are indistinguishable, referred to only in the plural (*illi*, *inuadunt*, *congeminant*); their pairing lays the groundwork for the simile that follows.

711 'casting their spears at a distance as they ran forward swiftly'. For the action cf. 266–7 above *aduersos telum contorsit in hostes* | *procurrens*, and for the formulaic phrasing cf. 10.646–7 *eminus hastam* | *coniecit*, 776–7 *eminus hastam* | *iecit*. V. offers no details of these spear-casts, unlike Homer (*Il.* 22.273–92), who describes how Achilles' spear misses Hector and Hector's bounces off Achilles' shield.

712 inuadunt Martem: a poetic variant of *ineunt pugnam* (so C–N), not attested before or after V.; *inuadere pugnas* is in Lucilius (1079 Marx), and cf. 9.186–7 (Nisus) *aut pugnam aut aliquid iamdudum inuadere magnum* | *mens agitat mihi*. **clipeis . . . aere sonoro:** hendiadys, 'with the bronze of their shields resounding', cf. Enn. *Ann.* 355 Sk. *tum clipei resonunt*. C–N compare *Il.* 4.447–9, 'they dashed their shields together and their spears, and the strength | of armoured men in bronze, and the shields massive in the middle | clashed against each other, and the sound grew huge of the fighting' (σύν ῥ' ἔβαλον ῥινούς, σὺν δ' ἔγχεα καὶ μένε' ἀνδρῶν | χαλκεοθωρήκων· ἀτὰρ ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσαι | ἔπληντ' ἀλλήλῃσι, πολὺς δ' ὀρυμαγδὸς ὀρώρει); in Homer the sound is created by two opposing armies, and the detail used here may suggest the great force with which A. and T. meet.

713 dat gemitum tellus: another form of 'reaction shot'; in Homer the earth groans when a warrior falls heavily upon it (so at 9.709, the *immania membra* of Bitias), but here the violent clash of the champions produces the result.

714 congeminant 'redouble', i.e. they exchange repeated sword thrusts. The wordplay in *congeminant* ~ *dat gemitum* (in the same metrical position) is typical of the effects such verbs elicit: cf. 11.696–8 (V.'s only other use of *congemino*) *perque arma uiro perque ossa securim* | . . . | *congeminat*, and for *ingemino* cf. 2.770 *iterum* 2x, 4.531 *rursusque resurgens*, 5.434 *multa* 2x, 457 *nunc* 2x, *G.* 1.333–4 *nunc* 2x. Such things were noticed by V.'s imitators: each of Valerius Flaccus' uses of *ingemino* features a similar echo or repetition, 2.169, 4.328, 7.195. **fors . . . unum:** not, as Servius thought, T.'s *fors* against A.'s *uirtus*; the phrase blurs the distinction between the fighters as well as the factors that aid them. V. may be thinking of Ennius, *Sc.* 166 J. *saeuiter fortuna ferro cernunt de uictoria*, where *ferro* comes close in sense to *uirtus*. **miscentur in unum:** thematic for V.'s presentation of A. and T. at this point. **miscentur:** Mynors (followed by Geymonat) adopted V.'s *miscetur* – admittedly a *lectio difficilior* – instead of the majority reading *miscentur*. As a parallel for the sing. vb. with pl. subj. he cited *Aen.* 2.316–17 *furor iraque mentem* | *praecipitat*; but *furor* and *ira* are so closely linked in V.'s thought that it is easy to regard them as a single entity, whereas *fors* and *uirtus* are nearly opposites, and their blending seems more forcefully conveyed by the pl. *miscentur*.

715–22 The germ of the simile is found in Ap. Rhod. 2.88–9 ('face to face they clashed again, like two bulls furiously contending for a heifer grazing in the fields', ἂψ δ' αὖτις συνόρουσαν ἐναντίω, ἠΰτε ταύρω | φορβάδος ἀμφὶ βοὸς κεκοτηότε δηριάασθον); V. has elaborated it into the longest simile in the book, incorporating several details from his description of a similar bullfight in *G.* 3.219–23 (cf. Briggs (1980) 49–50; an illustration of the *Georgics* scene is found

in the fourth-century *Schedae Vaticanae*). The bulls in the *Georgics* compete for a heifer (219 *formosa iuuenca*), as A. and T. are rivals for Lavinia; but V.'s adaptation of the *Georgics* passage plays up wider consequences, specifying that the bulls are contending for leadership of the entire herd, which anxiously awaits the outcome of their struggle (718–19) – a detail that recalls Ennius' account of the competition between Romulus and Remus in *Ann.* 78–83 Sk. *omnibus cura uiris uter esset induperator . . . sic expectabant populus atque ore timebat | rebus utri magni uictoria sit data regni.* (Ovid's description of the fight between Hercules and Achelous over Deianira in *Met.* 9.46–9 combines elements of the Virgilian and Ennian passages: [Achelous speaking] *non aliter uidi fortes concurrere tauros, | cum pretium pugnae toto nitidissima saltu | expetitur coniunx; spectant armenta pauentque, | nescia quem maneat tanti uictoria regni.*) V.'s simile thus closely reflects the narrative situation and makes explicit what is at stake in the encounter. See Townend (1987) 85, Rossi (2004) 154–5.

The simile proper depicts the fighting bulls as equals, maintaining the perspective of the preceding narrative (707–14). The previous pair of similes, however, has given A. a decisive advantage, and the overt Homeric reference in 725–7 confirms T.'s doom.

715 Sila . . . Taburno: both places are named in the *Georgics* (see following nn.) but are not particularly prominent. Thomas (1982) 84 n. 13 suggests that their names allude to the two Latin words for gadfly, *asilus* and *tabanus*. At *G.* 3.146–56 V. connects *asilus* to the place name *Silarus*, and recalls the role of the gadfly in the myth of Io; that myth appears on T.'s shield, but the description at 7.789–92 makes no mention of the gadfly (and by specifying that Io is in the custody of Argus seems to point to an earlier stage in her story), and a chain of association leading from Sila to *asilus* to Io to T.'s shield seems unlikely. See further O'Hara (1990) 79–80, (1996) 238, Thomas (1998) 287–8. **ingenti . . . summo:** although each adj. is syntactically linked to only one mountain, the impression of great size and height they create applies to both. **Sila:** the location of the bullfight in *G.* 3.219. 'La Sila is now the forest-covered massif east of Cosenza in central Calabria' (Mynors ad loc.; his description of the region, its cheeses in particular, is not to be missed). **Taburno:** mentioned at *G.* 2.38 *olea magnum uestire Taburnum*; it sits on the border of Campania and Samnium, and its height of nearly 1,400 metres justifies the epithet *summus*.

716–17 conuersis . . . frontibus incurrunt: a reworking of Lucr. 6.116–17 *non . . . concurrere nubes | frontibus aduersis possint* (C–N).

716 inimica in proelia: *proelium* is often applied to fights between animals, as in the bullfight of *G.* 3.220; the phrase reappears in the context of human combat in 812 below.

717 cessere: perf. of instantaneous result, conveying the speed with which the *magistri* withdraw; cf. 10.803–4 *si quando . . . nimbi | praecipitant, omnis campis diffugit arator*, 283 above with n. The phrase *cessere magistri* appears in *G.* 3.549, with a different sense ('the experts gave up'). **magistri** 'handlers, keepers'

(*OLD* 6). Martial put V.'s *pauidi magistri* to a new use in *Spect.* 22.1 *sollicitant pauidi dum rhinocerota magistri.*

718–19 Descriptions of duels often include a description of the onlookers anxiously awaiting the outcome; cf. e.g. Livy 7.10.9 *tot circa mortalium animis spe metuque pendentibus.* The closest counterpart to the watching herd in the surrounding narrative is Latinus (707–9); an implicit connection is created by sound-play in *stat pecus* ~ *stupet* 707, and a more overt link is the uncommon verb *mussare* (of Latinus in 657), in each case introducing a question about the future (658 *quos . . . flectat*, 719 *quis . . . sequantur*). It may be the ultimate abasement of the hapless king to assimilate him to these dumb beasts.

718 omne metu mutum, mussantque: extravagant alliteration of *m* and *mu* (even more prominent than 9.341 *molle pecus mutumque metu*) hints at the verb that would literally describe the animals' utterance, *mugire*, which then duly appears in 722 with a different subject, but with the *re-* in *remugit* implying an echo of a previous sound.

719 quis . . . sequantur: indirect questions, corresponding to the direct questions 'who will govern the woods?' and 'whom will the herd follow?' **quis nemori imperitet:** the verb appears only here in V. and has a strong aggrandizing force; it often describes great powers or rulers who lord it over their subjects, cf. Lucr. 3.1028 *magnis qui gentibus imperitarunt* (echoed by Hor. *Sat.* 1.6.4 *qui magnis legionibus imperitarent*), Sall. *Iug.* 19.7 *Mauris omnibus rex Bocchus imperitabat.* The thought of such power being exercised over a grove perhaps lends a touch of irony to the phrase. Seneca may have had our passage in mind when he had Ulysses describe how Astyanax might grow up to lead the Trojans, *Tro.* 540 *gregem paternum ducit ac pecori imperat.*

720 ~ *G.* 3.220 *illi alternantes multa ui proelia miscent.* Both lines with their slow spondees reflect the effort of the bulls' struggle; the change of *alternantes* to *inter sese* connects the simile to the preceding action, cf. *inter se* 709, and *uulnera* for *proelia* produces the alliterative *ui uulnera.* For *miscent* see on 628 above.

721 cornuaque obnixi infigunt: more compressed than *G.* 3.223 *uersa . . . in obnixos urgentur cornua*, with more emphasis on the straining of the combatants (*obnixi*) to plant their horns in the other; for *obnixi* cf. *G.* 3.233 *arboris obnixus trunco.* Statius combines elements of this and the previous line to produce *collatis obnixi cornua miscent | frontibus* (*Theb.* 4.399–400).

721–2 sanguine . . . lauant: ~ *G.* 3.221 *lauit ater corpora sanguis.* V.'s changes of subject (from the blood to the bulls) and object (*colla armosque* for *corpora*) make the picture more vivid and precise. **colla armosque:** for the combination cf. 11.497 *per colla, per armos*, Ovid, *Met.* 2.854 (of Jupiter in the form of a bull) *colla toris exstant, armis palearia pendent.*

722 gemitu . . . remugit: ~ *G.* 3.223 *reboant siluaeque et longus Olympus.* The alliteration of *m* and *mu* links the reaction of nature to that of the herd in 718, and *gemitu* recalls *dat gemitum tellus* in the direct narrative, 713. It is tempting to see in the *Georgics*' reference to Olympus the germ of Jupiter's appearance in 725–7.

723 A line with multiple resumptive effects. The coupling of A. and T. looks back to 697 and begins to frame this section of the narrative, while also recalling the opening of the simile, *Sila* . . . *Taburno* 715; the opposed geographical epithets *Tros* and *Daunius* spell out the general phrasing of 708 *genitos diuersis partibus orbis*. **heros:** of T. only here and 902 below. Here it contributes to the portrayal of T. as an equal match for A.

724 concurrunt clipeis: noisy alliteration of *c*, echoed at the end of the line in *complet*. **concurrunt:** ~ *incurrunt* 717. **aethera complet:** noise reaching the sky can be 'slightly routine epic hyperbole' (Horsfall on 11.745 *tollitur in caelum clamor*), but here the reference to the upper air eases the transition to Jupiter's appearance. **complet:** there is mild synaesthesia in speaking of sound as filling a space; cf. Catrein (2003) 134.

725–7 In *Il.* 22.209–13 Zeus weighs the fates of Achilles and Hector in the balance after Achilles has pursued Hector three times around the walls of Troy. By relocating this action to an earlier point, V. makes Jupiter the ultimate witness to the fight and connects him to the onlookers in the simile: cf. 727 ~ 719 (and n. on 727). Since Jupiter presumably knows the outcome of the duel, his action here is meant to display rather than to determine it (so Quinn (1968) 266–7); Jupiter's decisive intervention is reserved for a later moment and a wider issue, cf. 843–55. D. West (1974) 24 finds V.'s use of the balance motif unsatisfactory: 'V. takes over this scene because it is an impressive part of the Homeric narrative. It does not fit sensibly into the logic of his own.'

725 Iuppiter ipse 'even Jupiter' (understanding, e.g., 'takes keen interest in the outcome'). **aequato examine** 'setting the balance evenly', corresponding to *Il.* 22.212 ἕλκε δὲ μέσσα λαβών. It is the balance that is even, not the fates placed in it; Jupiter's action parallels V.'s narrative strategy in combining elements of strict equality with strong implications of doom for T.

726 fata . . . diuersa: *diuersa* is not only 'different', but 'divergent' (i.e., headed in opposing directions when placed in the balance).

727 'to see whom this trial dooms, with whose weight death sinks'. The indirect questions depend on the notion of inquiry implicit in *fata imponit* (or more generally in the preceding clause). The strict symmetry with 719, where both indirect questions refer to the victorious bull, requires that both questions here relate to the loser; the variant *aut* for *et*, endorsed by Servius, can be set aside. Specific points: *quo pondere* is probably to be taken together = *cuius pondere*, 'with the weight of which fate/warrior' (it is also possible, though less likely, that *quo* is adverbial, 'in which direction death sinks with its weight'); *uergat letum* ('death sinks down') is abstract for concrete, for 'the pan of the losing fighter [signifying his death] sinks down'. V.'s use of *labor* and *letum* as subjects elevates the expression and creates a line of majestic gloom.

V., unlike Homer, does not say which fate sinks in the balance, but the Homeric precedent, and the frequent association of T. with Hector, make it unnecessary for him to do so.

728–790 Turnus' sword – in fact that of Metiscus – shatters on Aeneas' armour, and he runs from Aeneas. Aeneas' spear is held fast in a tree sacred to Faunus. Juturna and Venus rearm the combatants

Some comms. (e.g. W. and Traina) treat 697–790 as a single section of narrative, but there are reasons for considering 728–90 a cohesive segment, articulated in two movements with a strong break after 765. At the end (788–90) A. and T. face each other on equal terms, as at 723–4; in each case the focus then shifts to Jupiter. There is also a framing connection between *impune putans* 728 and *gladio fidens* 789, and between *certant* 765 and *certamina* 790. The two component parts are sharply contrasted, the first marked by flight and pursuit (*fuga/fugere* 733 *bis*, 742, 753, 758; *cursus* 751, 763) the second by fixity and lack of motion (*stare* 767, 772; *figere* 768, 773; *suspendere* 769; *lentus* 773, 781; *tenere* 773, 778; *morari* 781; *cursus* negated 775–6). The portrayal of A. also differs: the comparison to an Umbrian hound in 753 continues his implicit Italianization, while the latter section opposes the foreign Trojans to the native T. and Juturna. By stressing the cultural differences between the warring peoples, and introducing the possibility that the customs of the Latins will not be respected by their conquerors, the latter section also lays the groundwork for Juno's appeal in the following scene with Jupiter.

In terms of plot this section constitutes another deferral of the decisive encounter between A. and T. Many of its details, however, recall the duel of Achilles and Hector in *Iliad* 22 and thereby heighten anticipation of the eventual outcome; cf. nn. on 733 *fugit*, 749–57, 763, 764–5, 766–83, 784–7. The shattering of T.'s sword is probably based on *Il.* 3.361–3, where Menelaus' sword shatters against Paris' helmet.

728 Emicat: see on 327 above. **hic:** adverbial, 'at this point'; a somewhat loose connective. **impune putans** 'seeing what seems a safe opportunity' (Page) is a typical explanation, but why should T. think this was an opportune moment to attack? The reason for his confidence emerges from what follows: T. thought his divinely crafted sword (736 *patrius mucro*) was unbreakable. The phrasing implies that T.'s belief is mistaken, since *impune* usually implies 'getting away with' an action that ought to incur retribution. **corpore toto** 'putting his whole body into it', cf. 920. '*toto corpore* and *corpore toto* occur 11 times in Vergil and 23 times in Lucretius, suggesting an origin in earlier epic' (Harrison on 10.127).

729–30 alte . . . ferit: the slow spondees in 729 depict T. gathering his strength for the blow; the tension is then released in *et ferit*, with strong clash between word accent and metrical ictus. For a similar build-up and release cf. 5.642–3 *sublataque procul dextra conixa coruscat | et iacit*.

729 alte . . . ensem: a variation of 9.749 *sublatum alte c. in ensem* (of T. in the duel with Pandarus that in many ways foreshadows the final scene, see Hardie on 672–755); cf. also 11.284 *in clipeum adsurgat*, with Horsfall's n.

In *alte sublatum consurgit in ensem* two distinct actions are being described, raising the sword and raising the body to its full height, but V.'s language merges them into a single fluid image. (Fagles's 'raising his sword high, rearing to full stretch' captures the dual actions but makes them sound more distinct than they should.) The blending is partly produced by the underlying image of the sword as an extension of T.'s arm.

730–1 exclamant . . . acies: the quick cutaway to the reaction of the onlookers builds suspense: neither we nor they are sure of the outcome.

730 trepidique: describing excitement mixed with anxiety (they are 'on edge'); see on 403 above. Though strictly applied to the Latins, *trepidi* probably characterizes both sides, as is suggested by the alliteration *exclamant Troes trepidique Latini*.

731 arrectaeque amborum acies: on *acies* Servius Auctus commented 'aut exercitus, aut oculi'; the latter seems preferable, since *arrectus* is usually applied to a specific part of a person, cf. 5.643 (in a similar context) *arrectae mentes stupefactaque corda*, 1.579 *his animum arrecti dictis*, 2.303 *arrectis auribus asto*, 868 below *arrectae . . . horrore comae*; of eyes only 2.172–3 *arsere coruscae* | *luminibus flammae arrectis*, which is not exactly parallel. **perfidus:** together with *deserit*, a vivid personification of the sword seen from T.'s point of view; as Traina notes, this is the first attested use of *perfidus* of an object (see *TLL* 10.1.1391.31). In 733 *fuga* is also spoken of in quasi-personal terms, see n. T.'s 'betrayal' by his sword makes his flight appear less dishonourable, but the active roles assigned to the sword and to flight also show how completely T. has lost control of the situation.

D. West (1974) 28–9 alleges that the 'wrong sword' motif is implausible in realistic terms, since no soldier could go into battle with another's sword without knowing it, just as no hockey player or golfer could pick up the wrong stick or club without experiencing a shock to the system. He explains it as V.'s way to avoid the dilemma of having T.'s Vulcan-made sword (cf. 90 above) encounter A.'s Vulcan-made armour. The stress V. places on T.'s haste (735 *praecipitem*, 737 *dum trepidat*) is meant to mitigate the implausibility.

732 ardentem: often of T., see nn. on 3, 55 above. **deserit:** perhaps recalling T.'s leaving of Juturna in 683 above.

733 ni . . . subeat: the protasis of a contrary-to-fact condition of which the apodosis must be supplied from the implications of *deserit*: '[he would have been helpless] if flight had not come to his aid'; for the present subj. as a more vivid substitute for the pluperfect cf. 11.912–14 *continuo . . . ineant pugnas . . .* | *ni roseus fessos . . . Phoebus . . .* | *tingat equos* (further refs. in Horsfall's n.). The ellipsis is bolder than in, e.g., 6.358–61 *iam tuta tenebam* | *ni gens crudelis . . .* | *ferro inuasisset* (on which see Austin ad loc.), but the sense is not in doubt and there is no need to posit a lacuna after 732 (so Ribbeck); the condensed expression reflects the speed with which T. responds to his imminent danger. **fuga subsidio subeat:** *fuga* is described in terms usually applied to persons, cf. 2.216 (Laocoon) *auxilio subeuntem et tela ferentem*. It is paradoxical that running away (*fuga*) comes to T.'s

aid (*subeat*); the strong assonance in *subsidio subeat* is also remarkable ('rather in Lucretius' manner' C–N). *subsidio* is dat. of purpose. **fugit:** T.'s flight recalls that of Hector from Achilles in *Il.* 22.136–8, but T.'s unarmed condition helps to excuse his reaction. **ocior Euro:** a significant echo of 8.223 *fugit ilicet o. E.*, where Cacus runs in terror from Hercules. Ovid played on the sound of V.'s phrase in *Met.* 1.502 *fugit ocior aura*; he also turned the suddenness of T.'s reaction to a new purpose, to describe Daphne running when she senses Apollo's attraction to her. See also on 749–57 below.

734 capulum ignotum 'the unfamiliar sword-hilt'; *ignotum* may hint at the fact that V.'s audience are as unfamiliar with this object as is T.

735 fama est: a formula that elsewhere introduces a story from the distant past, cf. 3.578, 694, 6.14, 8.600, varied in 7.205 *equidem memini (fama est obscurior annis)*, on which see Horsfall's n.; here V. very remarkably applies it to a detail of his own plot not previously related. **praecipitem**: emphatic and causal; it was T.'s headlong haste that led him to take the wrong sword. The following pile-up of circumstantial clauses (*cum*-clause, abl. abs., and *dum*-clause) syntactically reflects T.'s distracted state.

735–6 cum . . . equos: comms. see a reference to 326–7 above, where T. rushes into battle after A. is wounded: *poscit equos atque arma simul, saltuque superbus | emicat in currum.*

735 prima in proelia 'at the start of the battle'. The phrase (in a different sense) appears at 103 above, in the arming scene where T. takes up his own sword; the false echo may be a playful touch.

736 conscendebat: the indic. marks a specific point in time. **patrio mucrone:** the sword forged by Vulcan and given to T.'s father Daunus (90–1 above); hence *patrius* in the literal sense.

737 dum trepidat 'in his haste'; the present is normal in *dum*-clauses to describe action simultaneous with that of the main verb.

738–41 The syntax shifts from the ind. discourse dependent on *fama est* to direct narrative.

738 idque: of the 11 instances of *idque* in V. this is the only one in which *id* refers to a neuter noun rather than more generally to an idea or action. **id̲que d̲iu, d̲um terga d̲abant:** apparently non-pictorial alliteration. **dum . . . Teucri:** cf. 615 *palantis sequitur paucos*. Logically the *dum*-clause should refer to all of T.'s encounters since his entry into battle in 326–7; if that is so, it gives a very partial impression. *dum* = 'as long as'.

739 arma dei . . . Volcania: a grander equivalent of *arma dei Volcani*; comms. compare *Il.* 2.54 Νεστορέῃ παρὰ νηῒ . . . βασιλῆος, Soph. *OT* 242–3 τὸ Πυθικὸν θεοῦ | μαντεῖον; see also Austin on 2.543 for the elevating effect of a proper adjective in place of a genitive. The stylistic heightening suits the higher status of A.'s arms.

740 mortalis mucro 'the sword made by a mortal hand', like *uulnus mortale* in 797 below; but as more overtly with *perfidus ensis*, there is also an element of

personification. The use of *mucro* of both swords (736) mimics the confusion of the two.

740–1 glacies ceu futtilis ictu | dissiluit: the accumulation of brittle sounds is strongly onomatopoetic.

740 ceu: *ceu*, a poetic archaism of which V. is fond (24 uses), can both introduce a formal simile and figure in a compressed comparison, as here and, e.g., *G.* 4.499–500 *ceu fumus in auras . . . fugit diuersa*; see Harrison on 10.97. **futtilis:** in V. only here and 11.339 *non futtilis auctor*, where it has the common meaning 'worthless, of no use'. The sense 'brittle, fragile' (after this passage not found again until Apuleius) is related by the lexicographer Festus to an etymology from *fundere*, 'pour out, spill'; he cites as an example *uasa futtilia.* **ictu:** balances *ictu* in the same position in 732, framing this first portion of the episode.

741 fulua . . . harena: comms. cite *Il.* 3.362–3, where Menelaus' sword shatters on contact with Hector's helmet. The alliteration in *fulua . . . fragmina*, following *futtilis*, is a more restrained version of the effects indulged in by Ennius, *Sc.* 262 J. *suspicionem ferre falsam futtilum est*, 263 *ut quod factum est futtile . . . uos feratis fortiter.* **fragmina:** with the exception of Lucan, Latin poets prefer *fragmen* to *fragmentum*, presumably for its greater metrical convenience. V. has *fragmentum* only in *G.* 4.304; the form *fragmina* appears also at 10.306, *fragmine* in the formula *ingenti fragmine montis* at 9.569, 10.698. The variant *resplendet fragmen* in M^2R would give an inappropriate sense.

742 amens: cf. 622 above, where T. was similarly panicked by a sudden shock, and 776 below. **diuersa:** either 'distant' (i.e. away from A., cf. 495 above) or 'different' (i.e. more than one, corresponding to *nunc huc, inde huc* in 743).

743 nunc huc, inde huc: T.'s flight resembles Juturna's earlier evasive tactics, cf. 479 *iamque hic germanum iamque hic ostentat.* **incertos** 'wavering, unsteady'. **implicat:** the verb literally describes folding or twining something upon itself or onto another object, cf. 7.136 *frondenti tempora ramo | implicat*; thus the circles of T.'s flight are wrapped around or intertwined one upon another, possibly suggesting entangled or impeded motion. Cf. 5.584–5 *alternos . . . orbibus orbis | impediunt* ('the intricate interweaving of circular patterns' R. D. Williams (1960) ad loc.). Pliny (*Epist.* 9.33.5) used V.'s phrase to describe a dolphin swimming in circles around a group of boys: *exsilit mergitur, uariosque orbes implicat expeditque.*

744 enim: explaining why T. runs continuously in a circle; *Turnum* (or *eum*) is the understood object of both *inclusere* and *cingunt.* **corona:** possibly describing a circle of onlookers, more probably a cordon formed to cut off T.'s escape; cf. 750 *saeptum*, 9.380 *omnem . . . abitum custode coronant.*

745 hinc . . . hinc: balancing (and counteracting) *huc . . . huc* in 743. **uasta palus:** comms. identify this *palus* with the *palus Laurentia* that forms the backdrop of a simile at 10.709; although Harrison ad loc. notes that the area in question (the modern Pantano di Lauro) was in fact the site of the battle, V.'s account of the fighting gives no impression of a large marshy area nearby. Furthermore,

since T. is completely surrounded by Trojans (*undique*), the *palus* and *moenia* are not needed as obstacles. The *palus* is mentioned to parallel the *flumen* of the following simile (749, 752). **ardua moenia:** presumably the walls of Latinus' city; the wording may refer obliquely to Troy and the Trojan Horse, cf. Enn. *Sc.* 72–3 J. *equus | qui . . . ardua perdat Pergama* and *Aen.* 2.328–9 *arduus . . . mediis in moenibus astans | equus.*

746 Nec minus: on this elliptical transition formula see on 107 above; here it implies 'no less vigorously'.

746–7 quamquam . . . recusant: V. has not mentioned any after-effects of A.'s wound, and in fact 424 above *nouae rediere in pristina uires* suggests that his cure restored him to full strength. The detail underscores A.'s determination to catch T.; his debility and slowed pace also make A. even more formidable (cf. 762 *saucius instat*).

746 tardata: cf. 10.857 (Mezentius) *quamquam uis* (i.e. M.'s strength) *alto uulnere tardat*, 2.436 *uulnere tardus Vlixi* (mischievously denied by Ovid's Ajax in *Met.* 13.81 *nullo tardatus uulnere fugit*); as Austin ad loc. remarks, *tardus/tardare* are almost technical terms in such contexts. Ovid may have drawn on this passage to describe Eurydice newly arrived in the Underworld, *Met.* 10.49 *incessit passu de uulnere tardo.*

747 cursumque recusant 'do not allow him to run'; the closest parallel in *OLD* for this use of *recusare* is a third-century CE legal text, Paulus in *Digest* 38.1.17 *operas quas . . . aetas* [= 'old age'] *recusat*. A more common verb is *uetare*.

748 The dactylic rhythm (DDDD) and pounding alliteration convey the intensity of the pursuit. **insequitur:** of A. in 466 above, where it refers to those he did not pursue while he tracked T. (*uestigat lustrans* 467). Forms of *sequor* characterized T. during his aristeia (cf. on 354 above). **trepidique . . . feruidus:** the contrasting adjectives encapsulate the roles of T. and A. in the final part of the book. **pedem pede . . . urget:** V. has reapplied a motif from accounts of 'foot to foot' fighting, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 584 Sk. *pes premitur pede* (many parallels cited by Skutsch); it appears in its usual context in 10.361 *haeret pede pes*. For a similar description of a chase cf. 5.324 *calcemque terit iam calce Diores*. Ovid's reworking in *Met.* 1.534 retains the alliteration but adopts a different focus, *hic praedam pedibus petit, ille salutem.* **feruidus:** in a similar context at 8.230 (Hercules in pursuit of Cacus). See also nn. on 325, 951.

749–57 The primary model for the simile is *Il.* 22.188–93 (Achilles chasing Hector compared to a dog chasing a fawn); cf. also 10.360–4 (Odysseus and Diomedes chasing Dolon like two hounds chasing a deer or hare). The details of 755 are drawn from Ap. Rhod. 2.278–81 (the Boreads chasing the Harpies). The simile also has links to 9.551–3, where the Trojan Helenor, trapped among T.'s soldiers, throws himself upon their weapons like a wild beast surrounded by hunters.

The links between the simile and the narrative are exceptionally numerous, and are not limited to the immediately surrounding lines: 749 *inclusum*

~ 744 *inclusere*; *flumine* ~ 745 *palus*; 750 *saeptum* ~ 745 *cingunt*; *formidine* ~ 776; 751 *cursu* ~ 747; 763 *instat* ~ 762, 783; 752 *ille* ~ 758; 752 *territus* ~ 748 *trepidi*, cf. *amens* 742, 776; 753 *fugit refugitque* ~ 733 *fuga/fugit*, 758 *fugiens*; 753 *uiuidus* ~ 748 *feruidus*; 755 *increpuit* ~ 758 *increpat*; *morsus* ~ 782; 756 *exoritur clamor* ~ 730 *exclamant*.

The iconic word order in 749–51 focuses attention first on the trapped deer, with the hound pursuing at a distance but coming progressively closer.

Ovid's close imitation in *Met.* 1.533–8 (Apollo chasing Daphne) eroticizes the pursuit but maintains its life-or-death character.

749–50 inclusum . . . ceruum: the Latins trapped inside their besieged city were similarly compared to bees shut up in their hive (587–8 *inclusas . . . apes*); reading the two passages in conjunction points up the fact that T. now substitutes for his people (as he wished to do in 694–5 *me uerius unum | pro uobis foedus luere et decernere ferro*).

749 si quando: introducing a simile, cf. 10.272, 803. Both of those similes describe recurring natural phenomena, so the meaning 'whenever' is appropriate (Harrison on 10.272); the more particular details of this simile could justify the sense 'if at some time'.

750 puniceae . . . pennae: when driving game toward nets, hunters stretched ropes along the sides of the wood, to which were fastened feathers of alternating white and bright scarlet; the feathers frightened the animals and kept them from breaking out of the enclosure (detailed instructions in Grattius, *Cynegetica* 75–88). According to Seneca, *De ira* 2.11.5, the device was called a *formido*, a scare, from its intended effect; here *formidine* may allude to the technical term, although the ordinary sense of the word predominates, as it does in *G.* 3.371–2 *hos* (sc. *ceruos*) *non immissis canibus, non cassibus ullis | puniceaeue agitant pauidos formidine pennae.* The practice seems to be Roman in origin; many references in *TLL* 6.1100.11–32.

751 uenator . . . canis: *uenator* is used adjectivally, like *bellator equus* (10.891, 11.89) or *iuuenco | pugnatori* (11.679–80); the epithet has a humanizing effect, appropriate for the comparison to A. Despite the unusual placement of *canis*, there is no reason to make *uenator* the subject and *canis* gen. with *cursu*. In Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.17–19 *accipiter uelut | mollis columbas aut leporem citus | uenator* Wyngaarden conjectured *canis* for *citus*; the combination *canis uenator*, in a simile comparing Octavian's pursuit of Cleopatra, would create a powerful intertext with the present passage (with Horace almost certainly preceding V.), but the case against the transmitted *citus* is not compelling.

752 insidiis . . . alta: restates *puniceae . . . pennae* and *flumine* in reverse order, with emphasis on the deer's reaction. **insidiis:** used of the *formido* by Seneca (in n. on 750) *cum maximos ferarum greges linea pinnis distincta contineat et in insidias agat.* **et:** what were introduced as alternative factors (*aut* 750) are now both at work, increasing the sense of the animal's terror and strengthening the parallel with T. (745 *hinc . . . palus, hinc . . . moenia*).

753 fugit refugitque uias: cf. 6.122 *itque reditque uiam*, which also illustrates the internal acc. after an intransitive verb. V. is fond of such pairings to describe retracted/reversed action, cf. Wills (1996) 446–8. The image of a course doubling back on itself looks back to 743 *implicat orbis* and forward to 763 *explent . . . retexunt.* **uiuidus:** a human trait, often descriptive of a warlike spirit, cf. 5.754, 11.386 *uiuida uirtus*, 10.609–10 *uiuida bello | dextra.* **Vmber:** another Italian touch in the implicit portrayal of A. Ovid made his hunting dog *Gallicus*, *Met.* 1.533, but *Vmber* is retained in the imitations by Val. Fl. 6.420–1 and Silius 3.295 (292–7 are thick with allusions to our passage). Umbrian hounds were noted for their keen scent (cf. e.g. Sen. *Thy.* 497–8 *sagax . . . Vmber*); Grattius, however, thought they lacked bravery (*uirtus*) and that they ran from the wild animals they had tracked down (171–3).

754 haeret: the following words show that the sense is 'sticks close to' (*OLD* 4b) rather than 'fastens onto' (2b), but the entire line stresses the proximity of pursuer and prey. Ovid's version is especially close at this point, *Met.* 1.535–6 *alter inhaesuro similis iam iamque tenere | sperat.* **iam iamque tenet:** '*iam iamque* is used when something seems to be on the very point of happening, when the very next moment must bring it about' (Page). There is probably a significant echo of 2.529–30 (Pyrrhus pursuing Priam) *illum ardens infesto uulnere Pyrrhus | insequitur* (~ 748), *iam iamque manu tenet et premit hasta*; see also 940 below. Wills (1996) 107 notes that *iam iamque* is a standard feature of imitations of our passage, e.g. Stat. *Theb.* 10.730 *iam iamque tenentibus Argis.* **similisque tenenti** 'looking as if it is actually grasping'; the present is even more vivid than, e.g., Ovid's *inhaesuro similis* (*Met.* 1.535), cf. 6.602–3 *silex iam iam lapsura cadentique | . . . adsimilis. similis* may imply the onlookers' perspective, cf. 8.649–50 *illum indignanti similem similemque minanti | aspiceres* (although there *similis* also denotes the resemblance between an artistic rendering and a living person).

755 increpuit malis 'snapped with its jaws', cf. Ap. Rhod. 2.281 ἄκρῃς ἐν γενύεσσι μάτην ἀράβησαν ὀδόντας ('vainly snapping their jaws, reaching out with their teeth'). V. postpones mentioning the dog's failure until the last possible moment (*elusus inani*); Ovid's other imitation of our passage, *Met.* 7.785–6, highlights that aspect: *similisque tenenti | non tenet et uanos exercet in aera morsus.*

756–7 The absence of a formal closure to the simile led to early disagreement about its boundaries. Servius Auctus concluded that 756–7 are not part of the simile, but *ripaeque* seems to look back to *ripa . . . alta* in 752; on the other hand, *exoritur clamor* wittily echoes *exclamant* in 730, which might suggest a return to the perspective of the onlookers. If the lines do belong to the simile, the *clamor* is that of the dog's barking (*latratibus*, 751). **ripaeque . . . circa:** C–N compare *Il.* 21.9–10 (as the Trojans are driven into the Xanthus) 'the steep-running water | sounded, and the banks echoed hugely about them' (βράχε δ' αἰπὰ ῥέεθρα, | ὄχθαι δ' ἀμφὶ περὶ μεγάλ' ἴαχον). A fragment of Lucilius (1290 Marx) has *resultabant aedesque lacusque.*

757 responsant: V.'s only use of *responsare*, and the first attested occurrence of the verb with a non-human subject (*OLD* 1b), a usage popular with V.'s Flavian successors. **caelum . . . tumultu:** cf. 9.541 *caelum tonat omne fragore*. References to the sky at the end of passages are a means of widening the angle of vision; cf. e.g. 409–10 and 724 above.

758 ille: without the simile, *ille* would balance A. in 746. **simul fugiens . . . simul increpat:** a single *simul* would suffice for the sense, cf. 10.856 *simul hoc dicens attollit*; the repetition adds vividness and stresses T.'s uninterrupted flight. **increpat** 'rebukes' them for not coming to his aid, cf. 10.830–1 *increpat ultro | cunctantis socios*.

759 nomine quemque uocans: a pathetic reversal of 638–9 above, *uidi . . . me uoce uocantem | Murranum*. The motif of calling soldiers by name is regularly associated with generals exhorting their men (cf. 11.731 with Horsfall's n.); to have the leader beg them for help adds to the pathos of T.'s plight. **efflagitat:** the verb often implies repeated requests, cf. Livy 3.60.8 *ipsi efflagitatum ab ducibus signum pugnae accepere*, and so fits well with *nomine quemque uocans*. It is extremely rare in poetry: the only other occurrences before the fourth century are Gratt. *Cynegetica* 398 and Stat. *Theb.* 10.612.

760–2 A *tricolon decrescens* (*mortem . . . adeat – terretque . . . minitans – et saucius instat*) depicts A.'s relentless advance. His threat recalls Achilles' order to his men not to throw their spears at Hector (*Il.* 22.205–7), but is far more drastic.

760 contra: countering T.'s appeal in the previous line.

760–1 praesensque . . . exitium: *exitium* is a weightier equivalent for *mortem*; *praesens* = 'immediate', cf. 10.622 *mora praesentis leti*, 1.91 (the Trojans in the sea storm) *praesentem . . . intentant omnia mortem*, of which the present passage is a likely inversion.

761 trementis: probably proleptic, 'terrifies them and makes them tremble' cf. 875 below *ne me terrete timentem*.

762 excisurum: *se* is omitted after a verb of threatening, as in 655 above.

763 quinque orbis: recalling and outdoing the three circuits of the walls of Troy in *Il.* 22.208, 251; the recollection leads into the more explicit Homeric reference to follow. **retexunt:** 'T. is perpetually doubling on his track, and so seems to "unwind" or "unweave" the circle which he has just made' (Page). The sound-play in *explent . . . retexunt* makes the verbs resemble *fugit refugitque* in 753, and the metaphor in *retexunt* recalls that in *implicat* in 743. For a similar back-and-forth series of motions cf. 5.583 *inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus*.

764–5 neque enim . . . certant: cf. *Il.* 22.159–61 'since here was no festal beast, no ox-hide | they strove for, for these are prizes that are given men for their running. | No, they ran for the life of Hector, breaker of horses' (ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήϊον οὐδὲ βοείην | ἀρνύσθην, ἅ τε ποσσὶν ἀέθλια γίγνεται ἀνδρῶν, | ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θέον Ἕκτορος ἱπποδάμοιο). The unusually overt reference underscores the parallel between Achilles and A. and Hector and T. V. has simplified Homer's

wording to sharpen the contrast between *leuia aut ludicra praemia* and *Turni de uita et sanguine*.

764 ludicra: Servius glossed as 'uilia, digna ludo', but the sense is probably closer to Homer's ἀέθλια, referring to prizes awarded at sporting competitions; cf. Velleius' reference to the Olympic games as *clarissimum... omnium ludicrum certamen* (1.8.1).

765 uita et sanguine: a more emphatic equivalent of *uita*, suited to a solemn pronouncement, cf. Livy 6.14.8 *illi deuouere corporis uitaeque et sanguinis quod supersit*, with Oakley's n. The contrast between lesser possessions and *uita et sanguis* is a favourite with Cicero; cf. *Quinct.* 39 *non pecuniam modo, uerum etiam hominis propinqui sanguinem uitamque eripere conatur* (also 46), *Rosc. Am.* 7 *peto ut pecunia fortunisque nostris contentus sit, sanguinem et uitam ne petat*, *Verr.* 3.56, 5.139.

766–83 Homer provides only faint hints of this episode, in *Il.* 22.145 (the 'windy fig-tree' passed by Achilles and Hector) and 21.171–2 (Achilles' spear sticks in a riverbank and cannot be dislodged by his Trojan adversary). Trees were often dedicated to divinities (cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.22 with Nisbet–Rudd's introductory n.); the present passage, together with 7.59–63 on the laurel dedicated to Apollo by Latinus, might suggest that the practice was especially dear to the Latins, in keeping with their depiction as idealized countryfolk.

Thomas (1988) finds A. guilty of serial tree violation, adducing 3.22–48 and 6.210–11 (the Golden Bough) in addition to the present passage; I would not go so far, but in this case at least the Trojans are shown as acting without regard to *pietas* in the religious sense, and A. does suffer (if only temporarily) because of their neglect. La Cerda excused A.'s actions on the basis of *ius belli*; his reference to Livy 31.24.18, however, is hardly comforting: *sed et Cynosarges et Lycium et quidquid sancti amoeniue circa urbem erat incensum est, dirutaque non tecta solum sed etiam sepulcra, nec diuini humaniue iuris quicquam prae impotenti ira est seruatum.* La Cerda also argued that any impiety committed by A. was matched by T.'s uprooting of an ancient boundary marker at 896–8, but V.'s description does not invest that object with any sacred properties.

In levelling a site held sacred by their enemies, the Trojans resemble their Roman descendants: 'it seems to have been something of a general principle throughout Rome's history that the sacred sites of others, rather than evoking a sense of *pietas*..., were in fact fair game for fire and the sword' (Rutledge (2007) 180). M. Antonius was alleged to have cut down a grove sacred to Aesculapius on the island of Cos to produce timber for ships (Val. Max. 1.1.19), and Lucan attributes a similar action to Julius Caesar at Massilia (3.399–452, cf. Rutledge 186), although Lucan's account is so closely modelled on *Aen.* 6.179–82 and Ovid's story of Erysicthon (*Met.* 8.741–76) as to call its historicity into question.

766 Forte: as a transition formula in initial position, cf. 3.22, 8.102, 11.768; see also on 270 above. **Forte... Fauno foliis:** the alliteration probably has an archaic flavour, see on 741 above. **Fauno:** *fauni*, spirits of the woods, are

associated with other rustic *numina* such as nymphs, satyrs and *silvani*, cf. 8.314, Lucr. 4.580–1, Ovid, *Met.* 1.192–3. An individualized Faunus, created in part by assimilation to the Greek Pan, was worshipped in Rome on 13 February and in a rural festival on 5 December; cf. Nisbet–Rudd's introductory n. to Hor. *Carm.* 3.18. V. gives Faunus a vital role in the plot of the second half of the poem, as the father of Latinus (7.47–8, 213) and the source of the oracle instructing him to betroth Lavinia to a foreign son-in-law (7.81–106, 254, 368), but the present passage does not appear to evoke those aspects of the deity. See further Fordyce on 7.47ff., Harrison on 10.551. **foliis oleaster amaris:** the wild olive tree is an appropriate dedication to a god of uncultivated areas. The same phrase appears in *G.* 2.314, where the barren wild olive is the only survivor of a forest fire; Thomas ad loc. comments 'given the status of the Trojans as "civilizers" or representatives of the age of Jupiter, it may be noteworthy that V. puts this tree . . . "on the side of" the Latins'.

767 steterat: pluperfect because at the time V. is describing the tree had been removed.

767–9 nautis . . . uestis: 'the sailors would offer to Faunus not as a sea-god, but as the protector of their homes' (C–N); this overlooks the clear implication of *seruati ex undis*, and in any case the oddness of the detail is not so easily explained away, since Faunus is elsewhere a protector of flocks and fields rather than of homes. V. may have introduced the motif, however unlikely in logic or geography, in order to depict a native Italian deity as a life-saving benefactor.

767 olim 'of old', not necessarily implying that the devotion had ceased to exist.

768 seruati ex undis: if we are meant to recall that the Trojans were themselves saved from the sea in book 1, their disregard for this custom seems particularly insensitive. **figere:** as Traina notes, *figere* is almost a technical term in dedicatory contexts; cf. 3.286–7 *clipeum . . . | postibus aduersis figo*, 6.636, *TLL* 6^1.710.53–65.

769 Laurenti diuo: as father of Latinus (7.48), Faunus' local credentials are impeccable. **uotas suspendere uestis:** a custom made famous by Horace in the ode to Pyrrha, 1.5.13–16 *me tabula sacer | uotiua paries indicat uuida | suspendisse potenti | uestimenta maris deo*, to which V. may be paying the compliment of an allusion. See also Pease on Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.89. For offerings hung on trees cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.744–5 *uittae mediam* [sc. *quercum*] *memoresque tabellae | sertaque cingebant, uoti argumenta potentum.*

770–1 An accumulation of *s*-sounds is followed by strong alliteration of *p* and *c*, creating a generally harsh effect.

770 nullo discrimine: i.e. making no distinction between this sacred tree (*stirpem . . . sacrum*) and others that were being cleared away. There may be an echo of 498–9 above, of A., *saeuam n. d. caedem | suscitat.*

771 puro 'unobstructed' (*OLD* 7), cf. *Bell. Africum* 19.4 *in campis planissimis purissimisque*, Livy 24.14.6 *puro ac patenti campo*, but ironically evoking the sense

'ritually clean' (*OLD* 3), cf. Livy 31.44.5 *neque in iis quidquam postea poni dedicarique placere eorum quae in loco puro poni dedicarique fas esset.*

772 *hic . . . huc* (on which see n. on 572 above) marks a division between result (*stabat*) and causes (*detulerat, tenebat*). **hic:** presumably the tree had not been entirely removed, and a stump remained. The spondaic rhythm (SSSS) suggests the immobility of A.'s spear. **hasta Aeneae:** the spear that A. had thrown in 711 above. **hasta . . . stabat:** La Cerda suggested that the combination (also in 537 above *stetit hasta*) alluded to the etymology of *hasta*, cf. Varro *Ling.* 5.115 *hasta quod astans solet ferri.* **stabat:** the second syllable is lengthened *in arsi*, cf. 13 above.

773 fixam: *fixam* coheres more naturally with *tenebat* (with *et* postponed) than with *detulerat*; in the latter case, *fixam* would be proleptic ('had brought it there so that it was fixed'), for which C–N compare 3.236–7 *tectos . . . per herbam | disponunt enses. fixam* ironically recalls *figere* 768: A.'s spear has become an unwilling offering to Faunus. **lenta** 'resistant, slow to yield' (with perhaps a suggestion of 'slowing' as well), cf. 3.31–2 *alterius lentum conuellere uimen | insequor*; the combination with *radix* appeared in Varro of Atax, fr. 21.2 Courtney *illius et lentis premitur radicibus umor.* Fordyce on Catull. 64.183 comments that the basic sense of *lentus* is 'yielding under pressure', so that, depending on which aspect is highlighted, the word may connote pliability or stiffness. **tenebat:** the subject is *impetus*, extended to include the penetration it produced (so C–N).

774 incubuit: a perf. of instantaneous action (cf. 717 above). The verb implies both leaning over and exerting force, like Asteropaeus' action in *Il.* 21.178 ἐπιγνάμψας ('he was bending over the ash spear'). **uoluitque:** governs both *conuellere* and *sequi* in the next phrase; with *conuellere* it means 'to aim, have as one's purpose' (*OLD* 16, though none of the passages cited looks precisely parallel). There is another close parallel to Asteropaeus, cf. *Il.* 21.177 ἤθελε θυμῷ. **conuellere:** the verb describes a violent uprooting, cf. 3.24, 31 (cited in n. on *lenta* 773), 6.148 (of the Golden Bough, see on 782 below).

775 Dardanides: since Dardanus has both Italian and Trojan connections, the force of *Dardanides* must be inferred from context. Harrison on 10.4 and elsewhere says that the epithet 'stresses the Trojans' rights in Italy', but V. often uses it in opposition to Italian figures, as in 10.4, 548–9 above. In 10.545 A. is called *Dardanides* as he fights with Umbro from the Marsian hills. Here, where the Trojans' lack of familiarity with or concern for native customs is crucial, *Dardanides* calls attention to A.'s foreignness. **sequi** 'attack' (or 'catch up with, overtake') rather than 'pursue', see on 354 above. The combination of *telo* and *cursu* recalls 9.559, of T., *pariter cursu teloque secutus.*

776 tum uero amens formidine: cf. 9. 424 (Nisus) *tum uero exterritus amens.* These are the only two examples of *tum uero* not at the beginning of the line; the mid-line position creates a greater sense of urgency. *amens formidine* marks

a further stage in T.'s fear, combining *amens* 742 and *formidine* 750; cf. also 868 below.

777 optima: an honorific address, but not strictly a cult title (except in the case of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus); cf. Enn. *Ann.* 445 Sk. *optima caelicolum, Saturnia*, Accius 240 R[2] *o Dionyse, pater optime.*

778 colui . . . honores: it is natural in prayers to recall former dealings with the god, emphasizing the god's previous favour and the worshipper's proven devotion. For the latter cf. *Il.* 1.39–41 (Chryses to Apollo) 'if ever it pleased your heart that I built your temple' (εἴ ποτέ τοι χαρίεντ' ἐπὶ νηὸν ἔρεψα), *Aen.* 9.406–7 *si qua tuis umquam pro me pater Hyrtacus aris* | *dona tulit*, 11.785–6 *summe deum . . .* | *quem primi colimus*, with Horsfall's n.; for the former cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.32.1–2 *si quid uacui sub umbra* | *lusimus tecum*, with Nisbet–Hubbard ad loc. Those examples also illustrate the use of a *si*-clause to assert modestly what is assumed to be incontrovertible fact. **colui uestros . . . honores:** enallage/hypallage for *uos colui honoribus*, cf. 4.457–8 *templum* | *coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat.*

779 quos . . . profanos: one might think that contrasting one's own piety with the lack of respect shown by others would be a common motif of ancient prayers, but I cannot cite a parallel closer than the prayer of the Pharisee in Luke 18.11. **Aeneadae:** T. wishes there to be no doubt that the Trojans who removed the sacred tree (*Teucri* 770) were acting under A.'s orders. **fecere profanos** 'rendered profane', i.e. destroyed its sacred character; although *honores* is the antecedent, the tree is to be understood as the embodiment of the god's worship. There were prescribed rituals for deconsecrating sacred places or objects (see *OLD* s.v. *profanus* 1b); T.'s words ironically suggest that the Trojans employed war as their preferred method. La Cerda refers to the idea that sacred places or objects were automatically rendered profane if captured by an enemy; cf. Pomponius in *Pandects* 7.36.

780–3 In narrative the positive outcome of a prayer is often first stated in general terms, followed by the specific effects it produces: cf. 4.219–21, Ovid, *Met.* 4.164–5 *uota tamen tetigere deos, tetigere parentes;* | *nam . . .*, 10.488–9 *ultima certe* | *uota suos habuere deos. nam . . .* Here the formality of the pattern is heightened by the elevated language of 780, e.g. the litotes *non cassa*, and the alliteration in *uota uocauit.*

780 cassa in uota: V. seems to have been struck by Lucretius' use of *cassus*, turning the physical *cassum lumine*, 'devoid of light' (5.719) into a grand periphrasis for death (2.85 with Austin's n., also 11.104 *uictis . . . et aethere cassis*); here the sense 'vain, futile' builds on Lucretian examples such as 4.511 *uerborum copia cassa* and 3.1049 *solliticam . . . cassa formidine mentem.* The combination *cassa uota* found no imitators in later poetry. **in uota uocauit:** *uota* and *uocare* are often coupled in references to prayer, cf. 1.290 *uocabitur hic quoque uotis*, but the combination *in uota uocare* (*deos*) usually means 'to call the gods to hear/witness one's prayers',

cf. 5.234, 7.471, 514. V. may have used the expression here simply for a grander effect; alternatively, *opem dei* = e.g. *deum adiutorem*.

781–3 A.'s vain efforts to dislodge the spear resemble Iapyx's unsuccessful attempt to pull the arrow point from A.'s wound (400–4 above).

781 moratus: A. is once more delayed in his attempt to meet T. in single combat. There is probably sound-play with *morsus* in the line below (apt since it is the tree's 'bite' that is causing the delay).

782 uiribus haud ullis: an unmistakable echo (unremarked by comms.) of 6.147–8, where the Sibyl describes what will happen if A. is not fated to pluck the golden bough: *non uiribus ullis | uincere nec duro poteris conuellere ferro* (~ 774 *conuellere ferrum*). At a minimum the link shows that A. is here on the 'wrong' side of the situation; he is also aligned with Achilles' opponent Asteropaeus, who could not wrench Achilles' spear out of the bank in *Il.* 21.174–8. **discludere:** the verb in the sense 'break apart' appears before V. only in Lucretius, who uses it of powerful natural forces, cf. 5.444, 6.240 (thunderbolts) *ut possint ictu discludere turris*. The suggestion of Losada (1984) that the verb explains A.'s failure because it denotes action beyond the strength of any man seems oversubtle. **morsus:** a unique metaphor, for which the closest parallel is 1.169 (*nauis*) *unco non alligat ancora morsu* (cf. 6.3–4 *dente tenaci | ancora fundabat nauis*). The unusual image makes a connection with *morsus* in 755 highly probable.

783 instat: of A. in 762 and, in simile, 751, but here ironic, since although he presses on, he makes no progress.

784–7 In *Il.* 22.276–7 Athena returns Achilles' spear to him after it misses Hector; V. maintains equality between his antagonists by doubling the divine intervention. The rapid pace of the action introduces some of the lightness of tone that infuses many of V.'s divine scenes; also, Venus seems more annoyed by Juturna's uppity behaviour than concerned to help Aeneas.

784 It seems necessary to suppose, with Servius, that Juturna had put off her disguise at some point after being recognized by T. in 632–4 and now reassumes the appearance of Metiscus; but there is no obvious reason for V. to have introduced that complication. (C–N's suggestion that *rursus* goes with *procurrit* can hardly be right.)

785 procurrit . . . reddit: the verb-framed line is immediately countered by another in 787 *accessit . . . reuellit*, as Venus retaliates against Juturna's intervention. **dea Daunia:** a 'nativist' description, cf. on *Dardanides* 775.

786 quod: subj. of *licere*, see *OLD* s.v. *licet* 3. **audaci nymphae:** perhaps an oxymoron. The syntactical subordination of *quod . . . audaci nymphae . . . licere* to *indignata* strongly suggests that *audax* reflects Venus' view of Juturna's action. **indignata:** for the use with an inf. cf. 7.770–1 *aliquem indignatus ab umbris . . . ad lumina surgere uitae*, expressing Jupiter's outrage at the violation of fundamental boundaries. Juturna's action hardly reaches that level, which makes Venus' offended response appear more snobbish than righteous.

This is Venus' last appearance in the poem – hardly a glorious ending for her; while her son's cause is destined to succeed, she is eclipsed in the next scene by her rival Juno.

788–90 The end of the episode re-establishes the situation as at 723–4, with the two fighters again evenly matched.

788 olli: see on 18 above. **sublimes:** whether understood absolutely or with *armis* (see next n.), *sublimis* must mean 'elated, raised high in spirit', for which the closest parallel in V. is 10.143–4 *quem . . . sublimem gloria tollit*; C–N compare Ovid, *Fast.* 1.101 *sublimia pectora*. Elsewhere in V. the word has some component of physical elevation, cf. 1.259, 7.285. For *celsus* similarly used cf. Livy 7.16.5 *signum poscunt ingenti clamore celsique et spe haud dubia feroces in proelium uadunt*, with Oakley's n. **armis:** probably to be taken with *sublimes* rather than as a pair with *animis*: the balance of the line seems better if *sublimes armis* chiastically matches *animis refecti*, and if V. had wanted to couple *armis* and *animis*, he could have done so clearly by writing *armisque animisque*. But it is hard to avoid feeling that *armis* relates to both; cf. *circa* 757.

789 gladio fidens: a retrospective clarification of *impune putans* in 728 above (see n.) **gladio:** on V.'s use of *gladius* vs. *ensis* see 278 above. **acer:** of A. in 783 above, 938 below; like *instat* (783n.) and *feruidus* (748n.), it expresses the intensity with which A. pursues his long-delayed meeting with T. **arduus:** usually applied to fighters on horseback (cf. 7.624, of T. 9.53, a rearing horse 11.638–9) or otherwise elevated (6.683 Agrippa on the stern of his ship), *arduus* is a remarkable term for a warrior on foot; it is used of the Cyclops (3.619–20) and the monstrous Typhoeus (8.298).

790 The line contains two unrelated textual/syntactical problems. (1) The ancient MSS read *certamina*, to be construed with *contra*: 'they stand facing the combat of Mars'; but Servius mentions a variant *certamine*, which would be a loose local abl. with *adsistunt*, making *contra* an adverb: 'they stand facing [i.e. each other] in the combat of Mars'. V. could certainly have written *adsistunt contra certamina*, substituting the abstract combat for the concrete enemy (for the latter comms. cite Cic. *Leg.* 2.10 *ut contra omnis hostium copias in ponte unus adsisteret*), but in a context that places so much emphasis on A. and T. as adversaries, it seems more forceful to have them stand facing each other than to have both stand facing a metaphorical third party. Also, while *certamina* is the *lectio difficilior* as far as sense is concerned, it could easily have arisen from an expectation that *contra* would be followed by an acc. object. (2) *anheli* could be gen. sing. with *Martis* or nom. pl. with A. and T. The former seems preferable, partly because of word order (it would be awkward to introduce a significant modifier for A. and T. at the end of the sentence), and partly because *anheli* seems less appropriate at this point, when A. and T. have been refreshed by a break in the action (cf. 788 *refecti*). The combination *Martis anheli* is unparalleled, but not hard to understand given the frequent metonymy of Mars = *pugna/proelium*; cf. e.g. 7.550 *insani Martis amore*, 73 above *duri certamina Martis*.

791–842 Jupiter persuades Juno to end her opposition to the Trojans' victory; he decrees that the Latins will retain their language and customs

This is the last and most significant forward-looking passage of the poem and is in that respect a counterpart to Jupiter's dialogue with Venus in 1.223–96; the episodes are also connected by many verbal echoes, most conspicuously the repetition of *olli subridens* (1.254 ~ 829). While there is no contradiction between what Jupiter tells Venus and Juno, facts are carefully chosen and emphasized to give each addressee what she wants to hear: for example, Jupiter assures Venus that Juno will change her mind and join him in favouring the Romans (279–82), but he does not mention the loss of Trojan identity that will be needed to secure her favour. (Compare Harrison's comment on 10.8: 'the politic Jupiter adapts his words to the situation, saying one thing to Venus alone in book 1 and another to pacify the assembled and at least partly rebellious gods in book 10'.)

The primary Homeric model is *Il.* 15.12–77, where Zeus angrily denounces Hera for aiding the Greeks against the Trojans. While the situations are parallel, the brutal violence of Zeus's threats is far removed from Jupiter's controlled, at times almost bantering tone. The placement of the scene as an interlude in the confrontation of A. and T. parallels *Il.* 22.168–87, where Zeus contemplates rescuing Hector but is dissuaded by Athena. Other disputes between Zeus and Hera in the *Iliad* are initiated by Hera (1.540–611, 4.25–67), but they also end with the deities reconciled.

Some earlier comms. were embarrassed by the episode, e.g. Page (on 814): 'to us the whole discussion appears rather comic, and indeed it is only in very early and simple composition that it is possible to introduce divine beings arguing, debating, and acting like mere mortals without verging on the ridiculous'. Page was right to sense a lightness of tone in the scene, but the effect is intentional, an ironic colouring common to many of V.'s episodes of divine interaction. Jupiter and Juno are portrayed as wily adversaries whose skill in dealing with each other is the product of long intimacy. One effect of V.'s treatment is to heighten the contrast between the gods' ability to arrive at an accommodation and the grim consequences their agreement will have for mortals.

As in the earlier conversation between Jupiter and Juno in 10.606–32, both parties play their roles like practised performers and are acutely aware of what is said and unsaid. Jupiter, for example, could simply forbid Juno to intervene further, and at the end of his first speech he does so (*ulterius temptare ueto* 806). But he wants his wife to be able to claim that she has won valuable concessions from him, and so he frames his final response in terms of a capitulation (*do quod uis et me uictusque uolensque remitto* 833). There is no reason to believe, though, that Jupiter's concessions cost him anything, or that he has compromised on any point of real interest to him. As for Juno, she is only required to end her protection of T. and her opposition to the Trojans' victory and A.'s marriage to Lavinia, and those

are the only commitments she makes; nothing is said about future situations in which she might be an adversary of Rome (e.g. in the wars with Carthage), and we must infer that the present agreement leaves her free to act as she wishes in those circumstances. (Juno's involvement in the Punic Wars on the side of Carthage is in fact alluded to by Jupiter in the council scene of book 10, 11–14.)

The negotiations between Jupiter and Juno have the effect of an *euocatio*, the Roman ritual by which the divine protector of an enemy is induced to transfer allegiance in return for the promise of a new cult in Rome. In constructing the scene V. may have recalled historical *euocationes* of Juno: from Veii in 396 BCE (cf. Livy 5.21.1–7), and during the Second and Third Punic Wars (cf. Servius ad 841: 'constat bello Punico secundo exoratam Iunonem, tertio uero bello a Scipione sacris quibusdam etiam Romam esse translatam'). The reader's awareness of those subsequent *euocationes* reinforces the impression that the present agreement represents only a 'temporary accommodation' (Feeney (1991) 149), not a permanent cessation of Juno's hostility toward the descendants of A.

Juno's qualified assent has a close parallel in the speech Horace gives her in *Carm.* 3.3.18–68, where she agrees to the apotheosis of Romulus provided that Troy not be rebuilt. It seems likely that both V. and Horace were influenced by a speech of Juno in the first book of Ennius' *Annales*, also on the occasion of Romulus' deification; see Feeney (1984) (= Harrison (1990)). It has been long debated whether both passages, along with the speech of Camillus in Livy 5.51–4 against moving the seat of government to Veii, relate to contemporary discussions of establishing a second capital in the East, perhaps specifically at Troy. (Nisbet–Rudd on Hor. *Carm.* 3.3 offer a good summary of the issues.) The unanimous rejection of such a plan by Augustan authors is strong evidence that Augustus had already decided not to pursue it. Whatever contemporary resonance the question may have had, the resolution arrived at in this episode is fully consistent with the *Aeneid*'s ambivalent attitude to Trojanness and its celebration of the innate virtue of the Italian peoples. (See 835 n.)

On the episode see further Johnson (1976) 123–7, Feeney (1984), (1991) 146–52, D. West (1998), who brings out the elements of 'domestic comedy' (cf. in particular 307–13), Hejduk (2009) 304–7.

791 Iunonem . . . rex: the speakers are named in the opening line as in the heading of a dramatic scene; cf. 10.606 *Iunonem interea compellat Iuppiter ultro.* **omnipotentis Olympi:** also in 10.1 *panditur interea domus o. O.*; here the variation on the common *pater omnipotens* might anticipate the less than all-powerful role Jupiter will play in the scene.

792 fulua . . . de nube: scenes set in heaven do not usually contain much description of the surroundings, but this item of celestial furniture figures prominently as a symbol of Juno's resistance, cf. 796, 810, 842. In contrast to Juno's dark cloud, Jupiter when approached by Venus is looking down *aethere summo* (1.223). For a cloud as a convenient observation post cf. 9.639–40 (Apollo) *desuper Ausonias acies urbemque uidebat | nube sedens.* For *fulua* C–N compare Pindar *Ol.* 7.49

ξανθὰν ἀγαγὼν νεφέλαν. Servius thought that *de nube* = *de aere*, Juno's element, cf. O'Hara (1996) 239.

793–806 Jupiter's speech falls into three sections, each with a distinctive syntactical character: 793–9 questions, 800–2 imperatives with dependent *ne*-clause (see n. on 801–2); 803–6 indicative verbs.

793 quae iam finis erit: the absence of a formal opening may suggest impatience; contrast 10.607 *o germana mihi atque eadem gratissima coniunx*. Jupiter's first words recall his conversation with Venus, who asked him *quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?* (1.241); there is also an echo of 1.223 (the transition to the Jupiter – Venus scene) *et iam finis erat*, and of A.'s consoling prediction to his men, *dabit deus his quoque finem* (1.199), which here begins to find its fulfilment, cf. Gransden (1984) 37–9. Jupiter's questions may also recall Juno's own words to Venus, 4.98 *sed quis erit modus, aut quo certamine tanto?*, but with a stronger sense of finality. For feminine *finis* (so Catull. 64.217, consistently in Lucretius), cf. 2.554, 3.145, 5.327, 384. **coniunx:** the unadorned vocative suits the intimate nature of the scene. The respectful address *coniunx* is almost entirely restricted to high-register poetry (cf. Dickey (2002) 278); on its other appearances in V. cf. West (1998) 317 n. 5. V. does not use *uxor* in *Aen.* (*uxorius* in 4.266 is bitterly reproachful), and *maritus* meaning 'husband' rather than 'suitor' appears only in 3.297 and 4.103 *liceat Phrygio seruire marito*, where it is meant to be degrading. **quid . . . restat?:** i.e. what tactic is left for you to try? Cf. Livy 7.8.2 *equites alius alium increpantes quid deinde restaret quaerendo*. As a direct question the expression may convey an informal tone; cf. Ter. *Haut.* 300 *quid restat nisi porro ut fiam miser?*

794–5 Jupiter's opening reference to A.'s future apotheosis may allude to the scene in Ennius' *Annales* in which Juno consents to the deification of Romulus; so Feeney (1984) 191 (= Harrison (1990) 357).

In 1.259–60 Jupiter foretold A.'s divinity in terms that implicitly give Venus the credit, *sublimem . . . feres ad sidera caeli | magnanimum Aenean* (so also Ovid, *Met.* 14.585–95, where Venus actively canvasses the gods on his behalf). Here the fates are responsible.

794 indigetem: placed first for emphasis, adding the significant detail that A. will become one of the *Di Indigetes*. Their origin and significance were unclear in Antiquity (as Servius' n. on *G.* 1.498 shows): possible interpretations include (a) original gods of Rome, (b) divine ancestors (*Stammväter*), (c) divinized national heroes. In Augustan texts they are associated with quintessential Roman divinities; cf. *G.* 1.498 *di patrii Indigetes et Romule Vestaque mater*, Ovid, *Met.* 15.861–6 (Romulus, Mars, Vesta and Jupiter, and distinguishing the Indigetes from the Trojan Penates, *Aeneae comites* 861). A.'s divinization was traditionally placed at the river Numicius near Lavinium, into which he disappeared after a victorious battle with the Rutuli and their allies, cf. Livy 1.2.6 (who states that he was given the cult title *Iuppiter Indiges*), Tib. 2.5.43–4, Ovid, *Met.* 14.596–608. There is archaeological evidence of a hero cult of A. at Lavinium at least from the fourth century BCE. On *Di Indigetes* and *Aeneas Indiges*, see Oakley on Livy 8.9.6, Bömer on

Ovid, *Met.* 14.445ff. (pp. 153–8), Myers on *Met.* 14.581–608. The transformation of A. into an Italian divinity anticipates the fusion of Trojan and native peoples ordained by Jupiter later in the episode. **scire fateris**: for the omission of the reflexive with *fateor* cf. 3.603 *bello Iliacos fateor petiisse penatis*; compare the omission with verbs of threatening or promising, as in 654–5 above. Jupiter's words recall Juno's admission in 7.313–14 that she could not prevent A. from marrying Lavinia and establishing his rule in Latium.

795 deberi caelo: A. is 'destined for heaven'. The use of *debere* presents A.'s deification as inevitable; as Servius (on 6.714) remarks, 'deberi enim dicuntur quae fato certissime euentura sunt'. Earlier in the poem this usage was linked to the new homeland and kingdom fated for the Trojans; cf. 3.184 (Anchises speaking) *repeto haec generi portendere* (sc. *Cassandram*) *debita nostro*, 4.274–6 (Mercury speaking) *Ascanium . . . cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus | debetur*, 6.66–7 (A. speaking) *non indebita posco | regna meis fatis*. At this point V. looks beyond those events to their sequel, A.'s apotheosis. Livy (1.4.1) describes the origin of Rome in similar terms, *debebatur . . . fatis tantae origo urbis*.

Augustus' future divinity may have been spoken of in similar terms during V.'s lifetime, although the closest parallel comes from after Augustus' death and deification, *Consolatio ad Liuiam* 213 *tibi debetur caelum*; Ovid, *Met.* 15.817 (on Julius Caesar) has the motif seen from the other side, *perfectis quos terrae debuit annis*.

796 quid struis? aut qua spe: a striking repetition of 4.235 (with *struit*) and 271, where Jupiter (and later Mercury quoting him) rebuke A. for staying in Carthage. The repetition may suggest that trying to thwart the workings of destiny is always a hopeless endeavour. **gelidis in nubibus haeres:** *gelidis* 'seems to suggest that Juno would be more comfortable by the domestic hearth' (Page). The adjective often describes atmospheric conditions (rain, snow, dew, frost, etc.), but the only other attested example with *nubes* is Plin. *HN* 2.132. **haeres:** stronger than, e.g., *manebis*, and implying that Juno is stubbornly clinging to her cloud; cf. 2.654 (Anchises refusing to leave Troy) *abnegat inceptoque et sedibus haeret in isdem*, 4.445 (the wind-battered oak to which A. is compared) *ipsa haeret scopulis*.

797 mortalin . . . diuum: the artful word order places semantically opposed terms at ends of the line and constructs chiastic alliteration in *decuit uiolari uulnere diuum*. **uiolari uulnere:** a quasi-formulaic combination, cf. 11.277 (Diomedes) *Veneris uiolaui u. dextram*, 591 *quicumque sacrum uiolarit u. corpus*, 848 *quicumque tuum uiolauit u. corpus*. **diuum:** comms. explain that Aeneas, as a divinity-to-be, was 'already in process of becoming a god' (M.), but Jupiter seems to be stretching a point for rhetorical ends.

798–9 The infs. *reddi* and *crescere* depend on *decuit*, although the notion of unfitness does not apply as well to them as to *uiolare*.

798 (quid . . . ualeret?): the elliptical parenthesis conveys Jupiter's agitation. *enim* explains an unexpressed thought such as 'I blame you for the return of Turnus' sword'.

799 ereptum: an odd choice of words, since T.'s sword had not been stolen or snatched away from him, but mistakenly left behind in haste (735–7); *ereptum* does cohere well in sound with *reddi Turno*. **uim crescere uictis:** *uis* here = 'military force' (*OLD* 5); there is a significant echo of 2.452 *auxilio . . . leuare uiros uimque addere uictis* (the doomed Trojans). Jupiter's point is that, since T. is fated to die, anything that delays that outcome – such as rearming him – is contrary to *quod decet*.

800 The doubled imperative in a syntactically self-contained line is a favourite pattern in V. (cf. 573 above, 832 below), usually expressing authority and control. Here, however, that effect is somewhat undercut by the beseeching *precibus . . . inflectere nostris*. **desine:** used absolutely ('have done', Fagles), as in 10.881 (Mezentius to Aeneas). **precibusque:** it is unusual for a god to direct *preces* to another god; Venus in 5.781–2 calls attention to the fact: *Iunonis grauis ira neque exsaturabile pectus | cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnis*. In light of the following lines it may be relevant that *preces* are a standard ploy of the elegiac lover; cf. Prop. 1.1.16 *tantum in amore preces et benefacta ualent* (a motif perhaps already parodied in Catull. 50.18–19 *audax caue sis precesque nostras, | oramus, caue despuas, ocelle*). **inflectere:** passive imperative, 'be moved'.

801–2 'so that such great sorrow may not gnaw at you in silence, or that the bitter cares from your sweet mouth may not keep returning to me'. In a remarkable shift of tone (signalled by *precibus* in 800), Jupiter now speaks like an elegiac lover to his distraught mistress. Many older eds. place a period or semicolon after *nostris*, making *ne . . . edit . . . et . . . recursent* an independent negative command rather than a negative purpose clause. (So also Mandelbaum, Fitzgerald, and Fagles in their translations.) There is a logical basis for doing so, since the content of a negative purpose cl. is normally a state of things that does not yet exist, while it is clear that Juno is already acting as described in these lines, but nonetheless the passage seems to flow better with a comma at the end of 800. For a somewhat similar case cf. 11.18–21 *arma parate, animis et spe praesumite bellum, | ne qua mora ignaros . . . | impediat* (Horsfall translates 'Prepare your weapons; with courage and hope look forward to the battle. Let no delay hold you back . . . ').

801 ne te tantus edit tacitam dolor: strongly marked alliteration and assonance. **edit:** archaic subjunctive (normalized to *edat* in MP^2). The metaphor of emotions 'eating' at a person is old, but it becomes a cliché of romantic poetry; cf. Catull. 35.15 *ignes interiorem edunt medullam*, 66.23 *maestas exedit cura medullas*, 91.6 *cuius me magnus edebat amor*, of Dido 4.66–7 *est mollis flamma medullas | . . . et tacitum uiuit sub pectore uulnus*. **tacitam:** the notion of Juno's suffering in silence is highly implausible. There may be a touch of irony in Jupiter's language, or he may be playing the role of doting lover to the hilt. In Propertian elegy it is the lover-poet who finds it difficult to voice his anger and frustration; cf. 1.1.28 *sit modo libertas quae uelit ira loqui*, 1.18.3 *hic licet occultos proferre impune dolores*, 25–6 *omnia consueui timidus perferre superbae | iussa neque arguto facta dolore queri*. **et:** *et* in the sense 'or' (*OLD* 13, *TLL* 5^2.894.30–43) links naturally paired alternatives

only one of which can apply in a given case, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.11.49 *i pedes quo te rapiunt et aurae* (i.e. by land or sea), Livy 2.17.2 *uulneratis et occisis*, Vell. Pat. 2.46.1 *caesis et captis.* **mihi:** either dat. with *recurso*, as in 4.3–4 *multa uiri uirtus animo multusque recursat | gentis honos*, or dat. of the person adversely affected, 'to my distress'. Elegiac lovers are highly sensitive to their mistress's moods, cf. Prop. 1.6.11 *his ego non horam possum durare querelis.* **curae** 'worries, anxieties', another term with strong elegiac resonance, cf. Prop. 1.3.46 *illa fuit lacrimis ultima cura meis*, 1.5.10 *at tibi curarum milia quanta dabit*, 1.10.17 *possum alterius curas sanare recentes.* Since these *curae* are spoken, they are akin to the *querelae* uttered by the elegiac mistress (cf. Prop. 1.6.11, 1.17.9, 4.8.79) or the lover himself (cf. Prop. 1.16.39, 1.18.29).

802 tuo dulci . . . ex ore: the combination of a possessive and a descriptive adjective is archaic; cf. Enn. *Ann.* 26 Sk. *pater Tiberine tuo cum flumine sancto*, 50 Sk. *aegro cum corde meo*, *Sc.* 70 J. *cum tuo lacerato corpore*, Lucr. 1.38 *tuo recubantem corpore sancto*, in V. *G.* 2.147 *tuo perfusi flumine sacro*, *Aen.* 8.72 *tuo genitor cum flumine sancto* (from Ennius), 9.816 *ille suo cum gurgite flauo.* Here the fuller expression fits Jupiter's doting manner. **dulci . . . ex ore:** *dulcis* appears often in elegy and is applied to speech in expressions such as *dulcia uerba* (Ovid, *Am.* 2.19.17, *Ars am.* 2.152) or *dulci . . . sono* (2.284); cf. also Prop. 1.12.6 *nec nostra dulcis in aure sonat* (i.e. Cynthia's name). The combination *dulce os*, however, is not attested elsewhere before Ovid, *Met.* 12.577 *haec postquam dulci Neleius* [i.e. Nestor] *edidit ore.* **dulci tristes:** C–N suggest that such juxtapositions of opposed adjectives are a favourite device of elegy, cf. Prop. 3.15.15 *molliaque immites fixit in ora manus.* **recursent** 'keep returning', usually of mental recurrences, as in 1.662 (Venus) *urit atrox Iuno et sub noctem cura recursat*, 4.3–4 (Dido) *multa uiri uirtus animo multusque recursat | gentis honos.* This cluster of examples suggests allusion to a lost (perhaps Neoteric) text. There may also be an echo of 1.261 *quando haec te cura remordet* (so Traina).

803 uentum ad supremum est: Jupiter shifts tone once more. The impersonal formulation rhetorically puts the matter beyond the reach of individual wills, although in fact Jupiter has done as much to bring about the poem's ending as Juno has done to delay it; cf. Feeney (1991) 145–6.

803–5 terris . . . hymenaeos: the accumulation of infinitives (*agitare, accendere, deformare, miscere*) reflects the frequency of Juno's interventions. The lines also contain several echoes of the beginning of the conflict, as the narrative circle begins to close: 804 *infandum accendere bellum* ~ 7.392 *furiis . . . accensas pectore matres*, 482 *bello . . . animos accendit agrestis*, 550 *accendam . . . animos insani Martis amore*, 583–4 *infandum cuncti contra omina bellum . . . poscunt*; 805 *miscere hymenaeos* ~ 7.555 *talia coniugia et talis celebrent hymenaeos.*

804 infandum . . . bellum: Jupiter affirms A.'s description in 572 above, *belli . . . nefandi*; for the possible connection to *scelerato . . . sanguine* in 950 below, cf. n. ad loc.

805 deformare domum: cf. 613 above *canitiem immundo perfusam puluere turpans.* The *domus* (i.e. of Latinus) is personified (or else stands by metonymy for its inhabitants), 'disfigured' by the traditional gestures of mourning; cf. 10.844

(Mezentius) *canitiem multo deformat puluere*, Hor. *Epod.* 13.18 *deformis aegrimoniae*; the verb describes the destruction of buildings in Enn. *Sc.* 85–6 J. *parietes* | *deformati* (the ruins of Troy). **luctu:** cf. 594 above *totam luctu concussit funditus urbem.* **miscere** 'throw into confusion', another likely echo of the fall of Troy; cf. 2.487–8 *domus interior* (Priam's palace) *gemitu miseroque tumultu* | *miscetur.* Hejduk (2009) 304–6 notes that Jupiter's concern is for Juno's violation of order and decorum rather than for the suffering she has caused.

806 ulterius temptare ueto: the only other appearance in *Aen.* of the comparative *ulterius* is in T.'s appeal to A. in 938 below, *u. ne tende odiis*, which occupies the same place in the hexameter. Jupiter can forbid Juno to attempt anything further, but T.'s attempt to restrain A. is ultimately unsuccessful. **ueto:** the first person singular gives the prohibition the full weight of Jupiter's authority. Probable echoes are found in Val. Fl. 4.11–12 (Jupiter speaking to Juno) *tum me lacrimis et supplice dextra* | *adtemptare ueto* and Sil. 6.604–5 (Jupiter speaking to Hannibal, after enumerating what losses he has been allowed to inflict on the Romans) *Tarpeium accedere collem* | *murisque adspirare ueto.* (I am grateful to Stephen Oakley for the references.) **orsus:** often a synonym for *dixit* or *locutus est*, but here the sense 'begin to speak' would be apt, since Jupiter's speech opens the exchange.

807 summisso . . . uultu: Juno's demure expression recalls 10.611 *cui Iuno summissa.* The theatrical character of the scene is particularly evident here.

808–9 ista . . . Iuppiter: the small, plain words and broken vocative are the verbal counterpart of Juno's downward gaze.

808 ista: in combination with *tua*, strongly emphatic, cf. Cic. *Leg. Man.* 69 *istam tuam et legem et uoluntatem et sententiam laudo. ista tua uoluntas* probably refers obliquely to the deification of A., cf. 794–5. **magne:** word order and separation from *Iuppiter* might suggest that *magne* is an independent vocative, but the word seems not to be so used; in its substantival sense ('great ones, the great') *magnus* is predominantly plural, cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.75–6 *me* | *cum magnis uixisse*, Mart. 11.68.1 *parua rogas magnos.* For the vocative *magne Iuppiter* cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 1163, Ter. *Eun.* 709, Livy 8.6.5. **uoluntas:** perhaps an echo of 7.548 (Allecto) *tua si mihi certa uoluntas.*

809 et Turnum et terras inuita: the alliteration would suit a bitter, clipped delivery. At 9.802–5 Juno left T. under orders from Jupiter via Iris. **inuita reliqui:** half of an allusion to Catull. 66.39–40 *inuita, o regina, tuo de uertice cessi,* | *inuita; adiuro te tuumque caput* (note *adiuro* + acc. in 816 below), of which the other and more overt half is 6.460 *inuitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*; both the fem. *inuita* and *adiuro* appear only here in V. See Wills (1996) 74.

810 nec . . . uideres: apodosis of a present contrary-to-fact condition with protasis implied, '<if I were not so sure of your will> you would not now be seeing me'. **aeria solam . . . sede:** Juno's cloud is not only chilly but also isolated; she turns Jupiter's implication that her present position is undesirable to her own ends.

811 digna indigna pati 'suffering all kinds of things'. *digna indigna* is an asyndetic polar expression, in which opposites are juxtaposed to express a totality; compare, e.g., 'I have searched high and low' or 'we must use all means, fair or foul'. Here *digna* is not meant literally, since Juno would not wish to imply that any part of her sufferings was deserved; compare Catull. 64.405–6 *omnia fanda infanda . . . | iustificam nobis mentem auertere deorum*, where only the *infanda* can have alienated the gods. In most instances of the *dign-/indign-* combination both terms have full value, cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 247 *dignos indignos adire atque experiri certumst mihi*, 9.595–6 (Numanus Remulus) *digna atque indigna relatu | uociferans* (compare Fama in 4.190 *pariter facta atque infecta canebat*). For imitations of this passage see Wills (1996) 453.

811–12 sed . . . Teucros: the image of Juno engaging the Trojans in battle recalls her role in the sack of Troy, 2.613–14 *furens a nauibus agmen | ferro accincta uocat*; Horace's Juno vows that if Troy were to be revived she would lead victorious forces against it, *Carm.* 3.3.63–4 *ducente uictricis cateruas | coniuge me Iouis et sorore.* If *flammis cincta* is analogous to *ferro accincta* in 2.613, it creates a remarkable image of Juno 'girt about with flames'. Elsewhere in the poem *cingere* (or *circumdare*) *flammis* usually describes surrounding walls or encampments with defensive or offensive fires, cf. 9.153, 160, 10.74.119; that military sense underlies Venus' statement of her plans for Dido, 1.673–4 *cingere flamma | reginam meditor*, foreshadowing Dido's death as a metaphorical sack of Carthage. **sub ipsa . . . acie:** *sub* = 'close by, next to' (*OLD* 6b, 7), often in military contexts, cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 5.57.3 *cotidie . . . Indutiomarus sub castris eius uagabatur.*

812 inimica in proelia: cf. 716 above.

813–18 The second part of Juno's speech cunningly responds to Jupiter's accusations in 797–9: her only admission is phrased in such a way as to do her no discredit, and she righteously denies something of which she has not been accused.

813–14 A fairly accurate summary of Juno's encouragement of Juturna in 146–53 above, depicting Juturna's intervention as an act of mercy (*misero succurrere fratri*).

813 succurrere: in the *Aeneid* a word with strong positive connotations, several times used of bringing vital support to those in need (cf. e.g. 9.290, 10.512, 11.335); it is combined with *miser* in Dido's beautiful line *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco* (1.630).

814 suasi: for *suadere* with acc. + inf. cf. 10.9–10, with subj. unexpressed 3.363, 10.367. The construction is primarily poetic in Republican texts, cf. Ter. *Hec.* 481, Lucr. 1.140–2; it appears several times in Tacitus' *Annals*, cf. K–S 1.693–4. **pro uita:** Juno's desire to save T.'s life also animates her earlier dialogue with Jupiter in 10.606–32 (esp. 615–16, 629). **maiora audere:** corresponds to 152–3 above *si quid praesentius audes, | perge. maiora* could mean 'greater things than she would ordinarily dare' or just 'very great things'; it is less likely to imply 'things too great'. **probaui** 'I authorized/sanctioned', see *OLD* 4a, where this

is the only example given of an acc. + inf.; *TLL* 10.2.1466.2–3 adds Columella 3.15.3 (text uncertain) (Mago) *probat uinacea . . . in scrobe admouere.*

815–17 Jupiter did not accuse Juturna of wounding A., and his reference to a *mortale uulnus* (797) rules her out as his assailant. Juno cleverly transfers the mention of Juturna in 798 to the earlier incident, allowing her to proclaim her innocence in the most solemn terms. In *Il.* 15.37–8 Hera swears by the Styx to disavow having urged Poseidon to aid the Greeks; her oath is narrowly true, but it evades the just accusations of trickery made by Zeus (14–15, 31–3). For an even more craftily worded oath by the Styx that avoids an outright lie, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.736–7 (Jupiter to Juno) *numquam tibi causa doloris | haec erit* (*haec* meant to suggest 'this cause, i.e. having sex with another woman' but actually limited to 'this woman, i.e. Io').

815 non ut . . . non ut: Juno raises the rhetorical level with an emphatic repetition. **tela . . . arcum:** both phrases refer to shooting an arrow, with a mild zeugma (change of meaning) in *contenderet*: with *tela* it means 'shoot (the arrow)', as in 5.513–14 *arcu contenta . . . | tela*, 10.521 *infensam contenderat hastam*; with *arcum*, 'to draw (the bow),' as in Ovid, *Pont.* 1.5.49–50 *contendere discam | Sarmaticos arcus . . . ?* Other examples in *TLL* 4.662.79–663.3. See also Bell (1923) 312. **contenderet:** the *ut*-clauses probably depend on *suasi* rather than *probaui*, but cf. Cic. *Inu. rhet.* 2.105 *semper animo bono se in populum Romanum fuisse non tam facile probabat . . . quam ut propter posterius beneficium sibi ignosceretur* (*probabat . . . ut ignosceretur* 'he urged that he be pardoned').

816 adiuro . . . caput: a verbal echo of Catull. 66.40–1 (see n. on 809 above); *caput* also recalls Hera's swearing by the head of Zeus in *Il.* 15.39 σή θ' ἱερὴ κεφαλή.

817 'The only pledge | that fills the upper gods with dread' (Mandelbaum). For the expansion compare *Il.* 15.37–8 'the Styx, which oath is the biggest | and most formidable oath among the blessed immortals' (τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος | ὅρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι); the grandiloquent phrasing suits Juno's triumphant tone. **superstitio** 'object of religious dread', a sense mischievously evoked by Ovid in *Ars am.* 1.417 *magna superstitio tibi sit natalis amicae.* **superis . . . diuis:** the adj. implies a contrast between the gods of the upper world and the *di inferi*, who have jurisdiction over the Styx; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 4.7.17–18 *quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae | di superi?* **quae:** the antecedent is neuter (either 'swearing by the Styx' or *iusiurandum*); the relative is attracted into the feminine of the predicate *superstitio.* **reddita** 'allotted' (*OLD* 10), a sense found several times in Lucretius, cf. 1.577–8 *si nullast frangendis reddita finis | corporibus.*

818 cedo equidem: perhaps a significant echo of 2.704, where Anchises ceases to resist leaving Troy. **pugnasque exosa:** for the strong verb compare 517 above *exosum nequiquam bella Menoeten*; Juno's loathing, however, is limited to those battles she cannot win. Somewhat different in tone is 151 above (to Juturna), *non pugnam aspicere hanc oculis, non foedera possum.*

819–28 Juno's shift of position is made more dramatic by the absence of an explicit transition. Now that she is, however reluctantly, aligning her will with the ordained future of Rome, Juno speaks with a new gravity; the large rhetorical gestures, such as the repetitions *sit*... *sint*... *sit* (826–7) and *occidit, occiderit* (828) only add to the impact. A profusion of evocative local terms – *Latium* (twice), *Latini*, *Albani reges*, *Romana propago*, *Itala uirtus* – is set in opposition to the hated *Troes*, *Teucri* and *Troia*. From the perspective of V.'s audience, what Juno seeks to obtain is a reality: the Roman and Italian names are current and resonant, while Troy and the Trojans belong to a distant past.

819 illud: *hic* and *ille* often refer forward to the statement about to be made; here *illud* lends greater weight to what follows, as in 3.435–8 *unum illud tibi, nate dea, proque omnibus unum | praedicam et*... *monebo: | Iunonis*... *numen adora.* **te:** on the position of *te* in the clause see n. on 56 above. **nulla... tenetur:** even before making her request Juno specifies that it does not contravene what is fated. Indications of Juno's awareness of destiny introduce both halves of the poem, cf. 1.39, 7.313–16. **tenetur:** most comms. gloss *tenetur* as 'is forbidden', but it is more naturally taken to mean 'is bound', with *lege* adding a reference to legal jurisdiction (*OLD* s.v. *teneo* 21); cf. 2.159 (Sinon) *teneor patriis nec legibus ullis.*

820 obtestor: an elevated word, denoting a solemn or emotional appeal; cf. 7.576, 9.260, 10.46, Enn. *Ann.* 498 Sk. *flentes plorantes lacrimantes obtestantes*, Pacuvius *praetext.* 2 R^2 *nunc te obtestor*... *subueni.* It appears five times in *Aen.* 7–12; cf. Lyne on *Ciris* 273, Hickson (1993) 120–1. **pro maiestate tuorum:** the connection in *tuorum* rests on the descent of Latinus from Jupiter's father, Saturn (cf. 7.47–9), but the *maiestas* is that of the Latin race; there may be a hint of the *maiestas populi Romani*, cf. Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 20 *ut imperium p. R. maiestasque conseruaretur*, Caes. *B Gall.* 7.17.3 *uox*... *p. R. maiestate indigna.*

821 cum iam: the combination appears only here in V.; *cum iam* with the future indicative is generally rare. *TLL* 7^1.110.83 glosses it as *ubi primum* ('as soon as'), but it seems rather to highlight a significant future moment ('at that time when'), cf. Ovid, *Her.* 20.235 *cum iam data signa sonabunt*, Stat. *Silu.* 4.4.82 *cum segetes iterum, cum iam haec deserta uirebunt*; its repetition here adds a note of greater solemnity. The mention of *pax*, *leges* and *foedera* recalls the oaths sworn earlier in the book by A. and Latinus (*legibus* 190, *pacem* and *foedera* 202), just before the terms of that agreement are significantly modified. **conubiis:** 'it is still not clear (even to specialists at the highest level) whether the i of *c<onubia>* is short, or consonantal' (Horsfall on 7.253). To my ear, *cōnŭbĭīs* is preferable on grounds of euphony. The word is probably meant to recall 7.96, the prophecy to Latinus that is now about to be fulfilled, *ne pete conubiis natam sociare Latinis*; in that line *conubiis* is a poetic pl., whereas here it could refer more generally to marriages between Trojans and Latins following the end of hostilities; cf. on 658 above. **felicibus** 'auspicious, well-omened', a reluctant blessing from the goddess of marriage. Juno had earlier acknowledged that Lavinia was destined to be A.'s wife, 7.314 *immota*

manet fatis Lauinia coniunx. **(esto):** similarly used to express Juno's grudging assent to fate in 7.313 and 10.67; the only other occurrence in V. is 4.35 (Anna).

822 component: the word has been used twice to reflect A.'s view of the prospective treaty, 109 *gaudens componi foedere bellum*, 314–15 *ictum iam foedus et omnes | compositae leges*. Its appearance here signals Juno's acceptance of that pact. **foedera:** earlier in the book the term related to the truce that would allow A. and T. to meet in combat (cf. n. on 109); in its final appearance it takes on a wider meaning and refers to the agreements binding the two peoples.

823 uetus indigenas: the juxtaposition of adjs. emphasizes the traditional and native character of the Latins. V. implies that *Latini* was the name of the aboriginal people of the country, while in Livy 1.2.4 and Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.60 it is the name given to the union of the Trojans and the natives (Aborigines). See A. Bernardi in *EV* 1.6–7.

824 Troas fieri . . . Teucrosque uocari: *Troes* and *Teucri* are neutral terms, but in Juno's delivery the near-repetition becomes oppressive. The name *Troia* may lend itself to gloomy repetition; cf. Catull. 68b.89–90, Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.60–1 *tecta uelint reparare Troiae. | Troiae renascens* . . . (and note *Ilion, Ilion* in 3.3.18). *fieri* and *uocari* appear to be variations of a single idea.

825 u̲ocem mutare u̲iros aut u̲ertere u̲estem: the heavy alliteration, a common feature of early Latin, embodies the linguistic continuity that Juno is striving to preserve and implicitly signals her success. The specific vocabulary items – *uox*, *uiri*, *uestis* – are pointedly juxtaposed: the implication is that for the Latins to adopt Trojan language or dress would entail a loss of their manhood; cf. Wiseman (1984) 120. Hostile descriptions of the Trojans earlier in the poem cite their oriental mode of dress as evidence of effeminacy; cf. 4.216–17 (Iarbas) *Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem | subnexus*, 9.614 (Numanus Remulus) *uobis picta croco et fulgenti murice uestis.* **uocem:** Juno's insistence on the preservation of the Latins' language is in keeping with the intense interest taken in Latin as a marker of Roman identity in the late Republic and early principate; see Dench (2005) 298–361. **uestem:** although V. does not anachronistically depict the Latins as wearing togas, the reference to clothing alludes to the toga's role as an emblem of *Romanitas*; cf. Jupiter's reference to the Romans as the *gens togata* (1.282, with Austin's n.).

826–7 After three negatively phrased lines, Juno's positive vision of the future is expressed in an ascending tricolon. The sequence of proper names offers a synopsis of centuries to come – from the initial foundation at Lavinium, to Alba, to Romulus' city – that restates Jupiter's prophecy to Venus in 1.265–77 from a different perspective. **sit . . . sint . . . sit:** variation of singular and plural verbs is a favourite Virgilian pattern in *tricola*, cf. 11.868–9 *prima fugit domina amissa leuis ala Camillae, | turbati fugiunt Rutili, fugit acer Atinas*; see Wills (1996) 291 for other examples.

826 Albani . . . reges: these shadowy figures, invented by early Roman historians to populate the centuries between the arrival of A. in Italy and the founding

of Rome, seem to have enjoyed a certain vogue in the Augustan period; lists of their names appear in 6.760–70, Livy 1.3.6–9, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.71, Ovid, *Fast.* 4.41–56, *Met.* 14.609–21. Propertius played on their artificially inflated importance in affecting to write an epic on their non-existent *facta*, 3.3.3–4. **per saecula:** applies to both *Latium* and *Albani . . . reges*, but placed in the second colon to give it greater weight.

827 sit Romana potens Itala uirtute propago: the final unit of the tricolon subtly shifts focus, from preserving Latin names and customs to the character of the future Roman people, grown powerful through the infusion of Italian *uirtus*. Jupiter's words to Venus obliquely make a similar point in calling the Romans *rerum dominos gentemque togatam* (1.282). In 32 BCE, in preparation for the final confrontation with Antony, Octavian enlisted support from all of Italy in the form of an oath of personal allegiance; cf. *RG* 25.2 *iurauit in mea uerba tota Italia sponte sua, et me belli quo uici ad Actium ducem depoposcit.* V. accordingly has Augustus marshalling the peoples of Italy into battle at Actium, 8.678 *Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar.* See Syme (1939) 276–93. **Romana:** a momentous choice of words for Juno. Previous appearances of *Roma* and *Romanus* have been in the mouth either of the narrator or of those promoting or predicting the Roman future: Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Vulcan, Anchises. **propago:** a lofty, probably archaic-sounding term, cf. Lucr. 1.42 *Memmi clara propago.* Its only other appearance in V., in 6.870–1 (Anchises' lament for Marcellus), forms a pathetic pre-echo of this line: *nimium uobis* (i.e. the gods) *Romana propago | uisa potens.*

828 occidit, occideritque sinas 'Troy has fallen; allow it to remain fallen' (lit. 'that it should have fallen'). The sentiment parallels Juno's warning to the Romans in Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.58–60 *ne nimium pii | rebusque fauentes auitae | tecta uelint reparare Troiae*, but the formulation here is more epigrammatic. Wills (1996) 307, on shifts from indicative to jussive subjunctive, cites no example also involving change of tense. **occiderit:** paratactically depending on *sinas*, cf. 2.669 *sinite . . . reuisam*, 5.163, 717. **cum nomine:** Juno aims for the annihilation of Troy, including the name by which it might be remembered; cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 6.34.8 *ut . . . pro tali facinore stirps ac nomen ciuitatis tollatur.* Rome faced the threat of such obliteration from Hannibal, cf. Livy 26.41.13 *qui si se cum fratre coniunxisset nullum iam nomen esset populi Romani*, and Juno's hostility surely recalls that of the Elder Cato to Carthage, cf. Cic. *Sen.* 18 *de qua uereri non ante desinam, quam illam excissam esse cognouero*, Vell. Pat. 1.12.7 *neque se Roma iam . . . securam sperauit fore, si nomen* (*Ed. pr.*: *monimentum* Baiter) *usquam stantis maneret Carthaginis.* **Troia:** *Troia* is appropriately Juno's last word in the poem, as a reference to the *Teucri* figured in her first words, 1.38 *nec posse Italia Teucrorum auertere regem.*

829 olli subridens: same line opening at 1.254. Jupiter is equally amused by the theatrics of his wife and daughter. (Zeus smiles at Hera at the corresponding point in *Il.* 15.47.) This and similar expressions describe an unruffled reaction to a display of emotion or bravado; so A. in 5.368 responds to Nisus' cheeky demand for a prize, *risit pater optimus olli*, and T. in 9.740 contemptuously replies

to Pandarus' boasts, *olli subridens sedato pectore*. The presence of *olli* in these passages suggests an Ennian background; in *Ann.* 446–7 Jupiter smiles (*risit*), probably at Venus (so Skutsch). **hominum rerumque repertor:** the exalted description resembles Venus' appeals to Jupiter, 1.229–30 *o qui res hominumque deumque* | ... *regis*, 10.18 *o pater, o hominum rerumque aeterna potestas*, but *repertor* in the sense 'creator' has no parallel (at 7.773 it means 'inventor', as in Lucr. 3.1036, Hor. *Ars P.* 278). The epithet might be related to Jupiter's role here in bringing a new people into existence.

830–1 In *Il.* 4.31–49 Zeus speaks with bitter sarcasm of Hera's hatred for Troy; here Jupiter seems almost to admire the intensity of Juno's anger as a shared family trait. His easy acceptance of divine wrath is literally a world away from V.'s question (1.11) *tantaene animis caelestibus irae?* The kinship that Jupiter acknowledges will soon be manifested in his sending of the Dira: compare 849 *saeui* ... *regis* and 1.4 *saeuae* ... *Iunonis*.

Some comms. interpret in the opposite sense, by punctuating 831 as a question: 'you are Jupiter's sister and Saturn's daughter; how can you harbour such anger?' However appealing that reading might be to modern theological tastes, it considerably weakens the effect of Jupiter's words. Servius interestingly correlates propensity to anger with social standing: 'nam scimus unumquemque pro generis qualitate in iram moueri; nobiles enim etsi ad praesens uidentur ignoscere, tamen in posterum iram reseruant'.

In the present context *Saturni* ... *proles* probably refers to the scene in Ennius' *Annales* in which Juno consents to Romulus' apotheosis: cf. *Ann.* 53 Sk. *respondit Iuno Saturnia, sancta dearum*. There may also be an echo of 1.23–6, where Juno is named *Saturnia* at the same time as her hatred of the Trojans is recalled (*ueteris* ... *memor Saturnia belli* | ... | *necdum* ... *causae irarum saeuique dolores* | *exciderant animo*); see also 4.92, 7.560, and 156 above. Wigodsky (1972) 67–8 notes that the epithet *Saturnia* is applied to Italy by Ennius and V. and concludes that the implied connection between Juno and Italy helps to explain Juno's sympathy for the Italian side. Ovid alludes to both parts of 830, in *Met.* 1.163–6 naming Jupiter as *pater Saturnius* as he conceives *dignas Ioue* ... *iras*, and in *Met.* 3.271–2 having Juno declare *non sum Saturnia* if she fails to destroy her rival Semele.

830 germana: contrast the more affectionate uses by Juturna and T. (cf. n. on 679 above); for Juno, also 9.804, 10.607 ('spoken with mocking affection', Harrison ad loc.). The contrast lies not so much in the tone of the line, but in what constitutes the basis for an affectionate bond between the two pairs; in that light, Juturna appears more human than divine.

831 irarum ... fluctus: cf. Lucr. 3.298 *nec capere irarum fluctus in pectore possunt*; *fluctus* also metaphorically of war in Accius 608 R^2, and cf. *fluctuat* in 527 above. 'Waves of anger' may recall the opening episode of the poem, where Juno's anger caused the winds to stir up literal waves; 1.86 *uastos uoluunt ad litora fluctus*, also 129–30 *fluctibus oppressos Troas* followed by a reference to *Iunonis* ... *irae*. For the

metaphor in *uoluere* La Cerda compared Livy 35.18.7 *ingentes iam diu iras eum in pectore uoluere*, a possible echo.

832 uerum age et . . . summitte: cf. 11.587–8 *uerum age, quandoquidem fatis urgetur acerbis, | labere nympha polo*; *uerum age* seems more elevated than *age* with an imperative, as in *surge age* (3.169, 8.59, 10.241) or *uade age* (3.462, 4.223, 5.548). The addition of *et* also lends formality; cf. 11.119 *nunc ite et miseris supponite ciuibus ignem*. **inceptum frustra . . . furorem:** perhaps an allusion to Juno's opening words in 1.37 *mene incepto desistere uictam?* (where *inceptum* is substantival). Jupiter may be implying that Juno has known from the start that her efforts to thwart A. could not succeed. **summitte** 'moderate' (*OLD* 9), cf. Livy 2.61.5 *ut ex consueta quidem asperitate orationis . . . aliquid leniret atque submitteret*. **furorem:** describing Juno in the council of the gods, 10.62 *acta furore graui*. A propensity to *furor* unites Juno and her protégé, T.; cf. 9.691, 760, 11.486, 901, 680 above.

833 Jupiter's ostensible concession begins slowly, with five monosyllables – the only such sequence in the poem – underscoring the gravity of the moment, but it ends with lightly tripping dactyls and the witty paradox of *uictusque uolensque*, suggesting Jupiter's ultimate control of the situation. **me . . . remitto** 'I relax (my position, attitude)' (*OLD* 11b); the near-echo of *summitte* in the previous line implies that concessions are being made on both sides, cf. Caes. *B ciu.* 3.17.3 *si hoc sibi remitti uellent, remitterent ipsi de maritimis custodiis*. Neither verb implies surrender, but rather a shift of position or a lessening of hostility.

834–7 Jupiter's promises are couched in plain language, in contrast to the rhetorical manner of Juno's request: the voice of authority does not need the devices of persuasion.

834 Ausonii: *Ausonia/Ausonius* appears almost forty times in *Aen.* as a grander synonym for *Italia/Italus* (see Harrison on 10.54); the fact that the term did not figure in Juno's appeal and appears twice in Jupiter's reply may place the latter on a more elevated plane. **moresque:** the only custom specified by Juno was that of dress (*uestem* 825); Jupiter seems to guarantee a more general preservation of Italian ways.

835–6 commixti . . . Teucri 'mingling in body alone, the Teucrians will sink down', i.e. the Trojans will physically join with the Latins but will be the recessive partner in the new union. Here Jupiter goes well beyond what Juno had asked of him; the superiority granted to the Latins may reflect the outlook of the Mantuan V. in attributing Roman greatness to Italian *uirtus* rather than to Rome's eastern proto-founder. V.'s eagerness to relegate the Trojans to a subordinate status may also reflect anxiety about the moral qualities associated with Troy and their potential effects on the new people; see Thomas (1982) 98–103.

835 utque est nomen erit: i.e. they will continue to be Latins, in response to Juno's request in 822–3 *ne uetus . . . nomen mutare Latinos | . . . iubeas*. **tantum:** adverbial.

836 subsident: the metaphor is probably that of a liquid mixture in which the heavier element sinks below the surface (*OLD* 4); there could also be a hint of another meaning, 'to settle in a place' (*OLD* 3a). La Cerda interpreted in a sexual sense, of adopting the submissive role in intercourse (*OLD* 1c), but the attested examples relate to animals (Lucr. 4.1198, Hor. *Epod.* 16.31), and the graphic image jars with the euphemistic tone of *commixti corpore.* **Teucri:** Jupiter's choice of words may be intended to avoid the more inflammatory *Troes* or *Troia.*

836–7 morem ritusque sacrorum | adiciam: a significant modification of A.'s words in 192 above, *sacra deosque dabo*; Jupiter claims responsibility either for the absorption of the Trojan Penates into Italian religious practice or (less probably) for the addition of other cults and customs. A stronger reading would see Jupiter's words as a negation of A.'s, but that is difficult to reconcile with the emphasis placed elsewhere on transporting the Trojan Penates to Italy (cf. 1.6, 68, 8.11–12). If the reference is to the Trojan Penates, it is understandable that Jupiter would speak of them to Juno in soothingly vague terms.

The transplantation of the Trojan Penates is depicted on the southwest panel of the Ara Pacis, which shows A., flanked by a young man wearing Trojan dress, offering fruits and preparing to sacrifice the white sow of Lavinium to the Penates (as in Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.57, not to Juno, as in *Aen.* 8.84–5). See Zanker (1988) 203–4.

837 uno ore 'speaking one language', but perhaps evoking the more common sense of the phrase, 'with one voice/unanimously' (cf. Otto (1890) s.v. *os* 4, Cic. *Amic.* 86 *omnes u. o. consentiunt*) to suggest the harmony of the new race; the elision of one long *o* into another reflects the sense. Horsfall on 11.132 notes V.'s fondness for juxtaposing forms of *unus* and *omnis.*

838–9 Syntax: *uidebis genus quod hinc . . . surget ire supra homines, supra deos pietate* ('you will see that the race which, mixed with Italian blood, will rise from this origin surpasses men and gods in devotion'). The comma after *surget* found in all modern eds. obscures the link between the lines.

838 Ausonio . . . surget: very similar to 6.761–2, describing A.'s posthumous son Silvius: *primus ad auras | aetherias Italo commixtus sanguine surget.* **surget:** applied to the *genus* as a whole, *surget* suggests the rapid growth of a healthy plant (*OLD* 8); cf. *Ecl.* 4.9 *toto surget gens aurea mundo.* The rise of the new people is the counterpart to the sinking of the Trojan element (836 *subsident*).

839 supra ire deos pietate: probably an extravagant hyperbole, like Catull. 51.2 *ille, si fas est, superare diuos* (*uidetur*) and the line of Lutatius Catulus cited by Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.79, *mortalis uisus pulchrior esse deo.* Many comms. take it literally, pointing out that in Graeco-Roman thinking it is possible for humans to be more punctilious in performing their religious duties than the gods in protecting their worshippers. It is part of the process of Trojan integration that A.'s distinctive virtue of *pietas* should become a hallmark of the Roman people. M. compared Cic. *Har. resp.* 19 *pietate ac religione . . . omnis gentis nationesque superauimus* and Livy

44.1.11 *fauere enim pietati fideique deos, per quae p. R. ad tantum fastigii uenerit* (where the image of ascent may be influenced by *supra ire* in our passage).

840 honores: saving his strongest appeal for last, Jupiter ends with a promise of continued worship for Juno. At the start of the poem, Juno worried that failure to crush the Trojans would cause her to lose face and, consequently, the tokens of respect from mortals: *et quisquam numen Iunonis adorat | praeterea aut supplex aris imponet honorem?* (1.48–9). Jupiter's assurance lays that fear to rest.

Juno did hold a place of high honour in Roman religious observance, worshipped together with Jupiter and Minerva on the Capitol. The temple of Iuno Regina on the Aventine was one of many temples restored by Augustus (*RG* 19.2), and another temple to the goddess was rebuilt by Augustus' sister Octavia as a memorial to her son Marcellus, see Richardson (1992) 217. Ovid in *Fast.* 6.41 has Juno recall laying aside her anger (*posuisse fideliter iras*) and express satisfaction at having the month of June named in her honour: 51–2 *sed neque paeniteat, nec gens mihi carior ulla est; | hic colar, hic teneam cum Ioue templa meo.*

Like all of Jupiter's statements, this one is carefully worded: 'the Romans will honour you above all other nations', not 'the Romans will honour you above all other gods'; that distinction would belong to Iuppiter Optimus Maximus.

841 adnuit his: *adnuere* of nodding assent or acceptance, with dat. complement, cf. 4.127–8 *non aduersata petenti | adnuit*, 9.625 *audacibus adnue coeptis*, 11.797 *adnuit oranti*. Our passage is probably echoed in Ovid, *Met.* 1.566–7 *factis modo laurea ramis | adnuit* (Daphne, also responding to a speech from a god containing substantial concessions). **mentem . . . retorsit** 'turned her mind in a different direction', probably based on Zeus's prediction in *Il.* 15.52 that Poseidon would change his mind, μεταστρέψειε νόον; *retorsit* might also recall Juturna's steering of T.'s chariot, cf. 485 above. The phrase is unique, but Johnson's sinister interpretation, that Juno 'openly assents to what Jupiter says, but, in her mind, she turns away from his words' (Johnson (1976) 127) is unconvincing, and also unnecessary: a happy Juno is a sinister enough note on which to end.

842 interea: presumably while awaiting the fulfilment of Jupiter's predictions, but the qualifier also implies that Juno's reconciliation is not permanent, and alludes to her opposition to Rome in the Punic Wars; cf. n. on 791–842. **excedit caelo nubemque relinquit:** Juno's leaving the cloud frames the episode (cf. 792). We are probably not meant to ask where she goes; the dramatic character of the scene calls for a grand exit for the prima donna. Feeney (1984) 184 (= Harrison (1990) 347 n. 33) tentatively suggests reading *cedit* (in the sense 'yield, defer') for *excedit*, understanding *caelum* as the allegorical equivalent of Jupiter: 'she deferred to the Jupiter-element and left her own'; he refers to Juno's earlier words in 818, *cedo equidem pugnasque exosa relinquo.* The required sense of *caelum*, however, seems hard to supply in the context of the scene.

843–886 Jupiter sends a Dira to drive Juturna from the field

In strong contrast to the urbane exchanges between Jupiter and Juno, the tone of this section is unrelievedly grim, as the consequences of Jupiter's will are made manifest in the form of the Dira; for fear as both the intended and actual result of the Dira's mission, cf. 850 *metum*, 851 *horrificum*, 852 *territat*, 867 *formidine*, 868 *horrore*, 875 *terrete timentem*. At the level of plot this episode is yet another delay in the confrontation of T. and A. (see n. on 843 *aliud*), but it serves to heighten T.'s isolation and to demonstrate his helplessness in the face of Jupiter's hostility. There might seem to be a measure of overkill in deploying the Dira to remove Juturna from the battlefield, but the use of overwhelming force demonstrates Jupiter's absolute power (cf. 849 *saeui . . . regis*, 851 *deum rex*) and the futility of resistance, and it also heightens the pathos of Juturna's having to abandon her brother. The mood of impending doom is deepened by echoes of the Dido story, with Juturna combining the roles of the Queen and the loyal Anna (see nn. on 859 *celeris*, 863–4, 870 *infelix*, 871, 881 *comes*, 882–4).

In *Iliad* 15, following the scene with Hera, Zeus sends Iris to warn Poseidon to withdraw from the fighting (15.157–67); in 9.803–5 Jupiter sends Iris to warn Juno that T. must stop attacking the Trojan camp. The Dira's message to Juturna is similar, but she resembles Juno's agent Allecto in book 7 more closely than a normal divine messenger.

The structure is once again bipartite: 843–68 the Dira and T.; 869–86 Juturna's reaction.

843 His actis: a brisk transition, used also in 6.236 (A.) *h. a. propere exsequitur praecepta Sibyllae.* Jupiter wastes no time in putting his plan into action. **aliud:** i.e. a second stage in Jupiter's design, the first having been completed by Juno's reconciliation. **secum ipse uolutat:** *secum uolutare* is formulaic for turning a plan over in one's mind, cf. 1.50, 4.533, 6.157–8, 10.159; for the addition of *ipse* cf. *Ecl.* 9.37 *tacitus . . . mecum ipse uoluto.*

844 dimittere: the technical term for discharging a soldier from military service (*OLD* 2a), cf. *Bell. Africum* 54.4 *te ab exercitu dimitto.* There is bitter irony in using the word in this context, and the focus on Jupiter's intentions suggests that the irony is his.

845–52 As twin sisters of Megaera and daughters of Night, the Dirae would seem to be identified with the Furies Tisiphone and Allecto, and many comms. have so treated them (as does S. Farron in *EV* 2.620–2). It seems hard to imagine, however, that either of those well-known figures would reappear under a different designation and without being explicitly identified (see on 853 *harum unam*). Furthermore, the abode of the Furies is the Underworld, while the Dirae stand in attendance at Jupiter's threshold; the notion of some comms. that the Dirae/Furies are summoned from Hades when Jupiter requires their services cannot be seriously considered. Finally, the primary function of the Furies is to avenge crime, whereas here the Dirae are harbingers of disaster (cf. Cic. *Diu.*

1.29, where *dirae* are named in connection with *auspicia, omina,* and *signa*) and the manifestation of Jupiter's wrath (cf. 852); in book 4, however, they are called *Dirae ultrices* (473, 610) and seem more fully assimilated to the Furies. In the present passage, at least, it seems best to regard the Dirae as distinct from the Furies, although closely related to them by blood and of a similar nature. The resemblances between the Dira sent by Jupiter and Allecto are particularly strong, calling attention to the framing role they play in the second half of the epic: by sending a hellish emissary to ensure T.'s defeat, Jupiter closes the circle that opened when Juno dispatched Allecto to inflame him for war. Full discussion in Hübner (1970) 12–42; also Edgeworth (1986) (on which cf. Hübner (1994)), Horsfall on 7.324. Mackie (1992) notes similarities between V.'s Dira and the demonic figures who appear in South Italian and Etruscan art; WF 150 had referred to 'Etruscan art and lore' as the probable source for Romans' knowledge of the Dirae.

845 dicuntur: like *fama est* or *fertur*, implying that the poet is relating matters of traditional lore, cf. 7.409, 9.82, 591, Horsfall (1990); it would be in keeping with V.'s sly manner to speak thus when he is in fact inventing. Alternatively, *dicuntur* and *cognomine* could imply an etymology, such as *dira* from *dei* or *deorum ira*; cf. O'Hara (1996) 240.
itself to frightening situations.

847 uno eodemque: *eodem* is scanned as disyllabic with synizesis of *eo*; cf. 10.487 *una eademque uia*, *Ecl.* 8.81 *uno eodemque igni*, 84 above *anteirent*, Fordyce on 7.33 for other examples in V. The practice was probably part of current pronunciation for Ennius, but already an archaism for Lucretius; full treatment by S. Timpanaro, *EV* 4.877–83. **paribusque:** i.e. all three sisters were provided with snaky coils of hair. **reuinxit:** cf. Varro of Atax fr. 23 Courtney, on the head of Medusa, 'girded with twisting snakes', *torta caput angue reuinctum.*

848 serpentum spiris: alliteration of *s* often evokes the hissing of snakes; cf. 11.753–4 *saucius ut serpens sinuosa uolumina uersat* | *arrectisque horret squamis et sibilat ore.* Snaky hair is characteristic of the Furies (cf. 7.329, *G.* 4.482), also of Gorgons, Hecate and personified Madness. There might be a recollection of the snakes that enveloped Laocoon and his sons with their coils, 2.217 *spiris . . . ligant ingentibus.* **uentosasque addidit alas:** the similarity to Prop. 2.12.5 *idem non frustra uentosas a. a.* (i.e. to the depiction of Amor in art) can hardly be accidental, and the fact that *addidit* is less functional here than in Propertius points to V. as imitating the elegy; see also n. on 857–8 below. In both passages *uentosus* probably means 'swift as the wind', which is how Ovid used it in *Fast.* 4.392 *uentosis palma petetur equis.* Cf. also *Am.* 2.9.46, of Amor, *leuis es multoque tuis uentosior alis.*

849 ad solium . . . in limine: *ad solium* suggests a position on either side of Jupiter's throne, while *in limine* implies a place at the threshold; the latter detail

may have been inspired by *Il.* 24.527 'two urns that stand on the door-sill of Zeus' (ἐν Διὸς οὔδει). **ad solium . . . regis:** Jupiter's golden throne, cf. 10.116–17 *solio tum Iuppiter aureo | surgit.* In more cheerful contexts it represents the height of felicity, cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 940, Cic. *Rep.* 3.12, Hor. *Epist.* 1.17.34, Petr. *Sat.* 51.5, Stat. *Silu.* 3.1.25–6. V. may have drawn on Callim. *Hymn to Delos* 228–35, describing Iris seated beside the throne (ὑπὸ θρόνον 232) of Hera. **saeui . . . regis:** comms., following Servius, explain *saeui* as = *cum saeuit*, but that is not how the words would naturally be taken; that interpretation also entails the absurd notion that the Dirae turn up only when Jupiter is in a foul mood. It is preferable to see the Dirae as manifesting the punitive aspect of Jupiter's nature. For *saeuus* connected to Jupiter cf. also 11.901 *saeua Iouis sic numina poscunt.* **in limine:** cf. 4.473 *ultrices . . . sedent in limine Dirae*, where the reference is to the setting of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, and the *limen* in question is that of the temple of Apollo in Delphi; also 6.279 *aduerso in limine*, the threshold of the antechamber of Orcus. As those examples indicate, the *limen* is often a place of ill omen; cf. Edgeworth (1986) 141–3.

850–2 Gloomy alliteration of *m*, esp. prominent in the combination *me<u>tum</u> <u>mor</u>-*, *horrifi<u>cum</u> <u>mor</u>-* at the same point in successive lines.

850 apparent 'are in attendance' (*OLD* 5), like the *apparitores* who attended Roman magistrates. It is both apt and unsettling that Jupiter as he crushes resistance to A. should be implicitly compared to a representative of Roman power. **acuuntque** 'sharpen/intensify'; the closest parallel in V. is 7.406, of Allecto, *postquam uisa satis primos acuisse furores.* In *G.* 1.123 *curis acuens mortalia corda*, Jupiter could be said to do human beings a service by sharpening their wits (cf. also n. on 108 above); the fear produced by the Dirae has no beneficial effects and is instead merely paralysing (cf. 867–8 below). For *acuere* of worsening a negative condition cf. also Livy 8.6.15 *curam acuebat quod aduersus Latinos bellandum erat*, 10.45.7 *huius propinquitas populi acuit curam patribus.* **mortalibus aegris:** equivalent to Homer's δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν, after Lucr. 6.1; cf. 2.268 (of the doomed Trojans), 10.274, *G.* 1.237; the variation *miseris mortalibus* (also Lucretian, 5.944) appears in 11.182, *G.* 3.66.

851 si quando: here 'whenever'; see on 749 above. **horrificum:** the adj. suggests something frightening because beyond the usual limits of human experience, cf. 3.225 *horrifico lapsu* (the swooping Harpies), 571 *horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis*; compare 4.464–5 *multa . . . praeterea uatum praedicta priorum | terribili monitu horrificant* (sc. Dido). **morbosque:** the combination of *metus* and *morbi* recalls the climax of the plague in *G.* 3.552 *pallida Tisiphone Morbos agit ante Metumque.* Personified *Morbi* and *Metus* are named along with other *terribiles formae* in 6.275–6. **deum rex:** an abbreviated form of the Ennian *diuum pater atque hominum rex* (*Ann.* 203 Sk., cf. 591 *diuumque hominumque pater, rex*), focusing attention on Jupiter's capacity as ruler.

For the line ending with a single monosyllable, involving clash of ictus and accent, see on 552 above.

852 molitur 'devises', often in Cicero with nefarious intent or result, e.g. *insidias* (*Clu.* 176), *perniciem* (*Cat.* 1.5), *pestem* (*Cat.* 2.1), *exitium* (*Mur.* 6), *caedem* (*Pis.* 5, *Phil.* 3.6); for *moliri letum* cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.462 *moliri . . . suis l. patruelibus ausae.* Many comms. take it to mean 'hurls', on the analogy of *G.* 1.328–9 *pater . . . | fulmina molitur dextra* (so too *TLL* 8.1362.9–10). **meritas . . . urbes:** the only hint that Jupiter's actions are prompted by human wrongdoing. (C–N compare *Il.* 16.385–92, where Zeus sends flood waters against mortals who enrage him 'because in violent assembly they pass decrees that are crooked' (387, οἳ βίῃ εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας).) The emphasis given this final phrase could imply that this is the motive that applies here, i.e. that Juturna and T. are being punished for their part in the war against the Trojans, called *bellum . . . infandum* by Jupiter (804). That implication suggests a double meaning for *meritas . . . bello territat urbes*: 'terrifies with war cities deserving <punishment>' and 'terrifies cities deserving <punishment> because of war'. **meritas:** deponent participle with active meaning; *mereri* can be used absolutely to mean 'deserve reward' or 'deserve punishment', as context indicates; cf. Livy 38.8.7 *non plus mali meritos Aetolos Antiochi bello quam boni ante . . . fecisse*, and for the positive sense the common dedication formula LIBENS MERITO.

853 harum unam: the unemphatic phrasing implies that the Dirae are interchangeable and is another argument against identifying them with Allecto and Tisiphone; compare Ovid, *Met.* 8.786–7 *montani numinis unam | . . . compellat Oreada dictis.* In *Iliad* 15, Iris is the first of two messengers dispatched by Zeus, the second being Apollo. **celerem:** some comms. see the appearance of forms of *celer* here and in 855 and 859 as a sign of negligence or incomplete revision; an emphasis on the Dira's speed is, however, effective in itself and binds the narrative to the simile of the arrow. **demisit ab aethere summo:** probably an inversion of 634–5 above *quis Olympo | demissam tantos uoluit te ferre labores?*

854 inque omen 'to serve as an omen', cf. 7.13 *urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum.* V. is fond of this use of *in* for purpose/intended result, see on 71, 103 above, and *TLL* 7^1.164.12–21 for other examples. See n. on 845–52 for the connection between *dirae* and *omina.*

855 The line is a counterpart to 853, viewing the Dira's descent from the opposite perspective (*demisit ab aethere summo* ~ *ad terram . . . fertur*). **turbine:** at 11.595–6 the nymph Opis conceals herself in a dark whirlwind as she descends (*caeli delapsa per auras | . . . nigro circumdata turbine corpus*), but here *turbo* refers to the rushing speed of the Dira; the word also describes the motion of arrows and other projectiles (cf. n. on 320 above) and so anticipates the following simile. The line ending *turbine fertur* is Lucretian, cf. 5.632 (Traina).

856–9 In keeping with the rapid pace of the episode, the simile is one of the shortest in the book. Immediate points of contact are limited to *stridens* 859 ~ *stridorem* 869 and *celeris* 859 ~ *celerem* 853, *celeri* 855; other links operate at a greater distance, e.g., *saeui . . . ueneni* 857 ~ *saeui . . . regis* 849; *telum immedicabile* 858 ~ *letum . . . morbosque . . . molitur* 851–2; *umbras* 859 ~ 864; and still others imply a

detail not mentioned in the surrounding narrative, e.g. *per nubem* 856 and *incognita* 859 suggest that the Dira was unseen and unrecognized until she reached her target (see also *agnouit* 869, n. on *ueneni* 857). At a more general level, the simile's focus on the flight of a lethal weapon casts Jupiter's intention in sending the Dira in the darkest possible light.

856 non secus ac: introducing a simile, 8.243, 10.272, *G.* 3.346, and in the variant *haud secus ac* 3.236; for *haud secus* see n. on 9 above. As Harrison on 10.272 remarks, the litotes seems archaic, but is not attested in high poetry before V.

857–8 The word order (especially *telum immedicabile* placed in apposition) and repetition of *Parthus* evoke the mannered style of the *Eclogues*, and there is a specific allusion to 10.59–60 *libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu | spicula – tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris*. In addition to the juxtaposition of Parthian and Cydonian, *immedicabile* in 858 is a grander equivalent for the negated *medicina*, and the *furor* of love corresponds to the Fury-like character of the Dira. For further discussion see Boyd (1983) 172–4, Rosen and Farrell (1986) 251. It is tempting to connect this allusion to an erotic text with the Dira's having the *uentosae alae* of Amor (848), and to see the Dira as a perversion of eros/Eros. **Parthus . . . Parthus:** on such epanalepsis in pastoral see Clausen on *Ecl.* 6.20–1 *Aegle, | Aegle Naiadum pulcherrima*; for the figure used pathetically see on 546–7 above. Wills (1996) 70 discusses our passage as an instance of 'corrective repetition', but *Parthus siue Cydon* seems more an expansion than a revision. Boyd (previous n.) ingeniously suggests that the repetition of *Parthus* has an analogue in *Ecl.* 10.57–9 *Parthenios . . . Partho.*

857 ueneni: the poisoned arrow may imply a poisonous quality in the Dira; cf. 7.342 *Gorgoneis Allecto infecta uenenis*. Lucan 8.303–4 describes the poisoned arrows of the Parthians: *spicula nec solo spargunt fidentia ferro, | stridula sed multo saturantur tela ueneno*. Parthian archers were also infamous for shooting while in retreat (and therefore unexpectedly), which fits this arrow's unseen course (*incognita* 859).

858 Cydon: elegant substitute for 'Cretan'. Although the Cydon mentioned in 10.325 *dum sequeris Clytium infelix, noua gaudia, Cydon* is unrelated (and has a long y), it is hard to believe that the recurrence of mannered word order and erotic content in that passage is coincidental. **immedicabile:** perhaps a Virgilian coinage. The word is used in a transferred sense, referring to the weapon rather than its effect; Ovid, as often, tempers V.'s boldness, *Met.* 1.190 *-e corpus* [= 'limb'], 2.825 *-e cancer*.

859 stridens: see on 319, 691 above. **celeris:** acc. pl. modifying *umbras*; for the transferred epithet cf. *celeris . . . per auras*, a *Leitmotiv* of book 4 (226, 270, 357) describing another emissary of Jupiter, Mercury. **incognita:** the arrow presumably remains unrecognized because of its speed; *incognita* also anticipates the Dira's assumption of a disguise and Juturna's recognition of her (869 *agnouit*, 876 *nosco*). C–N's 'the hand that sent it is unknown' would make this arrow resemble the one that wounded A. (320 *incertum qua pulsa manu*), but is unlikely in conjunction with *Parthus siue Cydon*.

860 talis se sata Nocte tulit terrasque petiuit: the alliteration seems to lend greater energy to the phrase rather than having a specific expressive function. **sata Nocte:** cf. 7.330 (Allecto) *uirgo s. N.* **petiuit** 'sought out' with hostile intent, like Allecto in 7.342–3 *tecta tyranni | celsa petit.*

862–4 Although V. does not specify the bird whose shape the Dira takes on, the close parallel with 4.462–3 *sola* [~ *desertis*] . . . *culminibus ferali carmine* [~ *importuna*] *bubo | saepe queri et longas* [~ *serum*] *in fletum ducere uoces* suggests that it is an owl, often a creature of ill omen, cf. Bömer on Ovid, *Met.* 5.550 *ignauus bubo, dirum* [~ *Dira*?] *mortalibus omen.* Ovid may allude to our passage again in *Met.* 6.431–2, where the owl is mentioned immediately after the Eumenides. P. Aretini (1995) argues that the bird is a bat (*pipistrello*), not so much an omen of death as the embodiment of death itself.

862 alitis . . . paruae: the bird is small compared with the Dira's normal size; *paruae* therefore offers no help in distinguishing species of owls. **subitam:** equivalent to adverbial *subito*, a usage already found in Plautus but much extended by Augustan and post-Augustan poets; cf. Priess (1909), Van Dam on Stat. *Silu.* 2.1.137. 'Speed is characteristic of supernatural intervention' (Horsfall on 7.479, with examples); specifically of divinely induced transformation, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 2.349, 3.123, 5.560, 7.372, 13.617. **collecta:** with middle force, 'contracting itself'; cf. *G.* 2.154 *in spiram se colligit anguis*, Prop. 3.9.29 (to Maecenas) *in tenues humilem te colligis umbras.*

863 quondam 'sometimes, on occasion' (*OLD* 5), a sense often found in similes; cf. Fordyce on 7.378 (who calls it archaic), Horsfall on 7.699. **culminibus desertis:** the spondaic rhythm is strongly marked; this pattern of spondaic ending, trisyllable preceded by a long final syllable, appears elsewhere in V. only at 8.402 *potest electro*, *Ecl.* 5.38 *purpureo narcisso*, and *G.* 3.276 *depressas conualles.* On double spondees at line end see Norden (1916) 445–6: 33 examples, 26 based on Greek/Neoteric technique, six of the seven remaining with alleged expressive effects. See also Fordyce on 7.631.

864 serum: internal acc. with *canit*, 'sings late into the night'; cf. also *G.* 1.403 *seros exercet noctua cantus.* Prose might say *in serum noctis*, as in Livy 33.48.6. **importuna:** the opposite of *opportunus*, and so 'appearing when not wanted', but capable of a stronger sense, 'ill-omened', cf. *G.* 1.470 *obscenaeque canes* [~ 876 below] *importunaeque uolucres*, 11.305–6 *bellum importunum . . . cum gente deorum | inuictisque uiris gerimus* (although Horsfall renders *importunum* there as 'untimely').

865 hanc: resumptive after the expansion in 863–4. **uersa in faciem:** Juturna's transgressive metamorphoses (623 *in faciem soror . . . conuersa Metisci*, 784 *rursus in aurigae faciem mutata Metisci*) are punished in kind.

865–8 Since the Dira was dispatched to drive Juturna from the field, it may seem odd that she first makes a detour to harass T. One motive (already suggested by La Cerda) might be to allude to an incident related by Livy 7.26.3–5, in which a Gaul meeting Valerius Corvus in single combat was beset by a

raven: 5 *quotienscumque certamen initum est, leuans se alis os oculosque hostis rostro et unguibus appetit, donec territum prodigii talis uisu oculisque simul ac mente turbatum Valerius obtruncat.* The appearance of the raven was seen as a mark of the gods' favour (3 *numine interposito deorum*); the parallel establishes a pattern of divine intervention on behalf of Romans. (A similar scene is depicted on two Etruscan urns now in Florence; see J. P. Small (1974) 53, Oakley (1985) 394 n. 15.) The Dira's attack on T. also links the fates of brother and sister more closely; thus, for example, the recognition that is strictly speaking hers (876) is extended to him (895).

865 Turni se pestis ob ora: iconic word order, esp. the placement of *se*.

866 fertque refertque sonans: given the other evocations of book 4 in the surrounding lines, an echo of 438 *fertque refertque soror* is not implausible. **sonans:** probably refers to the owl's screeching rather than to the flapping of its wings, which is described in 876–7 *alarum uerbera . . . letalemque sonum.* **euerberat** 'keeps beating' (*e-* is an intensive prefix). The verb is first attested here; Ovid wittily applied it to T. transformed into a bird (!) rising from the ashes of Ardea, *Met.* 14.577 *cineres plausis euerberat alis*, and Quintilian (*Inst.* 2.4.18), perhaps conflating V. and Livy, used it in summarizing the incident of Valerius Corvus and the raven: (*coruum*) *qui os oculosque hostis Galli rostro atque alis euerberaret.* The simple verb *uerbero* is used of Amor in Prop. 3.10.28 *quem grauius pennis uerberet ille puer*; the beating of the Dira's wings could be another facet of its portrayal as an anti-Amor.

867–8 T.'s reaction resembles his terror at the sight of Allecto in her true shape, 7.446–7 *iuueni oranti subitus tremor occupat artus, | deriguere oculi.*

867 membra . . . soluit: a clear anticipation of T.'s death, cf. 951 *soluuntur frigore membra.* **nouus:** in light of *formido* in 776, probably 'another' rather than 'strange/unfamiliar', but the senses are sometimes hard to distinguish: on *noua* in *G.* 4.357 *percussa noua mentem formidine*, Mynors remarks '*insolita*, with a touch of *subita*'. 'Fresh cause(s) for alarm' is a frequent transitional motif, cf. Cic. *Fam.* 11.14.3 *hi noui timores retexunt superiora*, Livy 6.2.3 *nouus quoque terror accessit defectione Latinorum.*

868 = 4.280, of A. receiving Mercury's order to leave Carthage; for similar reactions of A. cf. 2.774 *obstipui steteruntque comae et uox faucibus haesit* = 3.48, and see n. on 622 above *amens.*

869 Dirae: emphatically placed; Juturna recognized the sound of the wings as belonging to the Dira. **stridorem . . . et alas:** hendiadys for *stridorem alarum*, but by its order suggesting the progress of recognition, from sound to sight. **agnouit:** another link in the chain of recognition surrounding T. and his fate, cf. n. on 632 above. The sharing of the motif between brother and sister is a sign of their close bond.

870 infelix: the adj. introduces a new round of recollections of book 4; see n. on 598 above. **scindit . . . solutos:** nested expression for *soluit et scindit*; see nn. on 98, 369, 509–11, 537 above. Juturna's loosened hair (*crines . . . solutos*)

corresponds to – and forms a sympathetic reaction to – her brother's loosened limbs (*membra . . . soluit* 867).

871 = 4.673, also depicting the reaction of a grief-stricken sister; the assonance in *ora soror . . . pectora* and the alliteration in *pectora pugnis* heighten the emotional colouring. Mackail thought this line and 868 might be interpolations, but each is fully appropriate to its setting.

872–84 Juturna's speech is the only one she delivers *in propria persona*; in 10.439–40 when she encourages T. to aid Lausus, her words are not given, and her other speeches are in the guise of Camers (12.229–37) and Metiscus (12.625–30); in her scene with Juno earlier in the book she weeps and beats her breast but does not speak (154–5). This deferral lends a feeling of finality to the speech, while its consistent high-pathetic tone makes it seem almost a lament for T.'s death before the fact.

The speech consists of short, emotionally charged phrases, alternating between questions and indicative/imperative/conditional statements in an ABAB pattern; if 882–4 are genuine, the pattern is ABABA, ending in a final set of questions. The view of Quinn (1968) 269 that the speech 'is apt to seem needlessly long to us at so intensely dramatic a juncture' may be prompted in part by the feeling of repetition in 882–4, on which see n.

On Juturna's speech and on the episode as a whole, see Barchiesi (1978) 99–121.

872–4 Juturna's opening series of impassioned questions recalls earlier speeches of T.; cf. in particular 634–7 and 643–6.

872 te tua, Turne, potest: here alliteration suggests powerful feeling; the juxtaposition of *te tua* is also expressive. **germana iuuare:** as La Cerda already noted, the juxtaposition evokes the etymology of *Iuturna* from *iuuando*; cf. Varro, *Ling.* 5.71, Servius Auctus on 139 above; Barchiesi suggests that a more precise etymology is implied, *Iuturna quae iuuat Turnum*.

873 aut: the second question essentially repeats the first: *quid superat mihi* means 'what means of helping you is still open to me?'; for *aut* introducing such variations see Austin on 1.369 *sed uos qui tandem? quibus aut uenistis ab oris*, O'Hara cited in n. on 882–4 below. The *aut* in 889 below sounds like a taunting echo. **quid iam . . . superat?:** cf. 793 above *quid deinde restat?*; part of a network of closural motifs. **durae** 'enduring, long-suffering', usually meant in a positive sense, cf. 7.806–7 (Camilla) *proelia uirgo | dura pati*, Luc. 9.880 *dura . . . patientia*; there is something slightly awkward in its use here, as though an idea is being sketched rather than clearly stated. The view of many comms. that *durae* expresses self-criticism ('hardhearted') seems highly unlikely.

873–4 qua . . . morer? 'with what stratagem might I prolong your life's light?' The language is conspicuously high, particularly *lucem* and *moror*.

873 lucem: = *uitam*, cf. Lucr. 4.35 *simulacra . . . luce carentum* (of lifeless visions), used as a solemn periphrasis for the dead in *G.* 4.472, also 4.255 *corpora l. c.*; after V., cf. Ovid, *Met.* 14.132 *lux aeterna mihi . . . dabatur*. The tragic colouring of the

passage suggests a link to such expressions as 'seeing the light' = 'being alive', cf. *Il.* 18.61 ζώει καὶ ὁρᾷ φάος ἠελίοιο, Aesch. *Pers.* 299, Soph. *OT* 375. See also 10.855 *lucem . . . relinquo* (~ *Il.* 18.11).

874 arte: cf. 632–3 above *cum prima per artem | foedera turbasti.* **morer** 'keep from departing', so 'prolong' (*OLD* 2, but not well treated); cf. 11.177 (Evander), with opposite affect, *quod uitam moror inuisam.* **talin:** = *tali ne*; see n. on *tanton* 503 above. **monstro:** the word refers both to the supernatural character of the Dira and to her frightening appearance; cf. 7.327–8, of Allecto, *odere sorores | Tartareae monstrum: tot sese uertit in ora.*

875 iam iam: see n. on 676 above. **linquo acies:** the parallel to Juno's withdrawal, 808 *et Turnum et terras . . . reliqui*, 818 *pugnas . . . relinquo*, emphasizes T.'s abandonment by his divine protectors. *(re)linquere* can describe a god's abandoning a city, as in the fall of Troy, 2.351–2 *excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis | di quibus imperium hoc steterat*, Eur. *Tro.* 25 (Poseidon) λείπω τὸ κλεινὸν Ἴλιον βωμούς τ' ἐμούς.

875–8 ne . . . Iouis: *ne . . . timentem* is explained by *alarum . . . nosco* and *nec . . . Iouis*: there is no need to create fear with a disguised form, since Juturna recognizes the Dira and knows that the order to withdraw comes from Jupiter. On that reading, *terrete timentem* means 'terrorize me so as to make me fearful' (with the sound-play binding the words together); many comms. interpret 'do not terrorize me, since I am already fearful', but that gives an unwanted emphasis and blurs the connection to what follows.

875 ne . . . terrete: balanced by T.'s *non me . . . terrent* in 894.

876 obscenae uolucres: 'the plural . . . has not been satisfactorily explained' (M.). Among the unsatisfactory explanations: 'the plural by a natural inaccuracy, or perhaps to suggest Juturna's confusion' (Page); 'the plural is generalizing; she addresses the bird as one of a type' (W.). Traina more plausibly suggests that Juturna (or V.) is thinking of the *geminae . . . Dirae* (845). **obscenae:** see on *importuna* 864 above.

877 nec fallunt: i.e. I recognize them for what they are; cf. 9.243 *nec nos uia fallit euntis* = 'we know the way', *G.* 2.152 *nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis* (as interpreted by Servius Auctus: the gatherers recognize aconite as poisonous and so are not deceived by it). Success or failure of disguise is a recurring motif in the latter books; cf. 7.350 (Allecto) *fallit . . . furentem*, 634 above *et nunc nequiquam fallis dea*, 891–3 below. Juturna's words are echoed by Silius' Hannibal (17.558–9), *uestra est haec altera, uestra | fraus . . . superi; non fallitis.* **iussa superba:** Jupiter's commands are judged harshly from Juturna's perspective; cf. 10.445–6, where T.'s *iussa superba* are viewed through Pallas' eyes. Traina sees Juturna's attribution of despotic behaviour to Jupiter as inverting the poem's ethical-political value system, but her accusation is natural given her love for T.; as he also notes, Hera complains to Thetis in *Il.* 15.94 that Zeus's spirit is arrogant and stubborn (ὑπερφίαλος καὶ ἀπηνής). In fact there is little difference between Juturna's characterization of Jupiter and V.'s description in 849, *saeui . . . regis.* Lloyd (1972)

127 observes that *superbus* in the *Aeneid* is often connected with the *hauteur* of kings. For *superbus* elsewhere in this book, cf. 236, 326.

878 magnanimi Iouis: a bitter echo of 144 above. Juturna's next questions take up Juno's reference there to Jupiter's *ingratum . . . cubile.* **magnanimi:** only here and 144 of a god. V. may have been thinking of Catull. 64.85 *magnanimum ad Minoa uenit sedesque superbas.* **haec . . . reponit?** 'is this his replacement for my virginity?'; *reponere* in this sense (*OLD* 6) is mainly found in prose. **haec** = immortality. The immortality conferred on human lovers of divinities often has undesirable consequences, such as Endymion's endless sleep (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 5.165.6 (Meleager), Cic. *Fin.* 5.55) or the ever-advancing old age of Tithonus (cf. Ovid, *Am.* 1.13.37–8) and the Cumaean Sibyl (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 14.141–51). La Cerda compared places in Euripides in which gods who have fathered children by mortals are accused of ingratitude, cf. *Heracl.* 339–47, *Ion* 912–22.

879–81 Juturna's regret of her immortality may have been inspired by Bion's *Lament for Adonis*, where Aphrodite grieves 'wretched that I am, I live and am a goddess and cannot follow you [to Acheron]' (52–3 ἁ δὲ τάλαινα | ζώω καὶ θεός ἐμμι καὶ οὐ δύναμαί σε διώκειν). A similar complaint was probably voiced by Philitas' Demeter; cf. fr. 1 Lightfoot. There may also be a remote precursor in *Il.* 5.873–4, where Ares complains that 'we who are gods forever have to endure the most horrible hurts' from other gods for giving favour to mortals (αἰεί τοι ῥίγιστα θεοὶ τετληότες εἰμὲν | ἀλλήλων ἰότητι, χάριν ἄνδρεσσι φέροντες). The lament of Io's father Inachus in Ovid, *Met.* 1.661–3 has several close parallels to our passage: *nec finire licet tantos mihi morte dolores, | sed nocet esse deum, praeclusaque ianua leti | aeternum nostros luctus extendit in aeuum*; both passages may draw on a similar lament in Calvus' lost *Io*. Cf. also *Met.* 10.202–3 (Apollo lamenting Hyacinthus) *atque utinam pro te uitam tecumue liceret | reddere.*

879 quo . . . aeternam?: there is no hint that Juturna asked for or wished to be made immortal; Jupiter's action thus seems entirely arbitrary. **quo** 'to what end'. **adempta:** *adimere* is often used of robbing someone of something precious; of virginity, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 8.592 *uirgineum . . . nomen ademi*, *Carm. Epigr.* 1141.4 *quoi . . . uirginitas nuper adempta est.* But the verb can also describe death snatching away its victims (*OLD* 8), a sense ironically relevant to this context. Juturna's paradoxical wording suggests that she sees her loss of mortality as another form of victimization by Jupiter.

880 condicio: only here in V.; the word often refers to the terms of birth and death, cf. Lucr. 2.300–1 *gignentur eadem | condicione*, Cic. *Cat.* 3.2 *nascendi incerta condicio*, Prop. 3.2.22 *mortis ab extrema condicione uacant.* **possem:** apodosis of a contrary-to-fact condition with protasis implied by the previous question (e.g. 'if Jupiter had not robbed me of my mortality').

881 comes: recalling Anna's pathetic words to her sister in 4.677–8 *comitemne sororem | spreuisti moriens?* The motif 'a companion in death' often dramatizes the wish of women to die with their lovers or husbands, cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.151–2 (Thisbe) *leti . . . dicar | causa comesque tui*, 11.705 (Alcyone) *tibi nunc saltem ueniam*

comes, Livy 40.4.15, Tac. *Ann.* 3.15.1; here it gives an emotional colour to the bond between brother and sister. Hor. *Carm.* 2.17.11–12 *supremum* | *carpere iter comites parati* makes a similarly powerful statement using the language of male comradeship. For the dat. with *comes* cf. Ovid, *Met.* 11.705, Stat. *Theb.* 2.608–9 (echoing our passage) *comitem . . . illi iubet ire sub umbras* | *Phegea*. **per umbras:** cf. 952 below *sub umbras*, a link that will become more significant if 882–4 are removed (next n.) and these are Juturna's final words.

882–4 Modern comms. display no discomfort with these lines, but several features make it likely that they are either an early interpolation or, as Ribbeck suggested, an alternative to 879–81 that was not cancelled in V.'s autograph:

(a) *immortalis ego?* might serve to introduce this topic, but it is intolerably lame following three lines on the subject;

(b) the lines are largely made up of phrases resembling or identical to earlier passages:

aut quidquam mihi dulce meorum | *te sine, frater, erit?* ~ 4.317–18 (Dido) *si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quidquam* | *dulce meum*;

o quae satis ima dehiscat | *terra mihi* = 10.675–6 (T., with *aut* for *o*), less closely 4.24 (Dido) *mihi uel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat*;

Manis . . . deam demittat ad imos ~ 4.387 (Dido) *audiam et haec Manis ueniet mihi fama sub imos*.

Such a high quotient of reuse of earlier material is remarkable in itself, and the word-for-word repetition of 10.675–6, while arguably showing an identity of outlook in brother and sister, lacks the subtlety characteristic of V. It is also telling that two of the repetitions are less well integrated here than in their earlier appearance:

(1) In 4.317–18 the function and meaning of *aut* and *quidquam dulce meum* are clear; in 882 *aut* is at best loosely linked to *immortalis ego?*, and the sense of *meorum* is far from obvious. Comms. take *meorum* as n. pl. and offer variations on Tib. Cl. Donatus' gloss 'inter bona mea' (for *mea* of possessions, etc. see *TLL* 8.920.69–921.8), but the plural lacks point, since the only possession at issue here is immortality. (The thought is similar to Catull. 68.22 *omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra*, but there the *gaudia* that have passed away include love and writing poetry.)

O'Hara (1993) supports Heinrich's alteration of *aut* to *at* (the miscopying allegedly caused by a genuine case of *aut* introducing a second question in 889), producing an example of *subiectio*, i.e. raising an objection in order to refute it: Juturna asks 'what of the fact that I am immortal?' (which would imply that Jupiter has treated her well) and answers 'yes, but what pleasure can I take in that without you?' That seems at best a limited solution, and the objection to *quidquam meorum* = 'my immortality' remains. I think it more likely that *aut* has been imported without change from 4.317; the proximity of *ima* and *imos* would be another consequence of stitching together widely separated model passages.

(2) In 10.675–6 T. uses the 'let the Earth open and swallow me' motif in its proper form, as a wish to escape shame or disgrace, while in Juturna's case it fits awkwardly with her desire to go down to the Underworld: the question 'how can earth open deeply enough?' loses point if earth only needs to open far enough to give access to the lower world. The maladroit yoking together of ideas may account for what Wills (1996) 227 n. 13 calls the 'curious structure . . . a cross between polyptoton and resumption'.

For other possible alternative drafts in V.'s manuscript, see Horsfall on 7.699–705. Lines 882–4 are deleted by Zwierlein (1999) 173, 427 n. 4.

882 immortalis ego? aut: the elision of *ego* across a sense break has only one parallel in the poem, 11.392–3 *pulsus ego? aut quisquam* [~ *quidquam*] *merito . . . pulsum* | *arguet . . . ?* (T.), a probable model for this line. On the elision of *quid ago?* (also in T.'s mouth) see on 637 above.

883 te sine: postponement of *sine* is rare; elsewhere in V. only *G.* 1.161 *quis sine*, 3.42 *te sine*, *Ecl.* 10.47–8 (with pathetic effect) *dura niues et frigora Rheni* | *me sine sola uides*; Clausen ad loc. records a suggestion of C. W. Weber that *me sine* is a quotation from Gallus. The conjunction of 'without you' and 'nothing pleasurable' resembles Lucr. 1.22–3 (of Venus) *nec sine te quidquam dias in luminis oras* | *exoritur neque fit laetum neque amabile quidquam.*

885–6 Juturna's despairing descent forms the strongest possible contrast to Juno's triumphant exit in 841–2.

885 caput glauco contexit amictu: the strongly marked alliteration is probably for closural effect. **caput . . . contexit:** a gesture denoting grief and/or shame, as in the famous painting of Agamemnon with head veiled at the sacrifice of Iphigenia (cf. Cic. *Orat.* 74, referring to A.'s *summus luctus*, and for a later version cf. *LIMC* s.v. Agamemnon 41). It is also frequently associated with suicides (cf. Livy 4.12.11 with Ogilvie's n.) and may be connected to Juturna's thwarted wish for death. **glauco . . . amictu:** standard garb for a water divinity, cf. 8.33 of the personified Tiber. Artistic depictions of female water deities show the *amictus* fluttering above their heads, as in the so-called 'Tellus' panel of the Ara Pacis. For the grey-green colour (that of water itself, cf. Lucr. 1.719) see also 10.205–6 *uelatus harundine glauca* | *Mincius.*

886 multa gemens: the same phrase at 1.465, 3.495, 5.869, with *multa* as internal acc.; in *G.* 3.226 *multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi* | *uictoris*, *multa* is adverbial. Juturna's lamenting exit is matched by that of T. (952 *cum gemitu*). **fluuio . . . alto:** either 'in her deep stream' (with a touch of hyperbole) or 'in the depths of her stream' (*OLD* 6b); the latter perhaps more vividly suggests Juturna's desire to flee the upper world. Given the location of the episode, there may be a recollection of A. sailing into the Tiber in 7.36 *laetus fluuio succedit opaco*, another sort of disappearance. The combination *se condidit alto* has figured in two previous aquatic exits, 5.243 (Cloanthus' ship) *portu se c. a.* and 8.66 (Tiber) *lacu fluuius se c. a.*

887–918 Turnus hurls a stone at Aeneas, but he is thwarted by the Dira

Most comms. treat 887–952 as a single episode, but several factors mark off 887–918 as a distinct phase of the final encounter. The lines are internally framed by occurrences of *instare* in 887 and 916; other verbal markers are the repetition of *telum . . . coruscat* in 887 and 919 and the link between *cunctatur* 916 and *cunctantem* 919. These lines are also connected with the previous section (843–86) in showing the effects on T. of the Dira's intervention and Juturna's withdrawal.

The section begins with A.'s taunting speech, but the primary focus is on T. in his last moment of heroic striving (902 *heros*, 913 *uirtute*). In its depiction of T. the passage forms a microcosm of his portrayal in the book as a whole, beginning with fierce aggression and ending in fear and confusion. The lines are particularly rich in recollections of the duel between Achilles and Hector in *Iliad* 22 (see nn. on 891–2, 894–5, 896–8, 899–900, 902, 908–12); the allusions confirm T.'s role as the new Hector, with A. in the part of the victorious Achilles.

Language recalling Lucretius is also frequent, clustering around the simile in 908–12; cf. also nn. on 900, 903 *nec se cognoscit*, 906 *uacuum per inane*. Using Lucretian language is a means of elevating the tone, but it also seems possible that Lucretius was associated in V.'s mind with a certain area of experience or type of emotion, as was Catullus. A possible specific factor is the prominence of the fear of death in the portrayal of T. in this final section; see n. on 931–8.

Finally, the section exhibits a high degree of alliteration: 890 *c*, 893–4 *c* and *qu*, 903 *c*, 904 *m*, 905 *g*, 906 *u*, 907 *t*, 910, 912, 913, 915 *u*. In some cases a specific effect is clear (e.g. the scornful *c*s in 890 and 893), but the overall result is to give the lines a heightened level of verbal energy.

887 The action resumes where it was interrupted at 790, with A. and T. facing each other; *contra* in 887 is a link to 790 *adsistunt contra*. **instat:** also looks back to the previous action, cf. 762, 783. **telum . . . coruscat:** cf. 431 above (A.) *hastam . . . coruscat*, there coupled with *odit . . . moras*.

888 ingens arboreum 'huge, as large as a tree'. Traina suggests that the order implies a comparison (~ *instar arboris*); elsewhere V. often has *ingens* follow an adj., cf. 4.181 *monstrum horrendum, ingens*, 6.170 *tectum augustum, ingens*, 897 below. The coupling of adjectives in asyndeton (*asyndeton bimembre*) is a feature of early Latin poetry, frequent in Ennius; cf. *Sc.* 36 J. *me . . . dementem inuitam ciet*, 90 *tectis caelatis laqueatis*, Jocelyn on *Sc.* 9. **ingens**: also at 896–7, 927, part of a general magnification of scale in this final encounter; see n. on 899–900. **arboreum:** for the hyperbole cf. 10.207 *centena arbore* (= a hundred oars). There may be a suggestion of the gigantic in A.'s tree-sized spear; cf. Polyphemus' staff in 3.659 *trunca manum pinus regit*, Ovid, *Met.* 13.782–3, *pinus baculi quae praebuit usum* | . . . *antemnis apta ferendis*. Milton conflates V. and Ovid and takes the hyperbole further: 'his spear, to equal which the tallest pine | hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast | of some great ammiral, were but a wand' (*P.L.* 1.202–4, cited by

Page). **saeuo . . . pectore:** it may be too subtle to see an echo of *saeui . . . regis* (849), but A.'s first words do resemble Jupiter's in 791: *quae nunc deinde mora est* ~ *quae iam finis erit*; *quid iam . . . retractas* ~ *quid denique restat* (with interchange of *iam* and *deinde*). A. also speaks first, like Jupiter, whereas in Homer Hector opens the dialogue.

889 An ironic echo of T.'s words in 11–12 above, *nulla mora est in Turno; nihil est quod dicta retractent | ignaui Aeneadae.* **quid . . . retractas?** 'why do you hang back?'; *retractare* is here intransitive (*OLD* 3), cf. Livy 3.52.4 *secuta exercitum plebs, nullo qui per aetatem ire posset retractante.*

890 cursu: another link to the previous action, cf. 763 (also 747, 751). **comminus:** cf. 11.706–7 (Arruns challenging Camilla) *dimitte fugam et te comminus aequo | mecum crede solo.*

891–3 A. conflates T. with his sister, pretending to ascribe to him her powers of transformation; see n. on 865 above, also *arte* ~ 874 above, *te condere* ~ 886 above *se . . . condidit.* His words are tinged with unconscious irony, since at the moment it is A. who is benefiting from a change of shape (i.e. the Dira's, cf. 865) and previously T. was deceived by a phantom Aeneas (10.636–7 *umbram | in faciem Aeneae*). Some comms. see a reference to the shape-shifter Proteus, on the basis of Servius Auctus' cryptic comment on *uerte omnis tete in facies*, 'et est prouerbialiter dictum', but that seems lacking in point.

Ribbeck (1866) 86 thought that 891–3 should precede 890 or be followed by a conclusion such as *numquam hodie effugies*; his logically based reaction helps to demonstrate the gratuitous nature of A.'s taunts.

891 tete: the only occurrence in V. of the reduplicated form, which (unlike *sese*) is generally avoided in non-dramatic poetry, cf. Wills (1996) 82; a 'low' word would suit A.'s harsh tone.

891–2 contrahe quidquid . . . uales: based on Achilles' words to Hector in *Il.* 22.269–70 'remember every valour of yours, for now the need comes | hardest upon you to be a spearman and a bold warrior' (παντοίης ἀρετῆς μιμνήσκεο· νῦν σε μάλα χρὴ | αἰχμητήν τ' ἔμεναι καὶ θαρσαλέον πολεμιστήν). A.'s tone is more scornful, as is shown by the addition of *ars* to *animi*; *contrahe* may also be pointed, suggesting that T.'s resources are scattered and must be rounded up.

892–3 opta . . . terra: the wish to escape into the sky or below the earth is often voiced by Euripidean characters in intolerable situations; for its hostile ascription by one speaker to another cf. *Med.* 1296–7 (Jason to Medea), *Hipp.* 1290–3 (Artemis to Theseus), with Barrett's n. A.'s taunt implies that T. has good reason to hope for a hiding place. **opta . . . sequi:** perhaps an ironic echo of Apollo's words to Iulus in 9.641 *sic* (i.e. through *uirtus*) *itur ad astra*; in A.'s view, T.'s only hope of reaching the stars is by metamorphosis into a bird. It is hard not to see an allusion to the legend of T.'s transformation into a heron (*ardea*, named for his native city); the link was made by Ovid, *Met.* 14.580 *ipsa suis deplangitur Ardea pennis* (V.'s *ardua* metamorphosized into *Ardea*).

892 ardua 'lofty', of heavenly beings or phenomena (*OLD* 3), cf. 10.3–4 (Jupiter) *terras unde arduus omnis* | ... *aspectat*, 102 *arduus aether*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.10 *nubibus arduis*; but the adj. also suggests the steepness and difficulty of the ascent. (The motto *Per ardua ad astra*, adopted in 1913 by the Royal Flying Corps, the precursor of the Royal Air Force, is probably a combination of this passage and 9.641 *sic itur ad astra*.)

893 clausumque ... terra: A.'s words unintentionally recall the Trojans' and his own previous experiences: *clausus* described the Trojans shut up in their camp (9.67, 10.22), and *caua* might recall the 'hollow cloud' (*nube caua*) with which Venus rescued A. at Troy (5.810) and shielded him from sight in Carthage (1.516).

894 caput quassans: a gesture capable of several meanings, including dejection (Lucr. 2.1164 *iamque c. q. grandis suspirat arator* | *crebrius*) and anger (7.292, of Juno *acri fixa dolore*). Servius Auctus thought it expressed sorrow ('luctus animi'), but T.'s words suggest defiant determination. Enn. *Ann.* 538 Sk. has *saepe iubam quassat simul altam* of a war horse, in a passage drawn on by V. in 11.492–7, comparing T. to a stallion.

894–5 non ... hostis: T.'s speech corresponds to *Il.* 22.297–305, where Hector realizes that he is alone and that the gods are against him; it is notable for its brevity (underscored by the absence of an introductory speech-formula and the resumptive *nec plura effatus*) and the sharp antithesis between negative and positive (*non me ... terrent* :: *di me terrent*). T.'s awareness of his situation here reaches its completion. **non ... ferox:** compare Mezentius to A. in 10.878–9 *quid me erepto, saeuissime, nato* | *terres?*; also 875 above *ne me terrete* – a link that associates T. with Juturna and A. with the Dira. **feruida ... ferox:** T.'s characterization of A. and his words does not essentially differ from V.'s in 888 *saeuo ... pectore*. After A.'s last speech he is *feruidus* (951).

895 ferox: at the start of the book Latinus said of T. *feroci* | *uirtute exsuperas* (19–20); now that quality has passed to A. In Latinus' mouth the adjective is a compliment to T.'s valour in war; T.'s tone is less clear, but it is certainly not laudatory. These are the only uses of *ferox* of T. and A., and the word is on the whole less frequent in *Aen.* than one might have expected (ten instances). Elsewhere it characterizes the peoples of Italy (1.263, 7.384, 724), the Trojans (10.610 *animus ... ferox patiensque pericli*), and various animals (a horse in 4.135, a snake in 5.277 (compared in a simile to Sergestus' ship) and a boar in 10.711 (compared in a simile to Mezentius)). **di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis:** the parallel with Juturna's words in 875–8 suggests that *di* refers to the Dira (plural, like *uolucres*), as *Iuppiter hostis* summarizes *iussa superba* | ... *Iouis*. T.'s admission of fear contrasts with his earlier denial that he feared the fates vaunted by the Trojans, 9.133–4 *nil me fatalia terrent* | *si qua Phryges prae se iactant*; his identification of Jupiter as his adversary implicitly retracts his scepticism about the source of Trojan destiny. **Iuppiter hostis** 'the fact that Jupiter is my enemy'. The horror of that realization is expressed by WF (153): 'to have Jupiter as your enemy was for a Roman inconceivable: it would mean that you are an outcast from

civilization, from social life and virtue'. The Roman overtones give T.'s words more emotive power than *Il.* 22.301–2 (Hector) 'so it must long since have been pleasing | to Zeus, and Zeus's son who strikes from afar' (ἦ γάρ ῥα πάλαι τό γε φίλτερον ἦεν | Ζηνί τε καὶ Διὸς υἷι ἑκηβόλῳ) or 16.844–6 (Patroclus) 'yours is the victory | given by Kronos' son, Zeus, and Apollo, who have subdued me | easily' (σοὶ γὰρ ἔδωκε | νίκην Ζεὺς Κρονίδης καὶ Ἀπόλλων, οἵ με δάμασσαν | ῥηιδίως). The clarity with which T. discerns Jupiter's involvement is itself a foreshadowing of his death: 'moments when humans recognize divine action clearly for what it is tend to be moments of final catastrophe' (Feeney (1991) 181, comparing 2.326–7, where Panthus recognizes that Jupiter has marked Troy for destruction). T.'s words are also correct in another sense, since A. in the final confrontation is described in terms that align him with Jupiter; see n. on 922–3. **hostis:** as noted by Traina, *hostis* of a god is almost without parallel; *TLL* 6³.3064.5–12 cites only Prop. 3.18.7–8 *inuisae . . . Baiae, | quis deus in uestra constitit hostis aqua?* and Ovid, *Pont.* 3.1.152 *hostem Fortunam sit satis esse mihi*, neither of which is as blunt. T.'s description of Jupiter as his personal opponent assimilates the god to A.

896–902 T.'s stone throw recalls *Il.* 5.302–10, where Diomedes wounds A. in the thigh with a huge stone. Earlier (in 52–3 above) T. had implicitly aspired to the role of Diomedes, but he fails in the attempt and is instead himself wounded in the thigh by A. (926 *per medium . . . femur*). See Quint (1993) 68–72, also n. on 951 *soluuntur frigore membra.*

896 saxum circumspicit: condensed expression for 'he looked around and saw a stone'.

896–7 saxum . . . ingens, | saxum antiquum ingens: Wills (1996) 156–8 links the epanalepsis to the first appearance of that figure in the poem, 1.108–10 *tris* [sc. *naues*] *Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet | (saxa uocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras, | dorsum immane mari summo)*, 'creating a ring composition of the first physical threat to Aeneas and the last'.

897 saxum antiquum ingens: the two elisions create a run of long syllables that suggests the mass and weight of the stone; cf. 3.658 *monstrum horrendum informe ingens*, 6.552 *porta aduersa ingens*, 7.170 *tectum augustum ingens.* **antiquum:** a stone that had long been in that location; as with the oleaster sacred to Faunus in 766–71 above (767 *olim uenerabile lignum*), T. is associated with longstanding local traditions. But *antiquum* is also a marker of literary antiquity and of the stone's Homeric provenance (Wills (1996) 158 n. 79 and next n.).

897–8 quod . . . aruis: closely resembling *Il.* 21.403–5 'but Athene . . . caught up in her heavy hand a stone | that lay in the plain, black and rugged and huge, one which men | of a former time had set there as boundary mark of the cornfield' (ἣ δ' . . . λίθον εἵλετο χειρὶ παχείῃ | κείμενον ἐν πεδίῳ μέλανα τρηχύν τε μέγαν τε, | τόν ῥ' ἄνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἔμμεναι οὖρον ἀρούρης). V. adds that the stone was intended to settle disputes; a non-idealizing detail (boundary stones are a sign of post-Golden Age life, cf. *G.* 1.126–7), but one that hints at a resolution of conflict very different from the

present situation. That technique is Homeric, cf. *Il.* 22.154–6 'where the wives of the Trojans and their lovely | daughters washed the clothes... in the old days | when there was peace, before the coming of the sons of the Achaians' (ὅθι εἵματα σιγαλόεντα | πλύνεσκον Τρώων ἄλοχοι καλαί τε θύγατρες | τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' εἰρήνης πρὶν ἐλθεῖν υἷας Ἀχαιῶν).

898 discerneret: as Traina notes, V. fuses the senses 'divide', i.e. the fields (cf. Sall. *Iug.* 79.3) and 'settle', for which cf. Caes. *B ciu.* 1.35.3 *discernere utra pars iustiorem habeat causam*, Vell. Pat. 1.118.1 *agentes gratias quod... solita armis discerni iure terminarentur.* **aruis:** either dat. of reference/advantage, or loose local abl.

899–900 More Homeric colouring, cf. *Il.* 5.303–4 'a stone, a huge thing which no two men could carry | such as men are now', 12.447–9 'two men, the best in all a community, | could not easily hoist it up from the ground to a wagon, | of men such as men are now'. Page comments that 'the exaggeration from "two" to "twelve" men marks the literary imitator who disregards facts'; the inflation began with Apollonius Rhodius (3.1365), who turned Homer's two men into four youths.

899 illum: probably referring somewhat illogically to *limes* in 898 rather than to *saxum*; the alternative, to take *illum* as = *illud*, produces a form with no clear parallel in classical Latin. (Two of the three ancient MSS available here normalize by reading *illud.*) Kenney (1970) 260 tentatively suggests *ollum* (an acc. form implied by the old nom. *ollus* cited by Varro, *Ling.* 7.42).

900 'bodies of men such as the earth now brings forth'; *corpora hominum* is in apposition to *lecti* (*homines*), with a focus on physique. C–N allege that V.'s counterpart to Homer's οἷοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι shows Lucretian influence, citing 5.822–3 *genus ipsa* [sc. *terra*] *creauit* | *humanum*, 2.589 *tellus habet in se corpora prima.*

901–2 ille... heros: for the placement of the demonstrative and its noun at the beginning and end of successive lines, cf. 5.609–10 *illa... uirgo*, *G.* 4.457–8 *illa... puella*; Thomas ad loc. notes that V. is imitating Homeric practice, comparing *Il.* 1.488–9 αὐτὰρ ὁ... Ἀχιλλεύς.

901 trepida: see n. on 737 above. **torquebat** 'was trying to throw'.

902 altior insurgens: drawing himself up to throw; cf. 5.443–4 *ostendit dextram insurgens Entellus et alte* | *extulit*, 11.697 (Camilla delivering an axe blow) *altior exsurgens*, and see n. on 729 above *consurgit.* **cursu concitus:** cf. 9.964 *immani concitus ira*, of T. attacking the Trojan camp; the echo recalls the bold fighter that T. is again trying to be. *cursu* lends itself to alliterative combinations; cf. 4.154 *transmittunt cursu campos*, 751 above *uenator cursu canis* (also *cursu* + *qu-*, cf. 11.875 *cursu quatit ungula campum*, 9.91, *G.* 3.132). **heros:** of T. only here and in 723 above, *Daunius heros.* Its placement makes it seem more like a description than a simple designation: 'like a hero / in the manner of a hero'.

903–7 T.'s loss of strength has a Homeric analogue in *Il.* 16.786–815, where Patroclus is struck by Apollo; cf. 805 'disaster caught his wits, and his shining body went nerveless' (τὸν δ' ἄτη φρένας εἷλε, λύθεν δ' ὑπὸ φαίδιμα γυῖα). V. makes T. the observer of his own weakness, to greater pathetic effect.

903 se nec cognoscit: the earlier theme of recognition on T.'s part (see nn. on 632–49, 676–80) is ironically reversed. The connection between *se* and the participles *currentem*, *euntem*, *tollentem* and *mouentem* shows that it is in those activities that T. does not recognize himself, i.e. that he does not experience his customary speed or strength. There is a probable echo of Lucr. 6.1213–14 *quosdam cepere obliuia rerum | cunctarum, neque se possent cognoscere ut ipsi*; the fear of death that unmans Lucretius' plague victims (1208 *metuentes limina leti*, 1212 *mortis metus*) is perhaps also at work in T.'s case. In lines 913–14 V. states explicitly that T.'s efforts are being thwarted by the Dira, but at this point a reader might interpret his loss of strength as brought about by some internal loss of nerve such as T. has experienced earlier (cf. 219–21, 731–4). We may be meant to conclude that the Dira works upon fears already present in T. (including the one expressed at 895 *di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis*), as it can be argued that in 7.445–66 Allecto does not create *amor ferri* or *ira* in T., but instead exploits a pre-existing disposition for Juno's ends.

903–4 currentem . . . euntem | tollentem . . . mouentem: the procession of four acc. participles is unique in V.; a group of three appears in 5.181–2 *labentem . . . natantem . . . remouentem*, and cf. 8.620–2 *uomentem . . . rigentem . . . ingentem* (also Austin on 4.55). Ovid uses similar accumulations of participles for pathetic effect, cf. *Met.* 3.717–18 (Pentheus) *iam trepidum, iam uerba minus uiolenta loquentem, | iam se damnantem, iam se peccasse fatentem*, 6.522–4 (Philomela) *pallentem trepidamque et cuncta timentem | et iam cum lacrimis ubi sit germana rogantem | includit.*

Alliteration of *c* in 903 (continuing *cursu concitus* in 902) suggests T.'s attempts at running, that of *m* in 904 his effort to throw the massive rock.

905 genua labant: the following phrase shows that this reaction is caused by fear, not exhaustion as in 5.431–2, or weakness as in 747 above. **gelidus . . . sanguis:** Homer speaks of 'chilling fear' (*Il.* 9.2 φόβου κρυόεντος), but not of blood running cold or congealing. The frequency of variations on the motif in V. suggests its presence in earlier Latin poetry, cf. 3.30 (of A.) *gelidus . . . coit formidine s.*, 3.259 *gelidus f. s. | deriguit*, 10.452 *frigidus Arcadiis coit in praecordia s.* The combination *gelidus concreuit frigore* is strongly emphatic.

906 tum lapis ipse: *tum* does not mark a temporal progression as much as a shift of focus (as if in a *cum . . . tum* construction); the stone shares T.'s lack of power. **lapis . . . uiri:** a striking example of the use of *uir* to replace oblique forms of *is*, for which cf. 319 above, Austin on 6.174, 890. The oddness of the expression lies in the use of the genitive (*lapis uiri* = *lapis a uiro coniectus*), as if the stone were a projection or part of T. (~ *manus eius* or *bracchium eius*). Mackail suspected an echo of an early Latin poet. (I do not understand Servius Auctus' comment, but it shows that the phrase was considered noteworthy: 'mire "uiri" addidit, quasi propter rationem eius, qui languide iecerat, ut ipse lapis sine effectu fuerit; ut si dixisset, talis est uir qualem descripsi.') **uiri uacuum . . . uolutus:** the alliteration is picked up in the simile, cf. 912 *uires . . . uox . . . uerba.* **uacuum per inane:** the phrase has a

Lucretian ring, cf. 2.151 *non per inane meat uacuum*, also *magnum per inane* 1.1018, 1103, 2.65, 105, 109, etc. (echoed in *Ecl.* 6.31). *aer uacuum* can refer to 'the open air', as in *G.* 3.109 (and cf. *in uacuum*, 2.287), but the stress on emptiness in *uacuum inane* anticipates the failure of T.'s attempt (see next n.). There is an inverted echo of 354 *leui iaculo longum per inane secutus*, where T.'s spear cast is successful. **uolutus:** a most unusual choice of words: *uoluere* normally describes objects rolled along the ground or rolling onto it. (Nothing in *OLD* looks at all similar, and this passage seems not to be registered.) Wills (1996) 158 n. 79 sees an allusion to Sisyphus rolling his stone, cf. 6.616 *saxum ingens uoluunt alii*, Lucr. 3.1001–2 *saxum . . . <e> summo iam uertice rursum | uoluitur.*

907 euasit 'made its way through', cf. 2.730–1 *omnem . . . uidebar | euasisse uiam*; Austin ad loc. notes that the transitive use is attested before V. only in Lucilius 313 Marx *omne iter euadit.* **totum:** Servius thought that *totum* modified *ictum* rather than *spatium*, but the sense of *perferre* ('to carry out completely') makes it redundant in the latter phrase; cf. 10.786 *uires haud pertulit.*

908–12 The basis for the simile is *Il.* 22.199–201 'as in a dream a man is not able to follow one who runs | from him, nor can the runner escape, nor the other pursue him, | so he could not run him down in his speed, nor the other get clear' (ὡς δ' ἐν ὀνείρῳ οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν· | οὔτ' ἄρ' ὃ τὸν δύναται ὑποφεύγειν οὔθ' ὃ διώκειν· | ὣς ὃ τὸν οὐ δύνατο μάρψαι ποσίν, οὐδ' ὃς ἀλύξαι). V. narrows the scope of the simile to T. alone, while expanding Homer's focus on pursuit to take in effort of all kinds (*mediis in conatibus*), including attempts at speech; he also replaces Homer's third-person description with generalizing first-person plurals (*uidemur*, *succidimus*). V.'s alterations are Lucretian both in spirit and in specific reference (see n. on 910); besides identifying the reader temporarily with T., they may imply that the simile's images of thwarted striving are universal in their application.

908 in somnis: in earlier books usually the setting for a vision, cf. 1.353, 2.270, 3.151, 4.557; of nightmares in 4.353 and 466.

908–9 oculos . . . quies: *languida* and *pressit* suggest not a restful sleep (as in 2.268–9 *tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris | incipit*), but an enervating one: cf. 6.521–2 (Deiphobus) *pressit . . . iacentem | dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti*, Lucr. 5.887 *membra . . . deficiunt fugienti languida uita.* V. is also thinking of Lucr. 4.453–4 *cum suaui deuinxit* (~ *pressit*) *membra sopore | somnus et in summa corpus iacet omne quiete*, drawn on again in 910.

909 nocte: the combination *nocte quies* might echo 7.414 *iam mediam nigra carpebat nocte quietem*, where Allecto comes to T. as he sleeps. **extendere cursus:** elevated language for 'keep on running' (*OLD* s.v. *extendo* 6 = 'prolong, continue'); *TLL* 5^2.1971.27–32 lists our passage as the earliest instance of *extendere* with *cursus* or related words (*iter*, *passus*). *cursus* recalls 890 and 902. **nequiquam:** a grander synonym for *frustra* of which V. is remarkably fond (36 occurrences in *Aen.*, against 19 of *frustra*); cf. Harrison on 10.121–2, Horsfall on 7.589. It appears in the Lucretian model at 4.464, in an editorializing comment.

910 uelle uidemur: both language and rhythm are inspired by Lucr. 4.455–7 *tum* (i.e. in a deep sleep) *uigilare tamen nobis et membra mouere | nostra uidemur et in noctis caligine caeca | cernere censemus solem*. The substitution of *uelle* for *nostra* produces both alliteration and greater stress on frustrated desire. **uidemur:** the first-person plural in the mouth of the narrator is foreign to Homeric epic; here its stunning effect is heightened by its deferral for two lines and by its enjambed position. Apollonius once interrupts a simile with a first-person generalization, 2.541–2 'and as when one wanders far from his native land – as we men often wander in our travails' (ὡς δ'ὅτε τις πάτρηθεν ἀλώμενος – οἷά τε πολλὰ | πλαζόμεθ' ἄνθρωποι τετληότες), cf. Hunter (1993) 137–8 and n. 131. V.'s source is Lucretian (previous n.), and the idiom is basic to Lucretius' method of appealing to his reader on the basis of shared experience, cf. 4.1058 *haec Venus est nobis* with Brown's n., 1050 *icimur*, 1173 *uiximus*; it is used sparingly in the *Georgics* (cf. 1.451, 2.32 *uidemus*, 1.471–2 *uidimus*, 2.186–7 *saepe solemus*) and appears occasionally in Ovidian didactic, cf. *Ars am.* 2.147 *odimus accipitrem, quia uiuit semper in armis*, 3.161 *nos* (i.e. men) *male detegimur*, 167 *uidemus*; *Fast.* 4.761 *nec Dryadas nec nos uideamus labra Dianae*, 6.241 *Mentis delubra uidemus*, 363; 3.123 *digiti per quos numerare solemus*, 4.457. Here it strongly aligns the reader's sympathy with T. **conatibus:** primarily a prose word, not in Lucretius and only here in V.; *conor* of frustrated action in a dream, cf. Prop. 2.26.19 *iamque ego conabar summo me mittere saxo*. **aegri:** 'exhausted' (*OLD* 2), a sense found often in V. (cf. e.g. 2.566, 5.432, 468, 9.814, 10.837) but not attested before him.

911 succidimus: the word's enjambed position and the strong sense break that follows suggest the sudden failure of effort. *succidere* in this context was probably suggested by Lucr. 3.152–8, on the effects of fear – a plausible subtext for the present passage: *uerum ubi uementi magis est commota metu mens, | consentire animam totam per membra uidemus | . . . | . . . et infringi linguam uocemque aboriri, | caligare oculos, sonere auris, succidere artus*.

911–12 non lingua . . . sequuntur: almost an ascending tricolon (with the second and third members of roughly equal length), matched in the narrative by 917–18. The stress on loss of speech may be explained by Lucr. 3.155 (previous n.); it has its analogue in the narrative in T.'s silent gaze, *aspectat* 915.

911 non lingua ualet: often a symptom of love-sickness, cf. Catull. 51.9 *lingua sed torpet*, Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.35–6 *facunda parum decoro | inter uerba cadit lingua silentio*. If the Dira is characterized as an anti-Amor figure (see nn. on 857–8, 866), it would be fitting for her victim to show the signs of unhappy love.

911–12 non corpore notae | sufficiunt uires: there appears to be a conflation of two ideas, 'the body's familiar strength is missing' (an extension of *OLD* s.v. *sufficio* 6b) and 'the body's familiar strength is not up to the task' (*OLD* 4). Strictly speaking, only the former sense is appropriate here. *uires* (or *uiribus*) *sufficere* is military terminology, cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 7.20.11, Livy 3.6.9, 27.13.13. For the sound play in *sufficiunt* ~ *succidimus* Traina compares Lucr. 5.482 *succidit* ~

suffudit. **corpore:** defining, with *uires*, shifting the focus from verbal to physical capabilities. **notae:** cf. 903 *se nec cognoscit.*

912 nec uox aut uerba sequuntur: more Lucretian phraseology, cf. 4.533 *uoces uerbaque*; in the paragraph 4.549–79 *uox* and *uerbum* each appears nine times, often in adjacent lines. **sequuntur:** in roughly the same sense as in Cato's well-known dictum, *rem tene, uerba sequentur*; Horace's paraphrase, *uerba . . . prouisam rem non inuita sequentur* (*Ars P.* 311), brings out the latent metaphor of following orders or a leader. Dido suffers from the opposite problem, hearing unbidden *uoces et uerba uocantis | uisa uiri*, 4.460–1.

913 quacumque uiam: see on 368 *quacumque uiam secat.* The alliterative *uiam uirtute* recalls expressions such as *fit uia ui* (2.494) or *ui uiam faciunt* (Livy 4.38.4, cf. Oakley on 7.33.10), but here *uia* seems meant less literally ('whatever | courage he calls upon to find a way' Mandelbaum). **uirtute:** cf. *heros* 902; T. is determined to act like a traditional hero.

914 successum: echoing *succidimus* in 911. **dea dira:** in conjunction with *dea*, *dira* is adj.; cf. 7.324 *dirarum ab sede dearum*, but V. is also playing on the name of the goddess.

914–15 tum . . . uarii: T.'s reaction recalls 665 *uaria confusus imagine rerum*; *uarii* = 'of different kinds', but in conjunction with *uertuntur* perhaps also implying 'in different directions'. **sensus** 'feelings' (*OLD* 7), cf. Val. Fl. 7.196 (Medea) *sensus uarios super hospite uoluens.* **uertuntur:** middle with reflexive force, cf. Cic. *Amic.* 22 *quoquo te uerteris, praesto est.* There may be an echo of 891 *uerte omnis tete in facies.*

915–18 T.'s shifting feelings are expressed in two triads, one positive and one negative.

915 Rutulos . . . urbem: in *Il.* 22.293–4 Hector calls aloud to Deiphobus, thinking he is by his side; T. only looks silently toward his allies and the city (cf. 911 *non lingua ualet*). **aspectat:** C–N point out that *aspectare* can denote a longing gaze, cf. *G.* 3.228 (the defeated bull) *stabula aspectans regnis excessit auitis*, 5.614–15 *cunctae . . . profundum | pontum aspectabant flentes.*

916 cunctaturque: picked up in 919, then used of A. in 940, in a final variation on the 'delay' motif. **letumque instare tremescit:** cf. 887 (A.) *instat.* The acc. and inf. with *tremesco* appears to be unique. Two of the three ancient MSS available here, M and R, read *telum* for *letum*, perhaps an anticipation of *telum* in 919, or else a transposition of the sort documented by Housman (1903) liv–lix; in Lucr. 3.170 *teli* has been corrupted to *leti.*

917–18 The section ends with an ascending tricolon, in which all three clauses depend on *nec uidet*; the shift from abstract indirect questions (*quo*, *qua ui*) to concrete direct objects (*currus . . . sororem*) places emphasis on the final member, which also carries the greatest emotional weight.

917 eripiat: a recurring motif with T., cf. 10.624 *tolle fuga Turnum atque instantibus* (~ *instare*) *eripe fatis*, 157 above *fratrem . . . eripe morti*; it will appear one last time (in an implicitly negated form) in 947–8 *tune . . . eripiare mihi?* **tendat in**

hostem: military terminology, cf. Livy 1.12.5 *huc armati superata media ualle tendunt*, 9.45.15 *pleno gradu ad castra hostium tendunt*, 36.44.8 *Liuius indignatione accensus praetoria naue in hostes tendit.* The verb reappears in a different sense in 938: T.'s inability to engage his enemy results in his outstretched hand.

918 Deprived of all support, T. is once again the vulnerable young man of 219–21. *aurigam . . . sororem* recapitulates the subplot of Juturna's impersonation of Metiscus in a way that blurs the distinction between her and the role she played, perhaps reflecting T.'s memory of her shifting identity.

919–952 Aeneas kills Turnus

The primary Homeric model is *Il.* 22.321–60, where Hector appeals unsuccessfully to Achilles for an honourable burial; T.'s appeal, especially its evocation of T.'s father Daunus and A.'s own father (932–4), also recalls *Il.* 24.485–506, Priam's successful supplication of Achilles leading to the return of Hector's body. The closest situational parallel, however, is *Il.* 6.37–65, where Menelaus is supplicated by Adrestos and is on the point of sparing him, when Agamemnon intervenes and urges death to all Trojans.

In Homer, Hector has been mortally wounded when he makes his appeal, and the issue of sparing his life does not arise. T.'s initial wound, on the other hand, is not fatal; A. can spare him if he so chooses. V. also makes both A.'s inclination to show mercy and the rage that overrules it arise within A. himself, thereby inviting particularly close attention to A.'s words and actions.

A.'s response to T.'s appeal rejects the first of his two requests, that he be allowed to live; nothing is said about the second, that his body be returned to his people, and it is perilous to speculate about events outside the scope of the narrative. If, however, the reconciliation of Trojans and Latins that has been authoritatively foretold by Jupiter and Juno (cf. 821–2, 834–7) is to take place, the return of T.'s body would appear to be an essential precondition.

The crucial role played by Pallas' sword belt in stirring A.'s memories of Pallas' death is carefully prepared by several allusions to the earlier event: see nn. on 923 *uolat . . . instar*, 924 *recludit*, 931 *merui*, 933–4 *fuit . . . genitor*, 935 *spoliatum lumine*, 936 *meis*. As a result, the *dénouement* seems no mere coincidence but an inevitable consequence of Pallas' death.

A recently discovered mosaic from Alter do Chão (Portugal) depicts the situation at line 938–9, when T. has appealed to A. and A's response is not yet clear. (The mosaic has not been published; I am grateful to Dr Jorge António for permission to mention it.)

For discussion of the larger issues raised by this scene, see Introduction, pp. 16–30.

919 Cunctanti: resumptive link with *cunctantem* in 916; the repetition may suggest that T. is unable to defend himself, like Patroclus in *Il.* 16.806–7.

telum . . . fatale coruscat: recalls 887 *Aeneas instat . . . telumque coruscat*, but *fatale* brings T.'s death a step closer. **fatale:** the senses 'bringing death' and 'appointed by fate' are both present, but with the former perhaps predominating, cf. 924 *exitium . . . hasta ferens*, Livy 6.28.5 *fatalem . . . urbi Romanae locum*; the latter sense is more prominent at, e.g., 2.237 (the Trojan Horse) *fatalis machina.*

920 sortitus fortunam 'choosing the opportune moment' (i.e. to strike); a condensed equivalent of *Il.* 22.321 '[Achilles] was eyeing Hektor's splendid body, to see where it might best give way' (εἰσορόων χρόα καλόν, ὅπῃ εἴξειε μάλιστα). The sense of *fortuna* ('opportunity') is close to that in 11.760–1 (Arruns) *Camillam | circuit et quae sit fortuna facillima temptat.* For *sortiri* = 'choose, select' (*OLD* 2c), cf. *G.* 3.71 *subolem armento sortire quotannis*; in combination with *fortuna*, however, there is a play on the basic sense of *sors*, which is evoked by T. in 932 *utere sorte tua.* A.'s careful aim contrasts with T.'s reckless onrush in 728 *emicat hic impune putans*; the connection is underlined by *corpore toto* ending both lines. *corpore toto* of A. contrasts with *non totum . . . spatium* of T.'s stone throw in 907. **oculis:** the reference to sight introduces a motif central to this scene; cf. 930, 939, 945.

921–3 eminus: in 890 A. tauntingly encouraged T. to fight him at close quarters (*certandum est comminus*). T. ran toward A. before hurling the stone (902 *cursu*) but presumably was still some distance away when he released it (as implied by the phrases *uacuum per inane uolutus* and *spatium . . . totum* in 906–7). **murali . . . crepitus:** a sort of inverse simile, in which one thing is said not to be as large etc. as that to which it is compared; the device functions as a form of hyperbole. So Pyrrhus and his men charging into Priam's palace are compared to a river in spate (2.496–9 *non sic, aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis | exiit*) – a possibly significant link. See Austin ad loc. for other examples.

The germ of the comparison is found in Lucr. 6.328–9, where the speed and force of a thunderbolt (323 *mobilitas . . . et grauis ictus*) are compared to that of missiles from a siege machine: *uolat impete miro | ut ualidis quae de tormentis missa feruntur.* Whereas Lucretius' comparison robs the thunderbolt of its divine associations, V. reverses the process by comparing the power of A.'s spear thrust to that of Jupiter's thunderbolt; cf. Hardie (1986) 177–80.

921 murali: i.e. used to attack or defend the walls of a city, cf. Caes. *B Gall.* 7.82.1 *traiecti muralibus pilis*, Sil. 6.213–14 *muralia portat | ballistas tormenta grauis.* Silius also imitates our passage in 9.568–9 *hasta . . . murali turbine* (~ *turbinis* 923) *pectus | transforat.* The reference to siege warfare recalls A.'s attack on Latinus' city, cf. esp. 575 *densa . . . ad muros mole feruntur.* The final duel thus metaphorically re-enacts A.'s siege, and 'besieged' T. dies in place of the city; cf. on 229–30, 235, Rossi (2004) 195–6 (with a somewhat different emphasis). **concita:** cf. *concitus* of T. in 902. **numquam:** *numquam . . . sic* is a stronger form of *non . . . sic*, the usual introduction for such negative comparisons; the force of *numquam* is heightened by its position at the end of the line.

922 saxa fremunt: in a different context at 7.590, of rocks roaring with the sound of the waves that beat on them, cf. 11.299 *uicinae . . . fremunt ripae*

crepitantibus undis (~ *crepitus*?). *fremere* is often used of rushing wind or water, cf. Enn. *Ann.* 515–16 Sk. *ratibusque fremebat* | *imber Neptuni*, Lucr. 6.581, and can attribute human emotions such as rage to those natural forces, as in 1.55–6 *illi* (sc. *uenti*) *indignantes*... | *circum claustra fremunt*.

922–3 fulmine . . . crepitus: lit. 'nor do such great crashings leap apart at a thunderbolt'. V. combines a comparison of sound (the *crepitus* from a thunderbolt ~ that of A.'s spear) with one of rapid motion (*dissultant*); the two elements meet in *dissultant*, whose sound contributes to the first while its meaning constitutes the second.

The comparison of A.'s spear to a thunderbolt implicitly links him with Jupiter and implies that he, like the Dira, is Jupiter's agent; see on *uolat*... *instar* 923.

922 fulmine: abl. of cause or origin.

923 dissultant: the basic sense is 'move rapidly in opposite directions'; in Lucr. 3.395 *dissultare* is the opposite of *concursare* and *coire*. Its only other appearance in V. is at 8.239–40, where Hercules lifts part of Cacus' cave and hurls it into the Tiber: *impulsu quo maximus intonat aether*, | *dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis*. **crepitus:** only here in V.; of a thunderbolt, cf. Plaut. *Amph.* 1062 (a parody of high style) *strepitus crepitus sonitus tonitrus*. **uolat . . . instar:** another comparison of A.'s spear to a superhuman force. In addition to its reference to a 'dark storm', *uolat turbinis instar* recalls the descent of the Dira, 855 *uolat celerique ad terram turbine fertur*, a connection carried on by *dirum* in 924 and *stridens* in 926 (~ 859). The combination *atri turbinis* evokes 10.603–4 *turbinis atri* | *more furens*, when A. rages after the death of Pallas; the *turbo* also recalls Athena's punishment of Ajax Oileus in 1.45 *turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto*. **atri:** a typical attribute of storm clouds, cf. 1.511, but in a context where the Dira is being recalled, the associations of *ater* with Furies and other Underworld entities are probably relevant, cf. 4.472, 7.329, 6.127. **instar:** adverbial with *uolat*: 'the spear flies on a par with (i.e. as swiftly as) a *turbo*'; cf. Catull. 17.12–13 *nec sapit pueri instar* | *bimuli*. V. employs *instar* mainly for hyperbolic comparisons, cf. 2.15 *instar montis equum*, 7.707 *Clausus magni*... *ipse agminis instar*.

924–5 orasque . . . loricae et clipei . . . orbis: the movement of the spear is described in the reverse of logical order (penetrating the cuirass and then the shield), an instance of so-called *hysteron proteron*; the effect is to throw greater emphasis on the more significant action by placing it first. See Austin on 2.353 *moriamur et in media arma ruamus*, Harrison on 10.140 *uulnera derigere et calamos armare ueneno*. **orasque . . . loricae:** the 'edges' of T.'s cuirass, cf. 381.

924 recludit: here 'pierce, pass through'; the literal sense 'open up' appears in 10.601 *latebras animae pectus mucrone recludit*. There A. responds without mercy to an appeal from Liger similar to the one T. will soon make, 597–8 *per te, per qui te talem genuere parentes*, | ... *sine hanc animam et miserere precantis*; cf. also on 933–4.

925 loricae et clipei extremos: the double elision, bringing the words into close conjunction, perhaps suggests the penetrating force of A.'s spear, cf. Soubiran (1966) 630. **extremos . . . orbis** 'the remotest layers', i.e. the layers

of the shield furthest from A. and closest to T.'s body; cf. 8.447–8, of the making of A.'s shield, *septenos . . . orbibus orbis* | *impediunt*, with Fordyce's n. Comms. generally take it to mean 'the outer [i.e. lower] rim', but that produces a much less forceful image, and makes the mention of the shield's seven layers pointless. **septemplicis:** probably V.'s coinage to render *Il.* 7.245 σάκος ἑπταβόειον.

926 per medium . . . femur: Hector is mortally wounded in the throat (*Il.* 22.327–9), and can only speak before he dies. **incidit ictus:** the strong sense break after the fourth foot is a metrical counterpart to T.'s sudden collapse.

927 ingens ad terram: slow-moving spondees suggest the weight of T.'s body as it hits the ground. **duplicato poplite:** cf. 11.645 (*sagitta*) *duplicat . . . uirum* ('causes him to double over'), Ovid, *Met.* 6.293 *duplicata . . . uulnere caeco est.*

928–9 A brief reaction shot couples men and nature: although strictly speaking the surroundings are merely echoing the Rutulians' shouts, the stress placed on their response suggests a degree of *sympatheia*; cf. 722 *gemitu nemus omne remugit*, of which these lines are an elaboration. This is the last explicit reference to the presence of spectators, but see n. on 937 *Ausonii uidere.* **consurgunt gemitu Rutuli totusque remugit | mons circum et uocem late nemora alta remittunt:** the repeated *u* and *m*, besides suggesting the moans of the distressed bystanders, mimic the echoing in *re-mugit* and *re-mittunt* (Traina).

928 consurgunt: they rise to their feet, cf. 5.450 *consurgunt studiis Teucri et Trinacria pubes.* We must infer that the spectators were previously seated, as T. imagined the Latins witnessing the aborted duel (15 *sedeant spectentque Latini*), or like the audience for gladiatorial games in the amphitheatre.

929 mons . . . et . . . nemora: the setting appears different from that in 745, where T. was hemmed in between the city walls and a *palus.* The details here were probably chosen for their contribution to the sound of the lines.

930 humilis supplex: probably two nom. adjs. (*asyndeton bimembre*); cf. on 887 *ingens arboreum.* Many comms. understand *humilis* as acc. with *oculos*, but *humiles oculos* would imply eyes cast downward, which would not suit *protendens.* One ancient manuscript, M, reads *supplexque*, but *-que* is probably a normalizing addition. However interpreted syntactically, *humilis supplex* foregrounds the key aspect of T.'s situation: the once proud fighter (*superbus* 326, also 10.514–15 *superbum* | *caede noua*, after killing Pallas) has been brought low (literally as well as figuratively, if *humilis* is seen as evoking *humus* [Traina]). **supplex:** T.'s supplicant posture is that of Priam in *Il.* 24.485, also of Magus in 10.523, who unsuccessfully begged A. for mercy *per patrios manis* (524); earlier A. had been supplicated in vain by Dido and Anna, 4.414, 424. See also on 938 below.

930–1 oculos dextramque . . . protendens: the meaning of the verb, literal with *dextram*, has to be adjusted to fit *oculos* (an example of zeugma); cf. 5.508 *pariter . . . oculos telumque tetendit.* Catull. 64.127 has *protendere aciem* of stretching one's gaze toward a distant object, and in 2.405 Cassandra stretches her eyes to heaven because her arms are bound, *ad caelum tendens ardentia lumina*; cf. also Lucr. 1.66–7

primus Graius homo mortalis tendere [Nonius : *tollere* MSS] *contra* [sc. *religionem*] | *est oculos ausus*, Catrein (2003) 103–4.

931–8 The obvious comparison for T.'s speech is the speech of Hector to Achilles (*Il.* 22.338–43) in which Hector begs that his body be returned to his people for burial. Hector, however, has been mortally wounded, while T.'s wound is not fatal; he can therefore plead that his life be spared, which he does (935–6 with n.). A clear contrast is provided by the speech of Mezentius to A. in 10.900–6; Mezentius refuses to beg for his life and asks only for honourable burial. T.'s evocation of Anchises recalls the appeal of Priam to Achilles in *Il.* 24.486–506. A conventional Homeric appeal, such as that of Adrestos in *Il.* 6.46–50, offers a rich ransom in return for being spared.

The speech has been widely admired ('uiro forti digna oratio', Heyne; 'a brief, moving speech', Clausen (1987) 94), but Heinze offered a harsher (and admittedly unfair) assessment: '[T.] had not been able to go calmly to meet his enemy in the final duel; neither can he face death with a steady mind now . . . [H]is last words express a fervent desire to live, and to gain that end he is even prepared to give up his claim to Lavinia' ((1915) 212 = (1993) 167 Eng. trans., somewhat modified). The speech is fully in character for T., particularly as he has been portrayed in this book: an attempt at heroic nobility is undermined by fear of death. It is tempting to see here one reason for V.'s frequent use of Lucretian language in this part of the poem, i.e. that T. exemplifies the harmful effects of *timor mortis.* At several points T.'s words unwittingly recall his killing of Pallas (cf. nn. on 931 *merui*, 932 *miseri . . . parentis*, 935 *spoliatum lumine*, 936 *meis*), thereby anticipating the recollection that will doom him.

Speeches that both begin and end in mid-line make up fewer than a tenth of the speeches in the poem. Many of them are short and marked by a sense of urgency and/or agitation; cf. e.g. 2.519–24 (Hecuba), 547–50 (Pyrrhus), 4.573–9 (A.), 6.45–6 and 51–3 (the Sibyl), 7.552–60 (Juno), 9.219–21 (Euryalus), 560–1 (T.), 10.878–82 (Mezentius), 897–8 (A.)

The duel between A. and T. has some of the character of a gladiatorial combat, and in that context T.'s appeal is a request for *missio*, or reprieve: 'a gladiator who has technically surrendered to his opponent may be awarded a reprieve, if the spectators can convince the *editor* [the sponsor of the games] that his performance has merited it' (Coleman on Mart. *Spect.* 31 (29).3). The analogy could suggest that T.'s appeal should not be regarded as dishonourable in itself; it also intensifies the focus on A., who combines the roles of antagonist, audience and final arbiter.

931 merui: stronger than Mezentius' *nullum in caede nefas* (901), but not an admission of moral guilt; the sense is 'I deserve to die, having challenged you to single combat and lost'. T.'s choice of words unintentionally recalls his sneering remark after killing Pallas, 10.492 *qualem meruit Pallanta remitto.* **nec deprecor:** undercut to some degree by the preceding *dextram . . . precantem.*

932 utere sorte tua: cf. 6.546 (Deiphobus to A.) *melioribus utere fatis*; here *utere* means 'take advantage of, exploit'. T.'s reference to *sors* suggests

that A.'s victory was the product of higher forces; it also completes a series of references to T.'s own destiny: 10.501 *nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae*, 56 above *regina noua pugnae conterrita sorte*, 243 *Turni sortem miserantur iniquam.*

Silius echoes the phrase in the defiant words of the dying Hasdrubal (15.800–2): *leto non terreor ullo.* | *utere Marte tuo, dum nostris manibus adsit* | *actutum uindex.*

932–3 miseri . . . potest: the lack of connective underscores T.'s abrupt shift of direction; contrast Mezentius' clear transition at 10.903 *unum hoc per si qua est uictis uenia hostibus oro.* It is a sign of T.'s humiliation that he echoes appeals to him that he rejected at the opening of the book: *Dauni miserere senectae* ~ 43–4 (Latinus) *miserere parentis* | *longaeui*; *te si qua parentis* | *tangere cura potest* ~ 56–7 (Amata) *per si quis Amatae* | *tangit honos animum.*

932–5 T.'s invocation of his aged parent resembles the plea often made on behalf of the accused in Roman courtrooms; cf. Cic. *Cael.* 79 *constituitote ante oculos etiam huius miseri senectutem qui hoc unico filio nititur . . . ; quem uos supplicem uestrae misericordiae . . . uel recordatione parentum uestrorum uel liberorum iucunditate sustentate.* Cicero ends with an explicit appeal to *pietas*: *ut in alterius dolore uel pietati uel indulgentiae uestrae seruiatis.*

932 miseri . . . parentis: referring to a 'wretched parent' in general terms is an unwise move on T.'s part, since it could bring to mind another bereaved parent, Evander, and T.'s wish that Evander might witness his son's death, 10.443 *cuperem ipse parens spectator adesset.*

932–3 si qua . . . cura: T.'s understated language is artful: he knows how powerful an appeal he is making.

933–4 fuit . . . genitor: echoing the ultimately successful appeal of Priam to Achilles, *Il.* 22.419–20 'he might have respect for my age and take pity upon it | since I am old, and his father also is old, as I am' (ἤν πως ἡλικίην αἰδέσσεται ἠδ' ἐλεήσῃ | γῆρας· καὶ δέ νυ τῷ γε πατὴρ τοιόσδε τέτυκται), 24.486–7 'remember your father, one who | is of years like mine, and on the door-sill of sorrowful old age' (μνῆσαι πατρὸς σοῖο . . . | τηλίκου ὥς περ ἐγών, ὀλοῷ ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῷ); but also recalling the vain plea of Liger to A. in 10.597–8 *per qui te talem genuere parentes,* | *uir Troiane, sine hanc animam et miserere precantis.* The combination *miseri* (932) . . . *miserere* (934) mirrors in chiastic form Priam's ἐλέησον . . . ἐλεεινότερός in *Il.* 24.503–4, cf. Barchiesi (1984) 114–16.

933 talis: logically *talis* should = *miser*, but Anchises did not have Daunus' reasons for wretchedness, i.e. being separated from his son and anxious for his safety (cf. 44–5 above).

935–6 me . . . meis 'send me back or, if you wish, | send back my lifeless body to my kin' (Mandelbaum). Either out of rhetorical caginess, or because he is ashamed to beg for his life, T. does so as unobtrusively as possible, giving more space to the alternative. (Servius: 'ne ex aperto rem uiro forti pudendam peteret, interpositione usus est'.) Some older comms. thought T. was indifferent to the issue of life or death, but for that to be so *mauis* would have to go with both *me*

and *corpus* – 'return me or my body, whichever you wish' – which seems ruled out by word order. **seu** = *uel si*.

935 spoliatum lumine: an elevated expression, adapted from Lucr. 4.377 *spoliatur lumine terra*; cf. 6.168 *postquam illum uita uictor spoliauit Achilles*. In the present context, however, T.'s metaphorical use of *spoliare* constitutes a Freudian slip, since his wearing of *spolia* taken from Pallas will be the cause of his death. **mauis:** T. places the responsibility for his death squarely on A., and in so doing reminds the reader that A. does have the option of sparing T.'s life.

936–8 redde meis . . . Ausonii uidere . . . ulterius ne tende odiis: 'the pauses are moved steadily forward in successive lines, giving the disjointed appeal a character of increasing earnestness and pathos' (M. 31).

936 meis: echoed in 947 *spoliis indute meorum*; even T.'s innocent words will be turned against him. **uicisti et uictum:** for such resumptive repetition see Wills (1996) 315; the contrast of conqueror and conquered is part of T.'s formal acknowledgement of defeat, see on 569 above *uicti parere fatentur*. Traina compares Livy 42.47.8 *eius demum animum in perpetuum uinci, cui confessio expressa sit se . . . iusto ac pio esse bello superatum*. Naiden (2006) 275 compares T.'s admission to a *deditio in fidem* (unconditional surrender with a request for the protection of the Roman people, for which cf. e.g. Livy 7.31.4–5, with Oakley's nn.), but the verbal resemblances are not striking. **tendere palmas:** an inversion of T.'s scornful words at 11.414 *oremus pacem et dextras tendamus inertes*.

937 Ausonii uidere: instead of the perhaps expected *uidisti*; the Italians provide public testimony of T.'s surrender. Even though V. has shifted the focus away from the spectators, T. – always aware of how he is seen by others, cf. 3, 645, 679, 915 – remains conscious of them as witnesses. The subtext of his words is 'if my own people have seen me defeated – which is for me the ultimate disgrace – you do not need to kill me'. **tua est Lauinia coniunx:** C–N remark that *coniunx* is 'almost like a perpetual epithet of Lavinia in Turnus' mouth', cf. 17, 80; the sense is thus not 'Lavinia is your wife' but 'wife Lavinia is yours'. References in earlier books show that Lavinia was destined to belong to A.; cf. 6.763–5 *Siluius . . . tua postuma proles, | quem tibi longaeuo serum L. c. | educet*, 7.314 (Juno speaking) *immota manet fatis L. c.*

938 ulterius ne tende odiis: T.'s final appeal implicitly evokes the precedent of Achilles, who at last relented from his abuse of Hector's body and returned him to Priam. **ulterius ne tende** 'do not press on further' (*OLD* s.v. *tendere* 11); cf. Livy 8.32.15 *ne ad extremum finem supplicii tenderet*, an appeal that may have influenced our passage: 14 *orabant ut rem in posterum diem differret et irae suae spatium et consilio tempus daret; satis castigatam adulescentiam Fabi esse, satis deformatam uictoriam*. (On the chronology of Livy's first pentads see Oakley (1997) 109–10.) The verb also forms a counterpart to *tendere palmas* in 936. **ulterius:** in V. only here and 804 above (Jupiter to Juno) *ulterius temptare ueto*. **odiis:** T. chooses his last word carefully, implying that in killing him A. would be pursuing a kind of vendetta. *odium* is nowhere else associated with A.; it describes the enmity of Rome and

Carthage (4.623, 10.14), the hatred provoked by cruel tyrants (1.361, 10.692, 853, 905) and Juno's hatred of the Trojans (1.668, 5.786, 7.298). Although T. is unaware of it, his use of *odia*, together with *ulterius* (previous n.), constitutes an appeal to A. not to behave like Juno; in rejecting that appeal, A. acts in an unmistakably Juno-like way (cf. nn. on 945 *saeui monimenta doloris*, 946 *accensus*, 947 *tune*). **stetit acer in armis:** with no speech-ending formula, the focus shifts in midline to A., generating intense expectation of his response. Some comms. believe that the reader expects A. to show mercy (e.g. W. on 887f., see also his nn. on 933, 938, 938–9), but the opposite is strongly implied by the precedents of Achilles and Menelaus (cf. n. on 921–52), by Homeric convention in general ('there are no successful suppliants on the battlefield in the narrative of the *Iliad*', Hainsworth on *Il.* 10.454), and, most of all, by the many foreshadowings of T.'s death earlier in the book; furthermore, previous appeals to A. from opponents have been either rejected (10.523–34 [Magus], 554–60 [Tarquitus], 595–600 [Liger]) or left unanswered (10.903–6 [Mezentius]). Rejected supplications are not uncommon in historical sources; see Naiden (2006) 163–7. But V. does create genuine uncertainty about A.'s reaction, which is heightened by the reader's awareness that speech has had no effect on him.

939 uoluens oculos: a sign of fierce concentration, as at 7.249–51 *defixa Latinus | obtutu tenet ora soloque immobilis haeret, | intentos u. o.* Tib. Cl. Donatus remarks 'tractantis [i.e. of one deliberating] fuerat signum; indices enim sunt oculi, qui tacito pectore sententia dubitante uoluuntur'. At 4.363 and 10.446–7 *uoluere oculos* or *lumina* describes gazing intently at someone. **repressit:** in 10.686 the verb describes Juno's restraining of a suicidal T.

940 iam iamque: see n. on 754 above. *iamque* is often followed by a '*cum* inuersum' construction; see *TLL* 7[1].109.56–81. **cunctantem:** balancing *cunctanti* in 919, of T.; this is the last appearance in the book of the 'delay' motif, and the only place where A. is the cause of delay. Earlier in the poem *cunctantem* describes A. after Dido's verbal onslaught (4.390).

940–1 flectere sermo | coeperat: cf. *Il.* 6.51 (following the supplication of Adrestos) 'so he spoke, and moved the spirit inside Menelaos' (ὣς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθε). Ancient commentators on Homer criticized Menelaus as excessively soft; see Schmit-Neuerburg (1999) 158 n. 442. Many interpreters believe that A. has been moved by T.'s appeal to recall the precept *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*, given to him by his father in the Underworld (6.853); V. does not explicitly make such a connection, although *humilis* in 930 might make one think of its opposite, *superbus*.

940 flectere: a pointed contrast to T.'s reaction to persuasive words at the beginning of the book, 45–6 *haudquaquam dictis uiolentia Turni | flectitur.* **sermo:** the word appears as subj. of a verb only here in V., perhaps suggesting the power exerted by T.'s appeal; for the opposite situation cf. 6.470–1 (Dido remains deaf to

A.'s words) *nec magis incepto uultum sermone mouetur* | *quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes.*

941 coeperat: Statius twice echoes this line-initial *coeperat* in scenes where Polynices' rage begins to soften but is rekindled by a Fury; cf. *Theb.* 11.196, 383.

941–4 infelix . . . gerebat: extracting the last ounce of suspense from the moment, V. traces A.'s perception as it develops: starting high on T.' s shoulder, then singling out the belt, then its 'familiar' decoration (*notis*, as the object becomes more vivid and particular), and only then mentioning Pallas and T.'s killing of him (described as if A. had seen it with his own eyes – a sign of the strong hold the event has on him). With *umeris* in 944 A. returns to his starting point, but now with full knowledge of what he is seeing. For a possible analogue in Greek vase painting, see Appendix. Fowler (2000) 211–17 cites Plutarch's account of Caesar's assassination (*Caes.* 66.2–3), in which Cassius is inspired to kill Caesar by looking toward Pompey's statue.

941 infelix: several meanings are possible: (a) 'unlucky', bringing ruin for T., cf. 6.521 *infelix . . . thalamus*, Livy 3.48.7 *puellae infelicem formam* (Servius suggests, more generally, 'nulli domino felix', which would include Pallas); (b) 'of unhappy memory', for A., cf. 2.772 *infelix simulacrum* (of Creusa, on which Servius comments that *infelix* applies to A. rather than to Creusa); (c) 'depicting unhappiness' (i.e. the Danaids and their slaughtered husbands), cf. 608 *infelix fama* = 'report of disaster'. **cum:** the '*cum* inuersum' construction (see on 249 above) is often used to highlight a critical turn of events (such as Orpheus' loss of Eurydice in *G.* 4.485–7), and the decisive moment is sometimes underscored by *subito* or a similar expression. V. here does the opposite, postponing *cum* to third position in its clause and eliding it into *apparuit*; the shift is at first so slight as to be almost imperceptible. In 9.371–2 *iamque . . . cum* describes the moment when Euryalus is betrayed by the light gleaming off his spoils, a passage recalled in the following line. On the '*cum* inuersum' construction see further Oakley on Livy 6.24.4–5. **apparuit** 'came into view'; V. often uses the verb to dramatize the appearance of impressive, moving, or frightening objects, as at 2.483–4 *apparet domus intus . . .* | *apparent Priami et ueterum penetralia regum*, also 2.622, 8.241, 10.579, 576 above; earlier in Lucr. 3.18 *apparet diuum numen sedesque quietae.*

942 notis: it is tempting to see A. as having his own moment of recognition, parallel to T.'s, but the emphasis here seems to be on recollection; see n. on 945 *monimenta.* **fulserunt cingula bullis:** the phrase combines two echoes of the Nisus and Euryalus episode, 9.359–60 *Euryalus phaleras Rhamnetis et aurea bullis* | *cingula* [sc. *rapit*] and 373–4 *galea . . . radiis . . . aduersa refulsit.* Cucchiarelli (2002) suggests that the *bullae* (small circular bosses) on Pallas' belt are highlighted to recall the *bullae* worn around the neck of Roman boys, thereby reinforcing the sense of Pallas' youth.

943 Pallantis: the slow opening to the line gives emphasis to the critical moment of recognition. **pueri:** focalized through A., and suggesting both affection and a sense of quasi-parental responsibility; cf. 8.581 (Evander's farewell)

care puer, 11.42 (A. over Pallas' body) *miserande puer.* **uictum . . . uulnere:** a somewhat elevated expression, though not as grand as *ingentem atque ingenti uulnere uictum*, used of Lausus in 10.842 and (in T.'s mouth) of Murranus in 640 above.

944 strauerat: *sternere* is often a dignified euphemism for *occidere* or *interficere*, verbs generally avoided in high poetry; see Austin on 2.398, Harrison on 10.119. But here the detail of Pallas' body 'laid low' adds vividness to A.'s recollection of his death. (In 8.719 sacrificial victims 'strew the ground', *ante aras terram caesi strauere iuuenci*; *strauerat* could conceivably look forward to T.'s being 'sacrificed' to Pallas, but against this *sternere* does not appear to be a technical term of sacrifice.) **umeris . . . gerebat:** after dwelling for a moment on the image of the dead Pallas, A.'s attention reverts to T. There is an easily filled ellipsis: '<whose sword-belt> T. was wearing as a trophy'. **inimicum insigne:** the surface meaning is 'a trophy belonging to an enemy', cf. 9.315 *castra inimica*, but given the outcome, *inimicum* probably also bears the sense 'harmful to its owner' (see *OLD* 5); *inimicum hastile* in 10.795 carries a similar double meaning, see Harrison ad loc.

945–6 oculis . . . hausit: for an agonizingly long moment A. gazes at the belt and recalls what it evokes for him. Dido also looked at familiar objects filled with memories before her final words, 4.648–51 *hic, postquam Iliacas uestis notumque cubile* | *conspexit . . .* | *'dulces exuuiae'* (~ *exuuias*); Quinn (1968) 274.

945 saeui monimenta doloris: at one level *saeuus dolor* refers to the scene of 'cruel grief' depicted on the belt, the murder of the sons of Danaus by their new brides, more fully described in 10.495–500; for *monimenta* of an artistic rendering that recalls an event cf. 6.26 *Veneris m. nefandae* (the Minotaur shown on the doors of the temple at Cumae). But *saeuus dolor* also evokes the grief felt by A. at Pallas' death, cf. 10.569 *Aeneas desaeuit*; 'the epithet *saeuus* . . . is never applied to A. until he has been wrought up to extreme passion by the death of Pallas; thenceforward it becomes almost habitual, to emphasize that his grief and anger are unextinguishable except by the death of Turnus' (Mackail on 10.813; cf. also 10.878, 11.910, 12.107, 498, 888). The combination *saeuus dolor* appears only here and in 1.25–6, where it describes Juno's abiding anger against the Trojans: *necdum etiam causae irarum saeuique dolores* | *exciderant animo*. The juxtaposition of *saeui* and the memory term *monimenta*, with *ira* in the following line, forms another counterpart to the poem's opening, 1.4 *saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram*, with A. now in the place of Juno. If the story of the Danaids evokes the theme of young men dying before their time (as suggested by Conte (1986) 188–92), it connects with both the death of Pallas and that of T. Quinn (1968) 275 argues for a more immediate connection: 'in a mind already inflamed, the contemplation of a scene of violence proves the final incitement to violence'. **monimenta**: of an object that serves as a reminder or souvenir, cf. 3.486, 4.498, 5.538, 572; ironically applied to Deiphobus' mutilation as a 'souvenir' of Helen, 6.512.

946 hausit: 'drinking in' a sight implies experiencing it to the full, as in Dido's wish for A. in 4.661–2 *hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto* | *Dardanus*;

cf. also 10.898–9 (the dying Mezentius) *ut auras* | *suspiciens hausit caelum*. It is used in a parody of high style in *G.* 2.340 *cum primum lucem pecudes hausere*. The near-assonance in *exuuiasque hausit* might suggest the bitterness of A.'s feelings at the sight. There may be an echo of Latinus' words to T. at the start of the book, *simul hoc animo hauri* (26, with n).

946–7 furiis ... terribilis: cf. *Il.* 22.312–13 (Achilles charging Hector) μένεος δ' ἐμπλήσατο θυμὸν | ἀγρίου ('the heart within him loaded with savage fury'); V.'s language is emotively more weighted.

946 furiis accensus: V.'s language contains no overt condemnation of A., but the image of him 'inflamed with furious rage' is undeniably disturbing. For details see Introduction, pp. 20–1. Neither *furiae* nor *accendere* is elsewhere applied to A. in V.'s own voice. At 5.719 he is 'fired up' by Nautes' words, *incensus dictis senioris amici*, and in 10.68 Juno sarcastically describes him as *Cassandrae impulsus furiis*. The expression *furiata mente*, used by A. of himself in 2.588 in the spurious Helen episode, is almost certainly duplicated from 2.407, where it describes the reaction of Coroebus to the violation of Cassandra. That line could suggest a justified *furor*, but V.'s earlier characterization of Coroebus strongly suggests that his love went beyond normal bounds (343 *insano Cassandrae incensus amore*).

Both terms are prominently associated with Juno and T.; cf. 1.29 *his accensa super*, 9 above *accenso gliscit uiolentia Turno*, 101 above *his agitur furiis*. In taking this final action A. comes to resemble his most bitter enemies.

946–7 ira | terribilis: A. is *terribilis* at 498 above, his helmet in 8.620; he is the only character in the epic so described. A. at his most fully Achillean displays Achilles' trademark anger. *terribilis* receives greater emphasis from its enjambed position; see on *feruidus* in 951.

947–9 A.'s language offers two ways of understanding T.'s death: as a sacrificial offering to Pallas (*Pallas te ... immolat*), and as retribution for crime (*poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit*). Both explanations are problematic, and they are also mutually exclusive, since if T.'s blood is tainted by *scelus*, he is utterly unsuitable as a candidate for immolation. See further Introduction, pp. 21–2.

947 tune: the last speech in the poem, like the first, begins with the indignant particle *-ne* attached to a personal pronoun, cf. 1.38 *mene incepto desistere uictam ... ?* (Juno); both phrases start at the same point in the line. Sil. 12.236 echoes A.'s *tune* in an address to a Carthaginian who is wearing the helmet of Aemilius Paulus. **hinc** 'from here', the slight redundancy with *mihi* is mitigated by the separation between the words. **spoliis indute meorum:** as in the case of Hector wearing the armour of Patroclus, T.'s doom comes about through his flaunting of Pallas' belt, 'a token of fatal over-confidence' (Harrison on 10.501–5) and also a gesture of contempt for the despoiled victim; compare Mezentius' vow to clothe Lausus in spoils taken from A., 10.774–6 *uoueo praedonis corpore raptis* | *indutum spoliis ipsum te, Lause, tropaeum* | *Aeneae*. By contrast, A. followed proper etiquette in constructing a *tropaeum* of Mezentius' armour in 11.5–11. **spoliis:** for the abl. with the 'middle' participle *indutus* cf. 10.775

(previous n.). V. also uses the 'retained' acc.; cf. 2.275 *exuuias... indutus*, 7.666–8 *tegimen... indutus*. **indute**: for the attraction of the participle into the vocative cf. 2.283 *exspectate uenis?* with Austin's n. The construction is generally found in lively questions and commands. **meorum:** the plural aggrandizes T.'s offence into one against A.'s entire family.

948 eripiare: the word is somewhat illogical, since if A. willingly spared T.'s life, T. would not be 'snatched away' from him; but *eripere* does describe both the efforts of Juno and Juturna to save T. (10.624 *instantibus eripe fatis*, 157 above *fratrem eripe morti*) and T.'s own wish to escape death (917–18 above *nec quo se eripiat... uidet*). A.'s frustration at those earlier escapes finds voice here. There may be an echo of T. 'snatching' (*rapiens*) Pallas' belt, 10.496. **Pallas... Pallas:** the repeated name reverses 10.442–3 (Turnus speaking) *solus ego in Pallanta feror, soli mihi Pallas | debetur*. At 11.178–9 Evander spoke of T. as 'owed' to both himself and Pallas (*Turnum natoque patrique | quam* [sc. *dextera tua*] *debere uides*); here 'Pallas' takes his revenge singlehandedly, playing the part earlier claimed by T. (*solus, soli mihi*). Some interpreters also see an allusion to Juno's mention of 'Pallas' (i.e. Athena) in 1.39, but this is less clear. The notion that the person being avenged is the one striking the blow has a close parallel in Sen. *Controu.* 9.4.2 *cum occideret tyrannum, aiebat 'frater te ferit, pater ferit'* (I owe the reference to Tony Woodman). Seneca is quoting the rhetor Musa, whom the younger Seneca heard declaim as a young man (*Controu.* 10 pr. 9); the excerpt therefore almost certainly postdates the *Aeneid*, and may have been inspired by our passage. An even clearer echo is Stat. *Theb.* 9.137–8 *'hanc tibi Tydeus, | Tydeus ipse rapit'* (Hippomedon to Leonteus, as he cuts off the hand that was dragging away Tydeus' body). In a somewhat similar way Seneca's Medea urges her dead brother to use her hand to exact vengeance, casting him as the true agent (*Med.* 969–71 *utere hac, frater, manu | quae strinxit ensem: uictima manes tuos | placamus ista*). A much older idea is that the person who committed the original crime is responsible for the vengeance exacted; cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 923, where Orestes tells Clytaemestra that she, not he, is responsible for her death: σύ τοι σεαυτήν, οὐκ ἐγώ, κατακτενεῖς. The motif of death inflicted by one deceased appears in a different form in Sophocles' *Ajax*, after Ajax has committed suicide with a sword given him by Hector; Teucer asks 'do you see how in time Hector, though dead, was destined to destroy you?' (1026–7 εἶδες ὡς χρόνῳ | ἔμελλε σ' Ἕκτωρ καὶ θανὼν ἀποφθίσειν;). In the sacrificial scenario invoked by A. the substitution of Pallas as agent could be part of the 'comedy of innocence' (Karl Meuli's term) by which the sacrificer deflects responsibility for the killing onto another; cf. Burkert (1983) 11, although the only evidence cited for this particular motif is Babylonian. More generally, the 'it is not I who acts, but _____' formula is a way of asserting greater authority or legitimacy for the action; cf. e.g. Lysias 1.26 'it is not I who am going to kill you, but our city's law' (οὐκ ἐγώ σε ἀποκτενῶ, ἀλλ' ὁ τῆς πόλεως νόμος), Dio Cass. 38.43.3 (Caesar speaking of the Gallic leader Ariovistus): 'it was not I who summoned him, but the Roman, the proconsul, the fasces, the authority, the legions' (οὔτε

γὰρ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν μετεπεμψάμην, ἀλλ' ὁ Ῥωμαῖος, ὁ ἀνθύπατος, αἱ ῥάβδοι, τὸ ἀξίωμα, τὰ στρατόπεδα). Pelliccia (2010–11) 206 n. 153 cites other examples of the topos, which he relates to the motif of 'unwilling departure'. **uulnere Pallas:** balances *uulnere Turnus* in 943, matching the vengeance to the original act (Traina).

949 immolat . . . sumit: the framing verbs may represent A.'s response to T.'s original act, cf. 944 *strauerat . . . gerebat.* **immolat:** A.'s use of sacrificial language has been the subject of fierce debate: does it give sanction to T.'s death or portray it as a travesty of ritual? In 10.517–20 A. took eight prisoners alive to be sacrificed on Pallas' funeral pyre (519 *inferias quos immolet umbris*), as Achilles had taken 12 young Trojans to sacrifice to Patroclus (*Il.* 21.26–33, 23.175–83); 'in his rage at the death of Pallas Aeneas matches the worst excesses of the Homeric Achilles' (Harrison ad loc.). The language here is less graphic, but *immolat* must recall its appearance in the earlier episode (also at 10.541). Furthermore, if Pallas is the sacrificer, to whom is the victim offered? Heyne responded 'non sibi, sed diis inferis'. Similarly Traina: T. is a victim to the Manes, to whom he had dedicated himself, presumably referring to 646–9. But the most obvious interpretation, i.e. that Pallas is sacrificing T. to himself, cannot be entirely avoided. Seneca may have read the scene in that way, since his description of Atreus preparing to kill the children of his brother Thyestes reads like a commentary on our passage: the children are first described as dedicated to Atreus' anger, *capita deuota . . . irae* (*Thy.* 712), and then as victims to himself, *quem prius mactet sibi | dubitat, secunda deinde quem caede immolet* (713–14); the underlying idea that anger is a divinity requiring sacrificial offerings is spelled out by Seneca's Medea: *plura non habui, dolor, | quae tibi litarem* (*Med.* 1019–20). (On the Senecan connection see further Putnam (1995) 246–85 and Schiesaro (2003) 85–98.) Perverted sacrifice and offering victims to a mortal come together in Tac. *Ann.* 4.70.1 (Titius Sabinus as he is led to death) *clamitans sic inchoari annum, has Seiano uictimas cadere.* It is worth noting, however, that Silius has Scipio avenge his father's wounding by 'sacrificing' many Carthaginians, without any apparent moral complexity; cf. 4.464–5 *auctorem teli multasque paternos | ante oculos animas, optata piacula, mactat*, and see Tipping (2010) 149–50. **poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit:** when the war began it was predicted that the Latins, and T. in particular, would pay the penalty for starting it: 7.595–7 (Latinus) *ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas, | o miseri. te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit | supplicium*, 8.538 (A.) *quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis.* T.'s death could therefore be seen as the fulfilment of those predictions, and as punishment for the *scelerata insania belli* (7.461) that he represents. (Compare also 10.617, where Juno speaks of T.'s death with bitter irony: *nunc pereat Teucrisque pio det sanguine poenas.*) The motif of death-as-punishment (*poena*), however, is almost always found in the mouth of a character, and is never a purely objective judgment. (The only places where it appears in the narrator's voice are 7.765–6 *ferunt fama Hippolytum, postquam . . . patrias . . . explerit sanguine poenas*, where *patrias* introduces the perspective of Theseus, and 11.720 (Camilla) *poenas . . . inimico ex*

sanguine sumit, where the notion of punishment reflects Camilla's outrage at the trickery (*fraus* 717) practised on her by the unnamed son of Aunus.) A.'s language strongly suggests that he associates T.'s *scelus* with Pallas' death, but killing Pallas on the battlefield was not a crime (*nullum in caede nefas*, says Mezentius in 10.901), and while it and his despoiling of the body demand retribution, they do not support A.'s rhetoric of criminality. Other uses of *sceleratus* suggest that it too expresses the emotive outlook of the speaker; cf. 2.229–31 (the Trojans) *scelus expendisse merentem* | *Laocoonta ferunt, sacrum qui cuspide robur* [i.e. the Horse] | *laeserit et tergo sceleratam intorserit hastam*, 9.136–8 (T.) *sunt et mea contra* | *fata mihi, ferro sceleratam exscindere gentem* | *coniuge praerepta.* The verbal form of the motif recalls Enn. *Ann.* 95 Sk. (Romulus about to kill Remus) *nam mi calido dabis sanguine poenas*, a line echoed several times previously in the poem; cf. 2.72 (Sinon) *Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt*, 366 (A.) *nec soli poenas dant sanguine Teucri*, 9.422–3 (Volcens) *tu tamen interea calido mihi sanguine poenas* | *persolues amborum*, 11.592 (Diana) *Tros Italusque mihi pariter det sanguine poenas* (also 7.766, 795 and 10.617, quoted in previous paragraph). The author of the Helen episode was obsessed with the motif; cf. 2.572–3 *Danaum poenam... praemetuens*, 575–6 *subit ira cadentem* | *ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas* (on which see Introduction, p. 23 n. 94), 583–4 *etsi nullum memorabile nomen* | *feminea in poena est*, 585–6 *sumpsisse merentis* | *laudabor poenas.* Ovid in *Fast.* 5.575 places it in the mouth of Octavian asking Mars to help him avenge the assassination of Julius: *ades et satia scelerato sanguine ferrum.* **scelerato ex sanguine sumit:** threefold alliteration for climactic effect.

950 hoc dicens: a formula reserved by V. for life-ending moments; at 2.550 (Pyrrhus to Priam) and 10.744 (Mezentius to Orodes) it is preceded by *nunc morere*, and in 10.851 it follows Mezentius' resolve to die (*sed linquam*). **ferrum aduerso sub pectore condit:** *condere* of 'burying' a weapon in a body is first attested in V.; cf. 9.347–8 (Euryalus) *pectore in aduerso totum cui comminus ensem* | *condidit adsurgenti*, 442–3 (Nisus) *Rutili clamantis in ore* | *condidit* [sc. *ensem*] *aduerso.* The usage is probably a development from the frequent sense 'hide, put out of sight' (*OLD* 7, *TLL* 4.150.67–77). Ovid embraced it eagerly (eight occurrences in *Met.*), but it is otherwise rare in later epic (once each in Lucan (1.377), Silius (2.260) and Statius (*Theb.* 1.614)).

In a different sense *condere* figured prominently at the opening of the poem, in relation to the founding of A.'s city and later of Rome (1.5 *dum conderet urbem*, 33 *Romanam condere gentem*, 276–7 *Mauortia condet* | *moenia*); its appearance here underscores the point that T.'s killing is a necessary precondition of those foundations.

951 feruidus: cf. on 293 above. The word is elsewhere placed in either the fourth (293) or fifth foot (8.230, 9.72, 350, 736, 10.788, 12.325, 748); here its enjambed position at the end of a phrase gives it unique emphasis (Di Benedetto (1996b) 171–2). **ast:** used 18 times in V. (all in *Aen.*), usually to signal a strong shift of focus and followed by a pronoun relating to the new object of attention. The combination *ast ego* is used by Juno in her two most prominent appearances, cf. 1.46, 7.308. **soluuntur frigore membra:** corresponding to the Homeric

λύτο γούνατα, which can result from fear (*Od.* 5.297; cf. 867 above *membra nouus soluit formidine torpor*, of T.) or death (*Il.* 21.114). The phrase *soluuntur frigore membra* appears also in 1.92, where it describes A. at his first appearance in the poem. The repetition is a marker of A.'s transformation, from the terrified victim of Juno's anger to the angered (i.e. Juno-like) avenger who acts with the support of Jupiter. In the earlier scene A. wished that he had met death at the hands of Diomedes (1.96–8); now he kills a would-be Diomedes (cf. 52–3, 896–902 above, Lyne (1987) 132–5). **frigore:** the chill that overcomes T. contrasts with his blazing intensity at the start of the book, cf. 3, 71 *ardet*, 9 *accenso*; that heat now belongs to A. (*feruidus*, an epithet used of T. in 325 above), cf. *accensus* 946, *accendit* 560 above.

952 = 11.831, at the death of Camilla. The double appearance of the line parallels the two appearances of the line ὃν πότμον γοόωσα λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην ([the soul] 'mourning her destiny, leaving youth and manhood behind her'), at the deaths of Patroclus (*Il.* 16.857) and Hector (22.363). In Homer the two events are symmetrical and causally related, since Hector's killing of Patroclus leads to his own death at Achilles' hands; in V. both deaths are on the Latin side, showing how the weight of destiny has shifted. The line seems better integrated here than in its other appearance, where its rapidity feels slightly awkward after the details of Camilla's dying moments (cf., e.g., 830 *captum leto posuit caput*); it may have been created for this position and then reused in the earlier scene. **cum gemitu:** ὃν πότμον γοόωσα. **indignata:** protesting the unfairness of fate that brings an early death, corresponding to λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτῆτα καὶ ἥβην; compare also Sarpedon 'raging' at his death (*Il.* 16.491 μενέαινε). That is the interpretation that Servius seems to favour ('quia discedebat a iuuene'); it is more plausible than his alternatives, that T. was incensed at not having been spared or at losing Lavinia. Traina compares *indigne* in Catull. 101.6 *heu miser indigne frater adempte mihi* and in numerous epigraphic texts, e.g. *Carm. epigr.* 1007.1–2 *consiste uiator | et uide quam indigne raptus inane querar*; cf. also Plin. *Epist.* 6.6.7 *illum immatura morte indignissime raptum*. In such contexts the complaint of unfairness is uttered by the surviving mourners; V. uses it to show how T. views his own death – as premature and unnecessary (cf. 936–8) – and it is with T.'s perspective that the poem ends. Ovid in *Fast.* 4.895–6 relocated the motif to the death of Mezentius: *cadit Mezentius ingens* (~ *Aen.* 10.842) | *atque indignanti pectore plangit humum.* **sub umbras:** *umbra* is a favourite with V. (more than a hundred uses), probably for reasons of both sound and sense. In about a quarter of its occurrences it ends a sentence or larger unit; the closural effect is especially prominent in *Ecl.* 1.83 and 10.75–6. *fugere sub umbras* may remind us of Dido, *sic, sic iuuat ire sub umbras* (4.660) and Juturna, *misero fratri comes ire per umbras* (881 above).

Two other books of the *Aeneid* end with a death in the final line (4.705 *dilapsus calor atque in uentos uita recessit*, 10.908 *undanti . . . animam diffundit in arma cruore*); in its sound and wording this last instance is also the darkest.

APPENDIX

A red-figure calyx crater from *c.* 470 BCE in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston attributed to the Tyszkiewicz Painter shows (a) Diomedes wounding Aeneas (= *LIMC* s.v. Aineias 38) and (b) Achilles killing Memnon (= *LIMC* s.v. Achilleus 833). The vase is remarkable for the prominence given to Memnon's shield and its gorgon emblem; it is the only one of five shields on the vase shown facing outward, and Achilles' gaze appears to be fixed on it. Memnon's death is an act of retribution for his having killed Achilles' younger friend Antilochus; it seems at least possible that Memnon is carrying a shield that reminds Achilles of that event and so heightens his determination to exact revenge. In several other vase paintings of the duel between Achilles and Memnon, a figure on the ground between them is identified as Antilochus; on the Boston vase, however, he is named as Melanippus, a Trojan killed by Antilochus (see *Il.* 15.575–8) before he was in turn killed by Memnon. As well as alluding to a still earlier episode in the



Figure 1a. Diomedes wounding Aeneas.



Figure 1b. Achilles killing Memnon.

chain of events, the introduction of Melanippus (along with, presumably, his own shield) increases the likelihood that the gorgon shield carried by Memnon is a trophy taken from Antilochus.

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